

Middleton

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Biographia Evangelica:
OR, AN
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIVES AND DEATHS

Of the most eminent and evangelical
AUTHORS OR PREACHERS,
BOTH BRITISH AND FOREIGN,
IN THE SEVERAL
DENOMINATIONS OF PROTESTANTS,
From the Beginning of the Reformation, to the present Time:

WHEREIN

Are collected, from authentic Historians, their most remarkable ACTIONS;
SUFFERINGS, and WRITINGS; exhibiting the Unity of their FAITH
and EXPERIENCE in their several *Ages, Countries, and Professions*; and
illustrating the Power of DIVINE GRACE in their *holy Living and Dying*.

By the Rev. ERASMUS MIDDLETON,
Lecturer of *St. Bennet's*, Grace-church Street; and of *St. Helen's*, Bishopsgate Street.

The FAITHFUL are—*chosen in Christ*; Eph. i. 4.—*called by Grace*; Gal. i. 15.—*justified freely by Grace*; Rom. iii. 24.—*holy and beloved*; Col. iii. 12.—*They live by Faith*; Gal. iii. 11.—*obtain a good Report through Faith*; Heb. xi. 39.—*die blessed in the Lord*; Rev. xiv. 13.—*shall appear with him in Glory*. Col. iii. 4.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N:

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Grace-church street; and J. MATHEWS, No. 18. in the Strand.
M.DCC.LXXIX.



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P R E F A C E.

AT a Time, when Infidelity and Irreligion abound on the one Hand, and Popery and other heretical Tenets are making large Strides upon the Reformed Religion on the other; it hath been thought necessary, by many serious Persons, of all the Protestant Denominations among us, to oppose a Torrent of Wickedness and Delusion, which threatens to bear down all before it. The Judgements of GOD, which seem to hang over us as a Nation, and the dreadful Scourge of War, with which we are already visited, may justly be imputed to the prevailing Iniquity of the Times, the Dissoluteness of our public Principles and Manners, and the open Disregard for the LORD OF HOSTS, which so many among us, in Practice if not in Words, have dared to avow. We have reason to tremble as a Nation, under the awful Visitations of the ALMIGHTY; and to fear, that, unless a Reformation of our general Conduct take place, and a greater Regard be paid to the Interests of Religion and Truth, we shall be afflicted with yet heavier Dispensations, and that what we see already, is only *the Beginning of Sorrows*.

With this View it hath been suggested, that (as nothing makes stronger Impressions upon the Mind than *Example*) a Review of the Lives and Principles of the most eminent Persons in the Protestant Churches, from the Beginning of the Reformation to the present Day, might be a providential Means of assisting, at least, in giving a Check to
A. 2 this

this general Inundation of Infidelity and false Opinions. The attentive Perusal and Consideration of what those great and good Men maintained, suffered for, or died in Possession of; may, in the Hand of GOD, be instrumental in leading others to follow their Example, ~~and~~ at least deter many from reviling and contemning those peculiar Principles of the Protestant Doctrine, which their Indolence or their Ignorance have not suffered them to understand. It may safely be said, that nothing has contributed so much to the Reception of impious or superstitious Tenets among us, as the spiritual Darkeness of our *present enlightened Age*, which indeed has made great Improvements in the Knowledge of every Thing *but* one—and that is, *the One Thing Needful*. Our Youth are trained up, according to the Fashion, in the Ignorance and Contempt of every Thing sacred; and no Man is allowed either Sense or Discretion, unless he is quite at Ease with respect to Religion, and indifferent to the great Concerns of Eternity. In short, to be polite, in the common Acceptation, is to be profane; and to gain a Character of Understanding and Honor, a Man must affect to despise the conscientious Purity of the Gospel, and openly disregard the AUTHOR of all Wisdom. What can be hoped for from Maxims like these; but what we have already found; viz. *Irreligion* on the one Side, and *spiritual Error* on the other? And these, we may expect, will draw upon us (as they did upon the Churches of *Asia*) the dreadful Scourges of GOD, by *outward* Calamities, and in the Progress of *inward* Blindness or Abandonment.

Every Man, therefore, who has any Concern for the Glory of GOD, the Purity of the Gospel, and the best Interests of Posterity, will readily (we should hope) give his earnest Encouragement to a Work, which seems calculated for these important Purposes, as well as his own Edification. It is a FAMILY-BOOK, and may be put
into

into the Hands of Youth, both for their Information as a History, and for their Profit as an Instructor. Mr. Fox's *Acts and Monuments* were ordered by Authority to be placed in every Church, that the People of the several Parishes in the Kingdom, might be led, to a thorough Detestation of the poisonous Principles and bloody Practices of the *Papists*. 'Tis to be regretted, that this Order, like many others, is grown obsolete. Perhaps, in no Case, is the Disuse of wholesome Injunctions more to be lamented, than in the unbridled Liberty, which is taken in the Education of our Youth. People, of the worst Principles, may, without Examination, inculcate them freely upon the rising Generation; And thus, insidiously, Popery, Infidelity, and Immorality, are scattered all over the Land. However, it cannot be unseasonable for Parents, in particular, to lay a Work of this Kind before their Children, when the Tenets of *Rome*, dangerous to all civil and religious Liberty, seem to be gaining Ground among us. Those, indeed, are the most *ignorant* of the Community, who are infected or most likely to be infected by that corrupt Leaven; for, it may be truly said, no Man was ever seduced into its erroneous Principles, either by the Conviction of his *Reason* or his *Senses*, and much less by the Sanctions of *Scripture*. And we must do the *Papists* the Justice to say, that they do not attempt this Sort of Conviction. Their Arguments and Inducements are laid in the Fears of the *Simple*, who know neither the true Doctrines of Christianity nor themselves, and in their own self-sufficient, or rather all-sufficient, *Authority*; which, if it was properly explained, would sooner excite the Contempt and Abhorrence, than the Approbation of any reasonable Being.

As to the Work itself, we have freely made use of the several Authors who penned the Lives of these illustrious Men; omitting what was either too prolix for our Plan,
or

or what, upon Comparison with other Accounts, did not appear sufficiently founded; and adding many Circumstances, which had escaped them or have since been collected by others. By this Method, we may, without Vanity, hope, that these Relations are in general more complete than those which have been hitherto offered to the Public. In the several Accounts of these evangelical Men, the great Object of our Plan has been the general Edification, as well as Information; and, for this End, the Reader will find many serious Reflections interspersed throughout the Work. How far we have succeeded, must be submitted to the Judgement of the Reader; whom, if a sincere Christian, we shall trust to please; and, if otherwise, we ought not to be anxious about it.

We will only detain the Reader to assure him, that no bigotted Partiality to Sects or Denominations, whether established or tolerated, will be found in this Collection; but our whole Attention has been paid to truly great and gracious Characters of all those Persuasions, which hold the distinguishing Principles of the Gospel, and are united in the main Endeavor to promote our common Christianity.

The Copper-plates are the Performance of an ingenious young Artist, and sufficiently bespeak his Merit. The Encouragers of this Undertaking will perceive, that this Part of the Work has been performed in a Manner much superior to what is generally given; and, we doubt not, it will be fully agreeable to their Expectation.

May the GOD of all Grace be pleased to bless our Attempt; to the Instruction of *the Ignorant and them that are out of the Way*; to the Edification of humble Professors of the Gospel; and to the Satisfaction of all those, whatever be their outward Denomination, who *love our LORD JESUS CHRIST in Sincerity*.

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LETTERS OF RECOMMENDATION

Received from the following DIVINES.

DEAR SIR,

I Have perused the first Volume of your BIOGRAPHIA EVANGELICA with great Pleasure, and admire both the Plan and Execution thereof. May the great Head of the Church bless this Undertaking, so highly seasonable at this critical Period; when the glorious Doctrines of the Reformation (in Defence whereof many of those illustrious Worthies laid down their Lives) are too generally denied on the one Hand; and the Errors of Popery are evidently gaining Ground on the other! This Publication therefore, I doubt not, will be blessed to the Glory of our GOD and SAVIOUR, and to the Establishment of His People in the fundamental Truths of the Gospel: and I trust you will meet with the utmost Encouragement from Believers of every Denomination. For my own Part, I shall be happy to recommend it as far as my little Influence may be supposed to extend. Your enriching this valuable Work with so many excellent Plates renders it one of the cheapest Publications I have seen, and must be a great Recommendation of it to the Public. Praying therefore for a Blessing on this and every Labour of Love for the REDEEMER'S Sake, I remain, with great Esteem and Regard,

Dear Sir,

Dec. 2, 1779. At the Countess of
HUNTINGDON'S House,
Spa-Fields, London.

Your affectionate Friend,
J. W I L L S.

REV. SIR,

AS you have been so obliging as to solicit me to give my Opinion of a Work which you are now publishing, I am happy to assure you that it gives me great Pleasure to find that a Thing of this Nature is undertaken. The Plan, you have adopted, has often passed through my own Mind; and I have myself purposed to *attempt*, what I hope you will be encouraged to *finish*.

You may be apprehensive, and a little fearful perhaps, that the BIOGRAPHIA EVANGELICA will not meet with general Acceptance: you will at least have the Honour of having designed a Work which, if I mistake not, is *original* in its Way, and which, if properly regarded, is calculated to be of *extensive* and *lasting* Benefit to Mankind.

History is certainly *the Key of Knowledge*: and biographical History has this peculiar Advantage, that it contains the Knowledge of *Men* and *Things* at the same Time: and evangelical Biography has this

Letters of Recommendation, &c.

this still greater Advantage, that it unites the *utile dulce*, and conveys not only the most entertaining, but the most important Science, I mean, the *Wisdom that maketh wise to Salvation*: without which all other Wisdom is at the best comparative Folly.

You have my hearty Wish, that your valuable Publication may meet with the Success it deserves, and that it may be instrumental in opposing the fatal Increase of Popery in this Kingdom, and in promoting that Zeal for our Religion, which has always distinguished the most eminent Protestants of every Denomination.

I am, Rev. Sir,

Your's most respectfully,

Lower Grosvenor-Place.

C. DE COETLOGON.

DEAR SIR,

THE REFORMATION of this Kingdom, from the Superstition, Idolatry and Cruelty of the Church of Rome, is such a national Blessing, as should excite our constant Praises to that God by whom we possess it. The Memory, also, of those illustrious Men, who were the Instruments of bringing about and maintaining it, should not be forgotten by us. The BIOGRAPHIA EVANGELICA seems calculated to answer these valuable Ends. The Prints, likewise, are so well executed, that they much enhance the Value of the Work. That it may be much and profitably read is the sincere Desire of,

SIR,

Watling Street,
Nov. 26th, 1779.

Your's, &c.

HEN. FOSTER.

TO THE REV. ERASMUS MIDDLETON.

DEAR SIR,

I Have perused, with great Pleasure and Profit, your very excellent BIOGRAPHIA EVANGELICA. The Plan adopted, I most highly approve of, but especially the just, impartial, and faithful Account you have given us of those great and glorious Luminaries of the Church, the blessed REFORMERS; whose precious Names and Characters must ever be dear and valuable to all who love our LORD JESUS CHRIST, for the noble Testimony they bore, living and dying, to the Truth of the ever blessed and eternal Word of God.—In a day like this, when the precious and invaluable Word of God is so slighted and despised, it is most heartily to be wished, that your very excellent Publication might be attentively read, by every Lover of Truth, as a Work, highly calculated, to instruct, settle, and establish, every unprejudiced and impartial Reader.—That you may meet with every Encouragement in so laudable an Undertaking, and behold with Pleasure, Gratitude, and Joy, many happy and blessed Effects resulting from it, is the earnest Prayer of,

Your very affectionate Friend,

Northampton Chapel,
Dec. 2d, 1779.

WM. TAYLOR.

Letters of Recommendation, &c.

NEITHER the *Author* or *Engraver* need the Recommendation of their Admirer,

British Museum,
Nov. 6th, 1779.

A. GIFFORD.

REV. SIR,

I Have read the first Volume of the *BIOGRAPHIA EVANGELICA*, and sincerely wish it may meet with Success, as it is a Work which seems calculated to afford a considerable Degree of profitable Entertainment.

Hackney,
Sept. 26th, 1779.

JOHN CONDER.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

I Have looked into your valuable Work, intituled, *BIOGRAPHIA EVANGELICA*; I highly esteem it, as it contains what may indeed be called a *PRESENT TRUTH*; as it exhibits what the Grace of God can do, and has actually done for the Souls of Men, who have felt its Power on their Hearts.

The extensive Nature of your Plan also exhibits to our View, that the Grace and Favour of God is not confined to the party Names and Distinctions that have divided Christians from one another in these latter Days; but extends to all of every Denomination who love the LORD JESUS, who believe in his Name, and walk according to his Gospel; and this may, and should, encourage all of the same Stamp to be Followers of them who through Faith and Patience do now inherit the Promises.

That part of your Work particularly that holds forth to our View, the Sufferings and Patience of the eminent Ministers and Christians who suffered from and under the Synagogue of Satan at Rome, deserves particular Regard, at a Time when the Wound the Beast received at the *REFORMATION* seems to be, as it were, healing among us. May the LORD in Mercy deliver us from ever falling under that heavy Yoke any more. If you think this honest and well meant Testimony can be of any Service to your Work, you are at Liberty to make what Use of it you please, and I am,

Your affectionate Brother, in the Work and Bonds of the Gospel,

Braintree, in Essex,
Dec. 2, 1779.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

THE Lives of illustrious Men have been read with Greediness and Attention in all Ages, whether in the Pagan, the Jewish, or the Christian World. The Lives of the famous Greeks and Romans, written by the judicious and excellent Plutarch, is a Work of such Importance and Use, that we may truly affirm with a learned Man, "If it were proposed to destroy all the literary Works of the Pagan World, except one, Plutarch's Lives should be preserved as the most pleasing, instructive and useful."

Now

Letters of Recommendation, &c.

Now if we set such a Value on the Lives of the Pagan Philosophers, Statesmen and Warriors, how much more should we prize the History of the great Generals and Commanders in the Christian Church: those greatest Heroes that have lived since the Reformation from Popery: and whose Lives, Labours, and Characters, are here faithfully recorded: and if we pursue Plutarch's Manner of running a Parallel between the Character of one great Man and another, and compare the Christian with the Pagan Heroes, we shall find the Advantages most abundantly on the Christian Side. Where can we find in the Heathen World, any Characters that can equal Wickliffe, Tindale, Luther, and Calvin, with a long Series more here enumerated.

In the brightest Pagans you see Traces of Genius, Policy, Fortitude, Justice, and the Love of their Country: but all flowing from the Principles of Nature, and actuated by a violent Ambition or Love of Fame; but in the Christian Heroes exhibited in this Work, you see heavenly Wisdom, ardent Love of God, Faith in the Blood of CHRIST, Zeal for the Divine Glory; invincible Fortitude to dare even the most dreadful Forms of Death; strong Compassion for immortal Souls; yea, and what is still higher, a Love of their bitterest Enemies, and fervent Prayers for them in the Agonies of Death. Who would not esteem and venerate such exalted Characters? Who would not read with Avidity and Delight the Lives, the Virtues, and the glorious Martyrdom of many of these great Men?

How seasonable and useful at this singular Point of Time is such a Work! I do therefore most cordially express my Approbation of the Design and Execution of it, and heartily recommend it to my Friends and fellow Protestants of all Denominations.

Northampton,
Nov. 21st, 1779.

J O H N R Y L A N D.

TO THE P R I N T E R.

S I R,

HAVING long wished to see the Lives of all eminently holy Men from the Dawn of the Reformation to the present Time, collected in one Book, I was happy to find my Wish about to be accomplished in the Publication of the *Biographia Evangelica*. Such a Work is peculiarly seasonable at this alarming Crisis, and will (through the Blessing of God) prove an effectual Antidote against Popery, as well as the Means of reviving that Spirit for the Things of CHRIST, which, alas! is now so languid among Christians of all Denominations. It is my sincere Desire the Work may be generally read, and my earnest Prayer that it may fully answer the End of the pious Author.

I am,

S I R,

Great Portland Street,
Nov. 24, 1779.

Your most obedient Servant,

J O H N T R O T T E R.



From an Original Picture in the Collection of the Duke of Dorset

Biographia Evangelica.

JOHN WICKLIFFE,

THE FIRST REFORMER.

WHEN we look back upon the days of barbarism, and the gross ignorance of the true light of the gospel, which prevailed in the Christian world, for so many ages together, before the Reformation; when we reflect upon the stupid ceremonies and abominable superstitions and cheats, practised by the monks and others; and then survey the hand of GOD, working, in a most extraordinary manner, through all this mass of corruption and folly, and bringing about, by degrees, the clear shining of the everlasting gospel: We must stand astonished at the whole, and, from the wonderful contrast of the times, may say; *This hath GOD wrought; it is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.*

GOD vouchsafed to honor *England* with the first dawning of the Reformation: And an *Englishman* was the first champion of that cause, which afterwards received the name of PROTESTANTISM. This remarkable instrument of the divine blessing was JOHN WICKLIFFE, or JOHN de WICKLIFFE, taking his surname from a village once called *Wickliffe*, near *Richmond*, in *Yorkshire*, where he was born in the year 1324. It has been observed, that no such place exists at present under that name; but it is well known, that great numbers of our villages, and even towns and hundreds, have received different denominations from change of possessors in the course of ages. *Wickliffe* was sent early to *Oxford*, and was first admitted commoner of *Queen's College*, and afterwards of *Merton*, where he became fellow.

Merton College was then the best seminary for great and learned men in the whole university; and the following eminent persons belonged to it, about this time. 1. *Walter Burley*, called the Plain Doctor, who was preceptor to king *Edward III.* 2. *William Occam*, called the Singular Doctor. 3. *Thomas Bradwardine*, the Profound Doctor, who was called to court by archbishop *Stratford*, and succeeded him in the see of *Canterbury*. 4. *Simon Mepham*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, in 1330. 5. *Simon Islip*, who was also promoted to the same see, in 1349, was lord privy seal, and secretary to the king. 6. *William Rede*, an excellent mathematician, and bishop of *Chichester* in 1369. 7. *Geoffry Chaucer*, the Father of *English Poetry*. *Wickliffe* was afterwards called *Doctor Evangelicus*, or the Gospel Doctor; and he certainly deserved the title, as the study of the holy scriptures was his principal delight. He was indeed (to use the words of bishop *Newton*) ‘deservedly famous, the honour of his own, and the admiration of all succeeding times.’

Wickliffe was soon distinguished, among these illustrious contemporaries, for the closeness of his application to study, and the vivacity of his genius. He became celebrated in philosophy and divinity; being so remarkable for an elegance of wit, and strength in disputations, that he was esteemed more than human by the common sort of divines. He adorned the learning of the schools, by acquiring a deep knowledge of the civil and canon law, as also of the municipal laws of his own country, which have been always too much neglected till our own times, when we find the Vinerian professorship of the laws of *England* established in the university of *Oxford*. *Wickliffe* not only studied and commented upon the sacred writings; but he translated them into his native language, and wrote homilies on several parts of them. He also diligently studied the writings of *St. Austin*, *St. Jerom*, *St. Ambrose*, and *St. Gregory*, the four fathers of the Latin church: But he was thirty-six years of age before he had a proper opportunity of exerting his excellent talents, so as to attract the observation of the university, and even of the whole kingdom; for it was in the year 1360 when he became the advocate for the university against the encroachments made by the mendicant friars, who had been very troublesome from their first establishment in *Oxford*, in 1230, and occasioned great inquietude to the chancellor and scholars,

lars, by infringing their statutes and privileges, and setting up an exempt jurisdiction.

Popery was established in *England* by *Austin* the monk, and continued to be the only religion till the Reformation. The church of *Rome* had infected all *Christendom* with its errors and corruptions; and the whole church was degenerated from its primitive purity by the artifices of the monks, who had polluted the clear stream of religion with the rank weeds of superstition.

The clergy had engrossed the greatest part both of the riches and power of *Christendom*: But the corruptions of their worship and doctrine were easily detected; nor had they any varnish to color them by, except the authority and traditions of the church. When some studious men began to read the antient fathers, and councils, they found a vast difference between the first five ages of the Christian church, in which piety and learning prevailed, and the last ten ages, in which ignorance had buried all their former learning: Only a little misguided devotion was retained for six of those ages; and, in the last four, the restless ambition and usurpation of the popes were supported by the seeming holiness of the begging friars, and the false counterfeits of learning, consisting only of a vile metaphysical jargon, or vain school-divinity, which prevailed among the canonists, school-men, and casuists.

It may be noted, that soon after and about the year 1300, flourished several able and pious men, who boldly withstood the errors of the church of *Rome*, and the insolence of its popes. Of these, perhaps, none was more remarkable than *Marsilius* of *Padua*, who wrote his *Defensor Pacis* for the emperor *Lewis*, of *Bavaria*, against pope *John XXII*, and who is execrated by name in the bull of pope *Gregory* against *Wickliffe*. He vehemently opposed the enormities of the court of *Rome*, and maintained, that believers are freely justified by grace alone, and that works are not the efficient causes of our salvation, though justification and salvation are ever attended with them. He and others paved the way for our great countryman, who soon afterwards appeared and distinguished himself above them.

Wickliffe was indeed the morning-star of the Reformation; though he appeared like a meteor to the monks, when he opposed them in support of the university. The number of students there had been thirty thousand; but, in 1357, they were so far decreased that the whole was not above six thousand. This was entirely owing to the

bad practices of the preaching friars, who took all opportunities to entice the students, from the colleges, into their convents; which made people afraid of sending their children to the university. The friars disregarded the determination of the parliament in 1366, whereby it was enacted, that they should receive no scholar under the age of eighteen; and that the king should have power to redress all controversies between them and the university. *Wickliffe* soon distinguished himself by his bold and zealous opposition against the usurpations and errors of the friars, who justified their begging trade, by asserting, that the poverty of *Christ*, and his apostles, made them possess all things in common, and beg for a livelihood. This opinion was first opposed by *Richard Kilmynghton*, dean of *St. Paul's*; who was seconded by *Richard Fitz-Ralph*, archbishop of *Armagh*; after which, *Wickliffe*, *Thoresby*, *Bolton*, *Hereford*, *Bryts*, and *Norris*, openly opposed this doctrine at *Oxford*, where they made the friars blush for their audacity.

Wickliffe wrote with an elegance uncommon in that age, especially in the *English* language, of which he may be considered as one of the first refiners, and his writings afford many curious specimens of the old *English* orthography. In one of his tracts, intitled "Of Clerks Possessioners," he exposes the friars for drawing the youth of the university into their convents, and says, "Freres
 "drawen children fro *Christ's* religion into their private
 "order by hypocrisie, lesings, and steling. For they
 "tellen that their order is more holy than any other;
 "that they shullen have higher degree in the blis of
 "heaven than other men that been not therein; and
 "seyn, that men of their order shullen never come to
 "hell, but shullen dome other men with *Christ* at
 "domesday."

Wickliffe wrote and published several tracts against the beggary of the friars; particularly "Of the Poverty of
 "Christ, against able Beggary;" and "Of Idleness in
 "Beggary." He asserts, that "Christ bad his apostles
 "and disciples that they should not bere a sachel, ne
 "scrip; but look what man is able to hear the gospel,
 "and eat and drink therein, and pass not thence, and
 "not pass fro house to house.—Sith there were poor
 "men enough to taken mens alms before that freres
 "camen in, and the earth is now more barren than it was,
 "other freres, or poor men, moten wanten of this alms:

"but

“but freres, by subtle hypocrisie, gotten to themselves,
“and letten the poor men to have these alms.”

He disputed with a friar, on able beggary, before the duke of *Gloucester*, to whom he sent an account of both their arguments, and addrest his highness in these words;
“To you lord, that herde the disputation be geve the
“fyle to rubbe away the rust in either partye.”

These controversies gave *Wickliffe* such great reputation in the university, that, in 1361, he was advanced to be master of *Baliol College*; and four years after he was made warden of *Canterbury-hall*, founded by *Simon de Islip*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, in 1361, and now swallowed up in *Christ-church*. The royal licence granted to the archbishop, for founding the college, is dated the twentieth of *October* 1361; and only mentions ‘a certain number of
‘scholars,’ religious and secular. There were to be a warden and eleven scholars, who were to study logic, the civil and canon law; for whose maintenance the archbishop settled on them the rectory of *Pageham* in *Sussex*, and the manor of *Wodeford* in *Northamptonshire*. He purchased some old houses in the parish of *St. Mary’s* in *Oxford*, and fitted them up for the reception of his scholars, whom he placed there himself, and appointed *Henry de Wodehall*, or *Woodhall*, to be the warden. This man was a monk of *Christ-church, Canterbury*, and doctor of divinity: But he was at such variance with the secular scholars, that the archbishop, in 1365, turned him, and three monks, out of his new-founded *Hall*, in whose room he appointed *Wickliffe* to be warden, and three other seculars to be scholars. It was afterwards pretended, that the warden, and three of the scholars, were to be monks of *Christ-church, Canterbury*, and the other eight, secular priests; though this limitation could not be proved from the writings relating to the foundation.

The letters of institution, whereby the archbishop appointed *Wickliffe* to this wardenship, were dated the fourteenth of *December*, 1365; in which he is styled ‘a person
‘in whose fidelity, circumspection, and industry, his
‘grace very much confided; and one on whom he had
‘fixed his eyes for that place, on account of the honesty of his life, his laudable conversation, and knowledge of letters.’

Wickliffe behaved with universal approbation, till the death of the archbishop, who had a great esteem for him. His grace died the twenty-fifth of *April*, 1366, and was succeeded in the archiepiscopal dignity by *Simon Langham*,

Langham, bishop of *Ely*, who had been a monk, and was inclined to favor the religious against the seculars. The monks of *Canterbury* applied to *Langham* to eject *Wickliffe* from his wardenship, and the other seculars from their fellowships. They alledged, that the warden was to be a monk, nominated by the prior and chapter of *Canterbury*, and appointed by the archbishop: But that *Wickliffe* craftily obtained the wardenship. Archbishop *Langham* ejected *Wickliffe* from the wardenship, and the three other seculars, in 1367; in consequence of which, he also issued out his mandate, requiring *Wickliffe* and all the scholars to yield obedience to *Wodehall* as their warden. This was refused by them, as being contrary to the oath they had taken to the founder; but the archbishop sequestered the revenue, and took away the books and other things, which the founder by his last will had left to the *Hall*.

Wickliffe, and the three expelled fellows, appealed to the pope; to which appeal the archbishop made a reply, and the pope commissioned cardinal *Andruynus* to examine and determine the affair; who, in 1370, ordained, by a definitive sentence, which was confirmed by the pope, that only the monks of *Christ-church, Canterbury*, ought to remain in the college called *Canterbury-hall*, and that the seculars should be all expelled; that *Wodehall* and the other monks, who were deprived, should be restored; and that perpetual silence should be imposed on *Wickliffe* and his associates. *Wickliffe*, and three poor clerks, could not oppose such a powerful combination, and the decree was strictly put in execution, pursuant to the papal bull, dated at *Viterbium*, the twenty-eighth of *May*, 1370, directed to *Simon de Sudbury*, bishop of *London*, and others, who were to restore *Wodehall* and the monks, and to compel all those who contradicted them by ecclesiastical censures, without permitting any appeal.

In this arbitrary manner *Wickliffe* was dispossessed of the wardenship of *Canterbury-hall*, which had been conferred on him by the founder, whose munificent intentions were frustrated by the papal sentence, which was directly contrary to the form of the licence of *Mortmain* that empowered the founder to endow his seminary for a certain number of scholars, religious and secular, who now, by this papal sentence, were to be all religious. It was, therefore, a question in law, whether the *Hall* and endowment were not forfeited to the crown? But the monks, in 1372, procured the royal pardon, and confirmation

firmation of the papal sentence, on paying 200 marks, which was equivalent to 800 pounds of our money.

While the dispute was carried on about the right to *Canterbury-hall*, king *Edward* had notice from pope *Urban*, that he intended to cite him to his court at *Avignon*, to answer for his default in not performing the homage which king *John* acknowledged to the see of *Rome*; and for refusing to pay the tribute of 700 marks a year, which that prince granted to the pope. The king laid this before his parliament, in 1366; who were determined to assist him with all their power against such arbitrary attempts from the pope. The firmness of the parliament caused the pope to stop short, and prevented his successors from ever after troubling the kings of *England* on that account. However, one of the monks ventured to defend the claim made by the pope; to which *Wickliffe* replied, and proved, that the resignation of the crown, and promise of a tribute made by king *John*, ought not to prejudice the kingdom, or oblige the present king, as it was done without consent of parliament. No wonder, then, that *Wickliffe* should incur the resentment of the pope, who was impatient of contradiction, and could not bear any opposition to his pretensions: But *Wickliffe* thereby made himself known to the court, and particularly to the duke of *Lancaster*, who took him under his patronage. At this time *Wickliffe* stiled himself *peculiaris regis clericus*, or the king's own clerk or chaplain: But he professed himself an obedient son of the *Roman* church, to avoid the personal injury intended him by his adversaries.

However, this deprivation was no injury to the reputation which *Wickliffe* had acquired. Every body saw it was a party business; and that it was not so much against his person that the monks had a prejudice, as against all the seculars that were members of the college. Shortly after, *Wickliffe* was presented, by the favor of the duke of *Lancaster*, to the living of *Lutterworth*, in the diocese of *Lincoln*; and then it was that he published, in his writings and sermons, certain opinions which appeared to be novel, because contrary to the received doctrine of those days. As he did not declare his sentiments till after he had lost his rectorship, his enemies have taken occasion, from thence, to accuse him of acting out of a spirit of revenge, by reason of the injury that had been done him. 'I shall not, says *Rapin*, undertake to clear him from this charge. As there is none but God alone that sees into the hearts of men, it is rashness to accuse or excuse
' them,

‘ them, with regard to the sacred motives of their actions.
 ‘ I shall only take notice, that *Wickliffe*’s bitterest enemies
 ‘ have never taxed him with any immoralities.’

Wickliffe was turned out of his rectorship by the court of *Rome*; and a man must be possessed of a very disinterested way of thinking, not to resent such usage; especially as *Wickliffe* was irreproachable in his morals. The spirit of the times was no little encouragement to his resentment. ‘ I must however,’ says Mr. *Guthrie*, ‘ do
 ‘ *Wickliffe* the justice, which has *not been done him before*,
 ‘ of observing, that he seems to have maintained his re-
 ‘ forming opinions even before he was turned out of his
 ‘ rectorship.’ This is to his honor, and removes one of the strongest objections against the motives of *Wickliffe*’s Reformation, as we have it from an author unfavorable to his memory. This opinion is also farther confirmed by the ingenious Mr. *Gilpin*.

But *Wickliffe* began more early to attempt the Reformation of those disorders and corruptions which he saw in men of his own profession; and particularly the exactions and usurpations of the pope. This is evident from his tract, “ Of the last Age of the Church,” which he published in the year 1356, fourteen years before he lost the rectorship.

Wickliffe, in 1372, took his degree as doctor of divinity, which he publickly professed, and read lectures in it with very great applause; for he had such authority in the schools, that his opinion was received as an oracle, instead of being disregarded after his ejection. In these lectures, he more strongly exposed the follies and superstitions of the friars: He charged them with holding fifty heresies and errors: He shewed their corruptions, and detected their practices. This was striking at the root of all the abuses which had crept into the church; at a time, when the greater and more necessary articles of faith, and all genuine and rational knowledge of religion, had generally given place to fabulous legends, and romantic stories; fables which, in this respect, only differed from those of the antient heathen poets, that they were more incredible, and less elegant.

The pope disregarded the statute of provisors, by still continuing to dispose of ecclesiastical benefices and dignities as he thought fit. These were enjoyed by *Italians*, *Frenchmen*, and other aliens, who had the revenues of them remitted abroad. The parliament frequently complained to the king and the pope of this intolerable grievance,

ance, by representing its fatal inconveniences to the church, and pernicious consequences to the kingdom.

This oppression was so insupportable, in 1373, that the king sent the bishop of *Bangor*, and three other ambassadors, to the pope, to require of him that he would not interfere with the reservation of benefices: But this embassy was ineffectual; for though the pope entered into a concordate about that matter, it was only a temporal concession; and the parliament renewed their request, that remedy should be provided against the provisions of the pope, whereby he reaped the first fruits of ecclesiastical dignities. It has always been the policy of the court of *Rome* to play fast and loose with temporal princes in its transactions with them, waiting diligently for advantageous seasons, and pressing them closely whenever they occurred: But, when it met with dangerous oppositions, it dextrously waved the contest without renouncing its claims, and temporized, and soothed, and flattered, and lay by, for a more convenient opportunity.

The king, in 1374, issued out a commission for taking an exact survey of all the ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, throughout his dominions, which were in the hands of aliens. The number and value of them astonished the king, who then appointed seven ambassadors to treat with the pope upon the business of the former embassy. Doctor *Wickliffe* was the second person mentioned in this commission; and the ambassadors were met at *Bruges* by the pope's nuncio, two bishops, and a provost, to treat concerning the liberties of the church of *England*. The treaty continued two years, when it was concluded, that the pope should desist from making use of reservations of benefices. But all treaties with that corrupt court were of no signification; and the parliament, the very next year, complained the treaty was infracted. A long bill was brought into parliament against the papal usurpations, as the cause of all the plagues, injuries, famine, and poverty of the realm: They remonstrated that the tax paid to the pope amounted to five times as much as the tax paid to the king; and that God had given his sheep to the pope to be pastured, not fleeced. Doctor *Wickliffe* was now made more sensible of the pride, avarice, ambition, and tyranny of the pope, whom he boldly exposed in his public lectures, and private conversation. He called him "Antichrist, the proud worldly priest of *Rome*, and the most cursed of clippers and purse-kervers." He also very freely reproved the corruptions which prevailed among the prelates

lates and inferior clergy, observing, “ that the abomination of desolation had its beginning from a perverse clergy, as comfort arose from a converted clergy.” Of prelates, he says, “ Oh Lord, what token of mekeness, and forsaking of worldly riches is this? A prelate, as an abbot or priour that is dead to the world, and pride and vanity thereof, to ride with fourscore horse, with harness of silver and gold: and to spend with earls and barons, and their poor tenants, both thousand marks and pounds, to meyntene a false plea of the world, and forbare men of their right.” But *Wickliffe* sufficiently experienced the hatred and persecution of those, whom he endeavored to reform. The monks complained to the pope that *Wickliffe* opposed the papal powers, and defended the royal supremacy; on which account, in 1376, they drew up nineteen articles against him, extracted from his public lectures and sermons. These articles were sent to the pope, and were principally as follow:

“ That there is one only universal church, which is the university” [or entire number] “ of the predestinate. *Paul* was never a member of the devil, although” [before his conversion] “ he did certain acts like unto the acts of the church malignant. The reprobate are not parts of the” [invisible] “ church; for that no part of the same finally falleth from her: because the charity” [or grace] “ of predestination, which bindeth the church together, never faileth.”

“ The reprobate, although he be sometime in grace, according to present justice” [i. e. by a present appearance of outward righteousness,] “ yet is he never a part of the holy church” [in reality:] “ and the predestinate is ever a member of the church, although sometime he fall from grace *adventitiâ*, but not from the grace of predestination: ever taking the church for the convocation of the predestinate, whether they be in grace or not, according to present justice.” i. e. whether they be converted already, or yet remain to be so, the predestinate, or elect, constitute, as such, that invisible church, which God the Father hath chosen, and God the Son redeemed.

“ The grace of predestination is the band, wherewith the body of the church, and every member of the same, is indissolubly joined to Christ their head.”

“ That the eucharist, after consecration, was not the real body of Christ, but only an emblem or sign of it.

“ That the church of *Rome* was no more the head of the
“ universal

“ universal church than any other church; and that St.
 “ *Peter* had no greater authority given him than the rest
 “ of the apostles. That the pope had no more jurisdic-
 “ tion in the exercise of the keys, than any other priest.
 “ That if the church misbehaved, it was not only lawful,
 “ but meritorious, to dispossess her of her temporalities.
 “ That when a prince, or temporal lord, was convinced
 “ that the church made an ill use of her endowments, he
 “ was bound, under pain of damnation, to take them
 “ away. That the gospel was sufficient to direct a Chris-
 “ tian in the conduct of his life. That neither the pope,
 “ nor any other prelate, ought to have prisons for the
 “ punishing offenders against the discipline of the church;
 “ but that every person ought to be left at his liberty in
 “ the conduct of his life.”

This was opposing the rights, which the popes had long
 asserted, of a superiority over temporal princes, and of
 depriving them of their kingdoms, whenever they thought
 proper. It was justifying the regal, in opposition to the
 papal, pretensions of an ecclesiastical liberty, or an ex-
 emption of the persons of the clergy, and the goods of the
 church, from the civil powers. It was denying the power
 that the pope maintained of remitting, or retaining, the
 sins of individuals absolutely: It was shewing the abuse of
 ecclesiastical censures, and rejecting the opinion of papal
 indulgences.

Such are the tenets with which this famous reformer is
 charged: And it is rather wonderful that he should have
 the courage to proceed so far, than extraordinary, that he
 did not go farther, considering the prejudices of education,
 which the wisest and best of men, without a particular
 effort of divine grace, seldom or never subdue.

The followers of *Wickliffe* went greater lengths than he
 intended: But all the opinions which they have fathered
 upon the Wickliffites are not to be regarded; any more
 than the censures, which were afterwards thrown upon
Luther for the subsequent heterodoxies of the Lutherans,
 the Anabaptists, and other sects in *Germany*, which he
 opposed himself while living, and to which his writings
 are a standing contradiction.

Wickliffe had opened the eyes of the people; and they
 began to think, the moment they could see; to which they
 were the more incited by the example set them by the duke
 of *Lancaster*, and the lord *Henry Percy*, earl-marshal, who
 took *Wickliffe* under their patronage and protection. This
 alarmed the court of *Rome*; and pope *Gregory XI.* sent
 forth

forth several bulls against *Wickliffe*, all dated the twenty-second of *May*, 1377. One was directed to *Simon Sudbury*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *William Courtney*, bishop of *London*, whom he delegated to examine into the matter of the complaint. Another was dispatched to the king himself: And a third to the university of *Oxford*. In the first bull, to the two prelates, he tells them, ‘ he was informed
 ‘ that *Wickliffe* had rashly proceeded to that detestable
 ‘ degree of madness, as not to be afraid to assert, and
 ‘ publicly preach, such propositions, as were erroneous
 ‘ and false, contrary to the faith, and threatening to sub-
 ‘ vert and weaken the estate of the whole church.’ He therefore required them to cause *Wickliffe* to be apprehended and imprisoned by his authority; and to get his confession concerning his propositions and conclusions (of which they deemed *nineteen* to be heretical) which they were to transmit to *Rome*; as also whatever he should say, or write, by way of introduction or proof: But, if *Wickliffe* could not be apprehended, they were directed to publish a citation for his personal appearance before the pope within three months. The pope requested the king to grant his patronage and assistance to the bishops in the prosecution of *Wickliffe*, who had promulgated ‘ opinions full of errors
 ‘ and containing manifest heresy; some of which appeared
 ‘ to be the same with those of *Marsilius* of *Padua*, and
 ‘ *John de Gandun*, condemned by pope *John XXII.*’ In the bull to the university, he says, the heretical pravity of *Wickliffe* tended ‘ to subvert the state of the whole
 ‘ church, and even the civil government:’ And he orders them to deliver *Wickliffe* up in safe custody to the delegates.

King *Edward III.* died the twenty-first of *June* 1377, before the bulls arrived in England. The university treated their bull with contempt, or with very little devotion. They favored and protected *Wickliffe*, who was powerfully supported by the duke of *Lancaster*, and the earl-marshal. These noblemen openly declared, they would not suffer him to be imprisoned: And, indeed, there was yet no act of parliament, which empowered the bishops to imprison heretics without the royal consent. But the delegated prelates, on the nineteenth of *February* 1378, issued out their mandate to the chancellor of the university of *Oxford*, commanding him to cite *Wickliffe* to appear before them in the church of *St. Paul, London*, in thirty days.

Before that day came, the first parliament of king *Richard II.* met at *Westminster*, where it was debated, ‘ whether
 ‘ they

‘ they might lawfully refuse to send the treasure out of the
 ‘ kingdom, after the pope required it on pain of censures,
 ‘ and by virtue of the obedience due to him?’ The reso-
 lution of this doubt was referred, by the king and parlia-
 ment, to doctor *Wickliffe*, who answered it was lawful;
 and undertook to prove it so, by the principles of the law
 of *Christ*.

Wickliffe appeared to the summons of the delegates at
St. Paul’s, where a vast concourse of people assembled to
 hear the examination. The doctor was attended by the
 duke of *Lancaster*, and the lord-marshal *Percy*, who had
 conceived such a very high opinion of his learning and
 integrity, that they assured him he had nothing to fear,
 and that he might make his defence with courage against
 the bishops, who were but mere ignorants in respect to
 him. When *Wickliffe* came near the place of the assembly,
 there was so great a croud of people attending, that it was
 with difficulty he and his two patrons got admittance into
 the church. This manner of their appearance, by in-
 troducing *Wickliffe* as to a triumph, rather than a trial,
 touched the bishop of *London*, who told the earl-marshal,
 ‘ if he had known what masteries they would have kept
 ‘ in the church, he would have stopped them from coming
 ‘ there.’

The archbishop, and the bishop of *London*, held their
 court in the chapel, where several other prelates, and some
 noblemen, attended to hear the trial. *Wickliffe* stood be-
 fore the commissioners, according to custom, to hear what
 was laid to his charge: But the earl-marshal bid him sit
 down, ‘ as he had many things to answer, and had need of
 ‘ a soft seat to rest him upon, during so tedious an attend-
 ‘ ance.’ The bishop of *London* objected to this; which was
 answered by the duke of *Lancaster*, in such warm terms,
 that he told the bishop, ‘ he would bring down the pride
 ‘ of all the prelacy in the kingdom.’ The bishop made a
 spirited reply: And the duke said softly, to one who sat
 by him, that, ‘ rather than take such language from the
 ‘ bishop, he would drag him out of the church by the hair
 ‘ of his head.’ This was over-heard by some of the bye-
 standers, and the assembly was instantly in a violent com-
 motion. The Londoners declared they would oppose any
 insults upon their bishop: The noblemen treated the citi-
 zens with disdain; they carried off *Wickliffe* in safety; and
 the court broke up without entering into an examination
 of the business. But the Londoners plundered the duke of
Lancaster’s palace in the *Savoy*, and the duke turned the
 mayor

mayor and aldermen out of the magistracy, for not restraining the sedition. *Wickliffe* had the happiness to find his doctrine embraced by men of letters, and persons of quality. Some would make us believe, that people were frightened into a feigned approbation of his doctrine: But it may be said, with much greater probability, that fear deterred many from being his followers. The truth is, a man ran no risk in continuing to adhere to the old tenets; whereas it might be dangerous to embrace the new ones.

The duke of *Lancaster* was made president of the council; and the bishops were afraid to offend the avowed protector of *Wickliffe*. However, the two prelates summoned the doctor a second time before them, at *Lambeth*. He appeared; when the Londoners forced themselves into the chapel, to encourage the doctor, and intimidate the delegates. *Wickliffe* seemed willing to give the prelates some sort of satisfaction, and delivered them a paper, wherein he explained the several conclusions with which he was charged. In all appearance, the delegates would not have been contented with so general an explanation; if the king's mother had not obliged them to desist, by sending Sir *Lewis Clifford* to forbid their proceeding to any definitive sentence against *Wickliffe*. The delegates were confounded with this message; and, as their own historian says, 'at the wind of a reed shaken, their speech became 'as soft as oil, to the public loss of their own dignity, 'and the damage of the whole church.' They dropped the thoughts of all censures against *Wickliffe*, and dismissed him, after enjoining him silence; to which injunction he paid no regard, and maintained his opinions in the utmost latitude. This steadiness ill agrees with the explanation of his opinions, which it is pretended he made before the bishops, and is represented as full of equivocations and evasions. The disguising his sentiments is little conformable to his natural temper, which was far enough from being fearful: Though a modern writer takes upon him to say, 'that *Wickliffe* appears to have been a 'man of slender resolution.' He also calls *Wickliffe's* explanations awkward apologies: But he should have remembered they are only such as are given us by *Walsingham*, whom he calls a prejudiced writer.

The duke of *Lancaster* flattered himself with the hopes of being sole regent during the minority of the king his nephew, who was crowned on the thirteenth of July 1377; but the parliament joined some bishops and noblemen with him in the regency. This was a damp upon the *Wickliffites*,

liffites, or Lollards, who were become so numerous, that two men could not be found together, and one not a Lollard. But pope Gregory XI. died the twenty-seventh of March 1378, which was a great advantage to *Wickliffe*; for, by his death, an end was put to the commission of the delegates. Here the historian seems to be mistaken, when he says, the demise of the pope occasioned grief to the faithful. Because *Wickliffe* did not make his appearance before the delegates of *Lambeth*, till almost three months after the death of *Gregory*. A schism ensued, by a double election of two popes; which was a real advantage to the *Wickliffites*; since *Urban VI.* was not acknowledged by the kingdom to be lawful pope till the end of the next year. On this occasion, *Wickliffe* wrote a tract “Of the Schism of the *Roman Pontiffs*.” And soon after published his book “Of the Truth of the Scripture.” In the latter he contended for the necessity of translating the scriptures into the *English* language, and affirmed, that the will of God was evidently revealed in two Testaments; that the law of Christ was sufficient to rule the church; and that any disputation, not originally produced from thence, must be accounted profane.

The fatigues which *Wickliffe* underwent, by attending the delegates, threw him into a dangerous fit of illness, on his return to *Oxford*. The mendicant friars took this advantage, and sent a deputation to him, to inform him of the great injuries he had done them, by his sermons and writings. The deputies told him, he was at the point of death, and exhorted him to revoke whatever he had advanced to their prejudice. *Wickliffe* immediately recovered his spirits, raised himself on his pillow, and replied: “I shall not die, but live to declare the evil deeds of the friars.” The unexpected force of his expression, together with the sternness of his manner, drove away the friars in confusion.

The parliament, which assembled in 1380, was famous for a statute made against the blood-suckers that had long devoured the land; viz. the foreign ecclesiastics, who, by this statute, were rendered incapable of holding any benefices in *England*. At the same time, the parliament petitioned the king to expel all foreign monks, for fear they should instil notions into the people of *England*, repugnant to the good of the state. While *Wickliffe*, in his lectures, sermons, and writings, embraced every opportunity of exposing the Romish court, and detecting the vices of the clergy both religious and secular.

The

The festivals of *Wickliffe*, which are extant, and his sermons on the *Commune Sanctorum*, gave great offence to the monks, who kindled a seditious spirit among the people on account of the poll-tax, which soon broke out into those insurrections headed by *Wat Tyler*, *Ball*, and *Littstar*. These rebels beheaded *Simon Sudbury*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, the lord high-treasurer, and put many others to death. Their design was to murder the king, root out the nobility, and destroy all the clergy except the mendicant friars. Some historians accuse the *Wickliffites* with causing this rebellion; but without any foundation. It is certain, that religion had no hand in these commotions; since the duke of *Lancaster*, the avowed protector of *Wickliffe*, was the principal object of the rebels' fury: Besides, *Wickliffe* then resided on his living of *Lutterworth*, and was never charged with any thing on that account. Nor can we hardly find an instance of insurrections, caused by a religious zeal, appeased in so short a time as this was, which continued only about a month, from the beginning to the end.

The holy scriptures had never been translated into *English*; except by *Richard Fitz-Ralph*, archbishop of *Armagh*, and *John de Trevisa*, a *Cornish-man*, who both lived in the reign of *Edward III*. That task was now undertaken by *Wickliffe*, and other learned associates; which made it necessary for *Wickliffe* to apologize for their undertaking, by shewing that *Bede* translated the bible, and king *Alfred* the psalms, into the *Saxon* tongue. It had long given *Wickliffe* great offence (says Mr. *Gilpin*), and indeed he always considered it as one of the capital errors of popery, that the bible should be locked up from the people. He resolved, therefore, to free it from bondage. The bible, he affirmed, contained the whole of God's will, which, he said, was sufficient to guide his church. These, and other arguments, paved the way for the publication of this great work, and satisfied the minds of all sober men.

This work it may easily be imagined raised the clamors of the clergy. *Knighton*, a canon of *Leicester*, and contemporary with *Wickliffe*, affords a sample of the language of his brethren. 'Christ entrusted his gospel (says he) to the
' clergy, and doctors of the church, to minister it to the
' laity and weaker sort, according to their exigencies and
' several occasions. But this master *John Wickliffe*, by
' translating it, has made it vulgar, and laid it more open
' to the laity, and even to women who can read, than it
' used to be to the most learned of the clergy and those of
the

‘ the best understanding : And thus the gospel-jewel, the
 ‘ evangelical pearl, is thrown about, and *trodden under*
 ‘ *foot of swine.*’ However, some great and learned men
 were of opinion, there was an older translation, which must
 have been *that* above mentioned : Though it has been
 asserted, ‘ the first translation that was ever made of the
 ‘ *whole bible into the English language, as spoke after the*
 ‘ conquest, was made by doctor *Wickliffe.*’ He and his
 assistants were very careful in making their translation, by
 correcting the *Latin* text, collecting the glosses, and con-
 sulting the antient divines ; after which they set about the
 translation, not literally, but as clearly as they could to
 express the sense and meaning of the text according to the
Hebrew, as well as the *Latin* bibles. In this he had much
 assistance from the commentators, and particularly from
 the annotations of *Nicholas Lyra.* They distinguished
 which books had the authority of holy writ, and which
 were apocryphal : They justified their translations ; and
 affirmed, “ that he that kepeth mekeness and charitie, hath
 “ the trewe understandynge and perfection of holi write.”

The zeal of the bishops to suppress *Wickliffe’s* bible
 only made it, as is generally the case, the more sought
 after. They, who were able, among the reformers, pur-
 chased copies ; and they, who were not able, procured at
 least transcripts of particular gospels, or epistles, as their
 inclinations led. In after times, when Lollardy increased,
 and the flames were kindled, it was a common practice,
 to fasten about the neck of the condemned heretic, such
 of these scraps of scripture as were found in his possession,
 which generally shared his fate.

Wickliffe proceeded in detecting the errors and abuses
 that had crept into the church ; and opposed the popish
 doctrine of transubstantiation, which was asserted by *Rad-*
bertus about the year 820. It is confessed by the papists,
 that this man was the first who wrote seriously and copi-
 ously on this subject, ‘ the truth or reality of the body
 ‘ and blood of the eucharist.’ This was contrary to the
 catholic doctrine that had existed near a thousand years
 after *Christ*, and particularly in the church of *England*
 according to the *Saxon* homilies. *Wickliffe* attacked this
 error in his divinity lectures, in 1381, and maintained the
 true and antient notion of the Lord’s supper. On this
 account he published sixteen conclusions, the first of which
 is, that “ the consecrated host, seen upon the altar, is not
 “ *Christ*, or any part of him ; but an effectual sign of him.”
 He offered to enter into a public disputation with any man
 D upon

upon these conclusions; which was prohibited by the religious, who were doctors in divinity; and *Wickliffe* then published his opinion concerning the eucharist.

In his tract *de Blasphemia*, he observed, that the true doctrine of the sacrament of the eucharist was retained in the church a thousand years; even till the loosing of Satan: but this opposition to the doctrine of transubstantiation soon brought *Wickliffe* into more difficulties; for he was attempting to eradicate a notion, that exalted the mystical and hierarchical powers of the clergy. *William de Barton* chancellor of the university, and eleven doctors, of whom eight were of the religious, condemned *Wickliffe's* conclusions as erroneous assertions. *Wickliffe* told the chancellor, that neither he, nor any of his assistants, were able to confute his opinion; and he appealed from their condemnation to the king.

William Courtney, bishop of *London*, succeeded archbishop *Sudbury* in the see of *Canterbury*, and was entirely devoted to the interest of his patron the pope. This prelate had before shewn himself a violent opposer of *Wickliffe*, and now proceeded against him and his followers. But as soon as the parliament met, in 1382, *Wickliffe* presented his appeal to the king, and both houses. *Walsingham* represents this, as done with a design to draw the nobility into erroneous opinions; and that it was disapproved by the duke of *Lancaster*, who ordered *Wickliffe* to speak no more of that matter. Others say, that the duke advised the doctor, not to appeal to the king, but submit to the judgement of his ordinary; upon which, the monks assert, he retracted his doctrine at *Oxford*, in the presence of the archbishop of *Canterbury*, six bishops, and many doctors, surrounded with a great concourse of people. It is true, he openly read a confession in Latin; which was so far from being a retraction, that it seems rather a vindication of his opinion of the sacrament; for it declares his resolution to defend it with his blood, and censures the contrary as heresy. He at large explains his meaning, how he understood the body of *Christ* to be in the eucharist, or sacrament of the altar; and expressly says, “this venerable sacrament is naturally bread and wine; but is sacramentally the body and blood of *Christ*.”

The new archbishop prevailed upon the king to empower the bishops to imprison heretics, without asking the royal permission: But the house of commons complained to the king, that this was a breach of the peoples privileges, and very destructive to liberty; since the clergy thereby be-

came the absolute masters of the honor and fortune of private persons. The king revoked the grant; but the revocation is not to be found on the parliament rolls, where it was expunged by the artifices of the clergy, whose chief view was to punish the Wickliffites.

The king, in 1382, married *Anne of Luxemburg*, sister of the emperor *Wenceslaus*; and this princess became a great patroness of the Wickliffites to the time of her death, which happened in 1394. But archbishop *Courtney* prosecuted *Wickliffe*, and appointed a court of select bishops, doctors and batchelors; which assembled in the monastery of the preaching friars, *London*. This court declared fourteen conclusions of *Wickliffe*, and others, heretical and erroneous.

It is said, *Wickliffe* was cited to appear at this court, but was prevented by his friends, who advised him, that a plot was laid by the prelates to seize him on the road. However, his cause was undertaken by the chancellor of *Oxford*, the two proctors, and the greatest part of the senate, who, in a letter, sealed with the university seal, sent to the court, gave him a great commendation for his learning, piety, and orthodox faith. Doctor *Nicholas Hereford*, Doctor *Philip Rapyngdon*, and *John Ayshton*, M. A. were the principal followers of *Wickliffe*, and appeared at this court, where they defended his doctrine, as also in the convocation. Doctor *Hereford* afterwards took a journey to *Rome*, and offered, in the consistory before the pope, to defend the conclusions lately condemned by the archbishop, who committed him to prison on his return to *England*. It has also been said, that the duke of *Lancaster* deserted the Wickliffites; and that all of them, except *Wickliffe*, submitted to the established church. Archbishop *Courtney* exerted all his own authority, and all his interest at court, to punish the Wickliffites, and suppress their doctrine. He ordered the condemnation of the heretical articles to be published in the university. But *Wickliffe* increased in reputation, and his doctrine gained ground in the affections of the people; while he was obliged to quit his professorship, and retire to *Lutterworth*, where he still vindicated his doctrine, and justified his followers.

Doctor *Wickliffe* was seized with the palsy, in 1382, soon after he left *Oxford*; and the pope then cited him to appear at *Rome*. *Wickliffe* returned a letter of excuse to this citation; wherein he tells the pope, that “*Christ* “taught him more obeisance to God than to man.” His enemies were sensible that his distemper would soon put

a period to his life; and therefore they permitted him to spend the remainder of his days in tranquillity, after he had been many years exposed to continual danger. He was seized with another violent fit of the palsy, on Innocents' day 1384, as he was in his church of *Lutterworth*, when he fell down, never recovered his speech, and soon expired, in the sixtieth year of his age.

The Christian world has not had a greater man in these last ages than doctor *Wickliffe*. He had well studied all the parts of theological learning; and he was endowed, by the grace of God, with an uncommon gravity and sanctity of manners; from whence arose that vehement desire of restoring the primitive purity of the church in that ignorant and degenerate age. His most inveterate adversaries never presumed to call in question his excellent piety, and unblemished life: But many of them have sufficiently acknowledged his great learning, and uncommon abilities. Indeed, in those writings of his which are yet remaining, doctor *Wickliffe* has shewn an extraordinary knowledge of the scriptures; he discovers a sound judgment, argues closely and sharply, breathes a spirit of true piety, and preserves a modesty becoming his character. Nothing is to be found in him either puerile or trifling, a fault very common to the writers of that age; but every thing he says is grave, judicious, and exact. He wanted nothing to render his learning consummate, but his living in a happier age.

The great *Bradwardin* was, in some sense, *Wickliffe's* spiritual father; for it was the perusal of *Bradwardin's* writings, which, next to the holy scriptures, opened that proto-reformer's eyes to discover the genuine doctrine of faith and justification. *Bradwardin* taught him the nature of a true and justifying faith, in opposition to merit-mongers and pardoners, purgatory and pilgrimages.

The censure which *Melancton* passed on *Wickliffe* was made great use of by the papists: And some protestant writers have charged him with maintaining several erroneous opinions; but what *Collier* says of him is beneath contempt. *Guthrie* affects to condemn him for being a predestinarian; but he acknowledges, however, that 'his notions about the fopperies of religion, images, pilgrimages, legends, and the like, are many of them sensible, and most of them allowable: That his opinions with regard to the sacraments of the church, as then believed in *England*, are free, and such as have been adopted by many strict foreign churches: That, however immoderate

derate he was in his principles, he appears to have been a wise and moderate man in his practice; witness his dying in peace upon his own living, amidst an universal combustion which his tenets had raised: And that he must be allowed to have left behind him the dawn of that Reformation which was afterwards compleated.

Mr. Guthrie, observed that *Wickliffe* 'seems to have been a strong predestinarian.' It will presently appear (says a later writer) that he more than seemed to have been such; and that *Luther* and *Calvin* themselves were not stronger predestinarians than *Wickliffe*. I shall open the evidence with two propositions, extracted from his own writings:

1. "The prayer of the *reprobate* prevaieth for no man."
2. "All things that happen, do come *absolutely* of necessity."

The manner in which this great harbinger of the Reformation defended the latter proposition, plainly shews him to have been (notwithstanding *Guthrie's* insinuation to the contrary) a deep and skilfull disputant. "Our Lord," says he, "affirmed that such or such an event should come to pass. It's accomplishment, therefore, was unavoidable. The antecedent is infallible: By parity of argument, the consequent is so too. For the consequent is not in the power of a created being, forasmuch as *Christ* affirmed so many things" [before they were brought to pass]. "Neither did [pre] affirm any thing accidentally. Seeing, then, that his affirmation was, not accidental, but necessary; it follows, that the event affirmed by him, must be necessary likewise. This argument," adds *Wickliffe*, "receives additional strength, by observing, that, in what way soever God may declare his will, by his after-discoveries of it in time; still, his determination, concerning the event, took place before the world was made: *Ergo*, the event will surely follow. The necessity, therefore, of the antecedent, holds no less irrefragably for the necessity of the consequent. And who can either promote or hinder the inference, namely, That this was decreed of God before the formation of the world." I will not undertake (says Mr. *Toplady*) to justify the whole of this paragraph. I can only meet the excellent man half-way. I agree with him, as to the *necessity of events*: But I cannot, as he evidently did, suppose God himself to be a *necessary agent*, in the utmost sense of the term. That God acts in the most exact conformity to his own decrees,
is

is a truth which scripture asserts again and again: But that God was *absolutely* FREE in decreeing, is no less asserted by the inspired writers; who, with one voice, declare the Father's predestination, and subsequent disposal, of all things, to be entirely founded, not on any antecedent necessity, but on the single, sovereign pleasure of his own will.

The quotation however, proves, that *Wickliffe* was an absolute necessitarian. And he improves, with great solidity and acuteness, the topic of *prophecy* into (what it most certainly is) a very strong argument for *predestination*. As the *prophecies* of the old and new testaments are such an evidence of the divine inspiration of the sacred writers, and such a proof of *Christianity*, as all the infidels in the world will never be able to overthrow; so, on the other hand, those same *prophecies* conclude, to the full, as strongly in favor of peremptory *predestination*. For if events were *undecreed*, they would be *unforeknown*: And, if *unforeknown*, they could not be infallibly* *predicted*. To say, that 'events may be *foreknown* without falling under any 'active or permissive decree;' would be saying either *nothing* to the purpose, or *worse* than nothing. For, if God can, with certainty, *foreknow* any event whatever, which he did not *previously determine* to accomplish or permit; and that event, barely *foreknown*, but entirely *undecreed*, be so *certainly future*, as to furnish positive ground for *unerring prophecy*; it would follow, 1. That God is *dependent*, for his knowledge, on the things known; instead of all things being dependent on *him*: And, 2. That there are some extraneous concatenations of causes, *prior* to the will

* It is very observable, that *Wickliffe's* argument for predestination, drawn from the *prophecies* of our Lord, so puzzled the then archbishop of *Armagh* (whose name I know not, nor do I think it worth hunting out) that it furnished his grace with employment for *two years* together, to reconcile the *free-will* of man with the certain completion of *prophecy*. A task, however, which after all his labor, the romish prelate found too hard for him. Yet, his lordship, that he might not be forced to acknowledge predestination and give up *free-will*, thought proper to give up the infallible prescience of *Christ* himself; blasphemously affirming, that 'it was possible for *Christ* to be *mistaken* in his 'prophecies, and to *misinform* his church as to future events.' The passage is so uncommon, that I will give it in the writer's own words. "Dicit adversarius [scil. *Wickliffe*,] quoad istud argumentum, dominum *Armachanum* per duos annos studuisse pro ejus dissolutione, & finaliter nescivit (ut dicit) aliter evadere, nisi CONCEDENDO, quod *Christus errasse potuit, et ecclesiam decepisse*. Quam conclusionem nullus catholicus (ut dicit *Wickliffe*) concederet. Et sic videtur ponere dominum *Armachanum* extra numerum catholicorum." *Guilielm. Wodford contra Wicklesum*. Vide *Fascic. Rer.* vol. 1. p. 256.

and

and knowledge of God, by which his will is regulated, and on which his knowledge is founded.

What he little more than intimates, in the citation given above; he delivered, it seems, more plainly and peremptorily, elsewhere. Among the sixty-two articles, laid to his charge by *Thomas Netter* (commonly called, *Thomas of Walden* who flourished about the year 1409,) and for which, that writer refers to the volume and chapter of *Wickliffe's* works; are these three: 1. That “*all things come to pass by FATAL necessity.*” 2. That “*God could not make the world otherwise than it is made:*” 3. And, that “*God cannot do any thing, which he doth not do.**”

This is *fatalism* with a witness. And I cite these propositions, not to depreciate Dr. *Wickliffe*, whose character I admire and revere, as one of the greatest and best since the apostolic age; nor yet with a view to recommend the propositions themselves: But, simply, to shew, how far this illustrious Reformer ran from the present Arminian system, or rather no-system, of chance and free-will. But, concerning even those of *Wickliffe's* assertions, which were the most rash and unguarded; candor (not to say, justice) obliges me to observe, with *Fuller*, that were all his works extant, ‘we might therein read the *occasion, intention, and connection*, of what he spake: Together with the *limitations, restrictions, distinctions, and qualifications*, of what he maintained. There we might see, what was the over-plus of his passion, and what the just measure of his judgement. Many phrases, heretical in sound, would appear orthodox in sense. Yea, some of his [reputedly] poisonous passages, dressed with due caution, would prove not only *wholesome*, but cordial truths; many of his expressions wanting, not *granum ponderis*, but *granum salis*; no weight of truth, but some grains of discretion†.’

What I shall next add, may be rather styled bold truths, than indiscrete assertions. “He defined the church to consist only of persons PREDESTINATED. And affirmed, That God loved David and Peter as dearly, when they

* *Fuller's church hist.* b. 4. p. 134.—What this valuable historian premises, concerning *Wickliffe*, before he enters on his account of him, deserves to be quoted. ‘I intend,’ says Dr. *Fuller*, ‘neither to deny, dissemble, defend, nor excuse, any of his faults. We have this treasure, saith the apostle, in earthen vessels: And he that shall endeavor to prove a pitcher of clay to be a pot of gold, will take great pains to small purpose. Yea, should I be over-officious to retain myself to plead for *Wickliffe's* faults, that glorious saint would sooner chide than thank me.’

† *Ibid.* p. 135.

“ grievously sinned, as he doth now when they are possessed of glory*.” This latter position might, possibly, have been more unexceptionably expressed; be it, substantially, ever so true.

Wickliffe was found in the article of gratuitous pardon and justification by the alone death and righteousness of *Jesus Christ*. “ The merit of *Christ*,” says he, “ is, of itself, sufficient to redeem every man from hell. It is to be understood of a sufficiency OF ITSELF, without any other concurring cause. All that follow *Christ*, being justified by HIS righteousness, shall be saved, as his offspring.” Dr. *Alix* observes, that *Wickliffe* ‘ rejects the doctrine of the merit of works, and falls upon those who say, that God did not ALL for them, but think that their merits help.’ “ Heal us, Lord, FOR NOUGHT, says *Wickliffe*; that is, for no merit of ours, but for thy mercy.” It has been already observed, and proved, that he had very high notions of that inevitable necessity, by which he supposed every event is governed. Yet, he did not enthusiastically sever the end from the means. Witness his own words: “ Though all future things do happen necessarily, yet God wills that good things happen to his servants through the efficacy of prayer.” Upon the whole, it is no wonder that such a profligate factor for popery and arminianism, as *Peter Heylin*, should (*pro more*) indecently affirm, that “ *Wickliffe*’s field had more tares, than wheat; and his books more heterodoxies, than sound catholic doctrine.” See *Toplady*’s Historic Proof.

Whatever *Walsingham* and *Knighton* have advanced in prejudice of *Wickliffe*, is sufficiently contradicted by letters testimonial given by the university of *Oxford*, in 1406, in his behalf, and sealed with their common seal; wherein it is said, ‘ that his conversation, from his youth to his death, was so praise-worthy and honest in the university, that he never gave any offence, nor was he aspersed with any mark of infamy or sinister suspicion; But that in answering, reading, preaching, and determining, he behaved himself laudably, as a valiant champion of the truth, and catholicly vanquished by sentences of holy scripture all such as by their wilful beggary blasphemed the religion of *Christ*. That this doctor was not convicted of heretical pravity, or by our prelates delivered to be burnt after his burial. For God forbid that our prelates should have condemned a man of so great probity for an heretic, who had not his equal in

* Ibid. p. 134.

‘all the university in his writings of logic, philosophy, divinity, morality, and the speculative sciences.’

As doctor *Wickliffe* was very diligent and frequent in preaching, and reading his divinity lectures; so he wrote and published a great many tracts, of which bishop *Bale* has given a particular account. They are two hundred and fifty-five in all, of which thirty-two are preserved in *Trinity-college*, and *C. C. C. Cambridge*; five in *Trinity-college, Dublin*, four in the *Bodleian* library, two in the *Cotton* library, and three in the king’s library. Most of them are theological; but some are philosophical; forty-eight are in *English*, and the others are in Latin. Besides these, there is a volume of *English* tracts said to be wrote by *Wickliffe*; some of which are yet extant. He is said to have wrote two hundred volumes, besides his translation of the Bible into *English*, a fair copy of which is in *Queen’s-college, Oxford*, and two more in the university library. ‘It was done no doubt in the most expressive language of those days, though sounding uncouth to our ears; the *knave* of *Jesus Christ* for servant; and *Philip* baptized the *gelding*, for eunuch: So much our tongue is improved in our age.’ *

His opinions were misrepresented by his adversaries; but he was protected by many powerful friends, and his doctrine was embraced by the greatest part of the kingdom. King *Edward III.* the princess dowager of *Wales*, the duke of *Lancaster*, the queen of *Richard II.* the earl-marshal, *Geoffry Chaucer* the father of *English* poetry, and lord *Cobham*, who dispersed *Wickliffe*’s works all over *Europe*, were his patrons and friends. From such a noble

* *Romans ix. 11,—21.* Whanne thei weren not ghit borun, neithir hadden doon ony thing of good, eithir of yvel; that the purpos of God schulde dwell bi eleccioun, not of workis, but of God clepying; it was seid to him, that the more schulde serve the lasse: as it is writun, I louyde Jacob, but I hatide Esau. What therefore schulen we seie? wher wickidnesse be anentis God? God forbede. For he seith to Moises, I schal have mercy on whom I have mercy, and I schal ghyve merci on whom I have mercy. Therefore, it is not neither of man willynge, neither rennynge; but of God hauynge mercy. And the scripture seith to *Farao*, For to this thing have I styrrid thee, that I schewe in thee my vertu, and that my name be teeld in al erthe. Therefore, of whom God wole, he hath mercy: And whom he wole, he endureth. Thanne seist thou to me, What is sought ghit, for who withstondith his will? Oo man, what art thou that answerist to God! Wher a maad thing seith to him that made it, What hast thou maad me so? Wher a pottere of cley hath not power to make, of the same gobet, oo vessel into onour, anothir into dispyt!” *Lewis’s Edition of Wickliffe’s Transl. N. Test.—Lond. 1731, Folio.*

fountain the stream ran strong, and was soon increased; for many eminent divines, noblemen, and other persons of distinction, embraced the new doctrine; which constantly gathered ground, notwithstanding it was violently opposed by the priests, who raised bloody persecutions against the Wickliffites in the reigns of *Richard II.* *Henry IV.* and *Henry V.*

The number of those who believed in the doctrine of *Wickliffe* multiplied like suckers growing out of the root of a tree. After a time, the secular and ecclesiastical powers were combined to suppress its growth; and archbishop *Arundel*, in convocation, condemned eighteen of *Wickliffe's* conclusions, twelve years after his death. Acts of parliament were made against the Wickliffites, and many of them were burnt for heretics. The books of *Wickliffe* were prohibited to be read in the universities: And, in 1416, archbishop *Chicheley* set up a kind of inquisition in every parish to discover and punish the Wickliffites; by which cruel and unchristian methods the great and good *John* lord *Cobham* was burnt for heresy; and he was the first nobleman whose blood was shed in *England*, on account of religion, by popish barbarity. *Fox* asserts, in his acts and monuments, that the two famous poets of that time, *Gower* and *Chaucer*, were Wickliffites, and that they covered their opinion very ingeniously, and by way of parable, in their writings; adding likewise, that, by the exposition of those writings by such as had the key, many were brought into *Wickliffe's* persuasion. *Chaucer* died in the year 1400, and *Gower* some time before.

The infallibility of the pope was opposed to the doctrine of *Wickliffe*; and the council of *Constance*, on the fifth of *May*, 1415, condemned forty-five articles, maintained by *Wickliffe*, as heretical, false, and erroneous. His bones were ordered to be dug up, and cast on a dunghill: But this part of the sentence was not executed till 1428, when orders were sent by the pope to the bishop of *Lincoln* to have it strictly performed. The remains of this excellent man were accordingly dug out of the grave, where they had lain undisturbed four and forty years: His bones were burnt, and the ashes cast into an adjoining brook called the *Swift*, which springs near *Knaptost* in *Leicestershire*. Such was the resentment of the *Romish* church on the memory of him, who was called the first *English Lollard*.*

Cambden

* The sect of the *Lollards*, spread throughout *Germany*, had for their leader *Walter Lollard*, who began to disperse his doctrines about the year

Cambden says, this was done forty-one years after his death by warrant of the council of *Sienna*: But this is a mistake, for it was done by the same council of *Constance*, which condemned *John Huss*, and *Jerom* of *Prague*, to be burnt for favoring the doctrine of *Wickliffe*, and maintaining others which were also condemned as heretical. This council sat to give sanction to injustice, and to establish iniquity by law; though it inflicted an irretrievable blow upon the papal authority.

It is said, that the gown which doctor *Wickliffe* wore now covers the communion-table in the church of *Lutterworth*: And, as this eminent man may justly be considered as the author of the Reformation, not only in *England*, but throughout all *Europe*; sure some decent respect should have been paid to his worth, and a public monument erected to his memory.

The *Wickliffites* were oppressed, but could not be extinguished: Persecution served only to establish that faith which became general at the Reformation, about a hundred years after these restraints were moderated. The whole nation then unanimously embraced the doctrine which *Wickliffe* began; and popery was abolished in *England*, that the purity of religion might increase the blessings of liberty.

His works (says *Mr. Gilpin*) are amazingly voluminous; yet he seems not to have engaged in any very large work: His pieces in general may be properly called tracts. Of these many were written in Latin, and many in *English*: Some on school-questions; others on subjects of more general knowledge; but the greatest part on divinity. It may be some amusement to the reader to see what subjects he hath chosen. I shall give a list therefore of the more remarkable of them, from the various collections which have been made. *Trialagorum, lib. 4.*—*De religione perfectorum.*—*De ecclesiâ & membris.*—*De diabolo & membris.*—*De Christo & Antichristo.*—*De Antichristo & membris.*—*Sermones in epistolas.*—*De veritate scripturæ.*—*De statu innocentie.*—*De stipendiis ministrorum.*—

year 1315. He despised the sacraments of the church, and derided her ceremonies and her constitutions; observed not the fasts of the church, nor its abstinencies; acknowledged not the intercession of the saints, and believed that the damned in hell, and even the evil angels, should one day be saved. *Trithemius*, who recites their opinions, says, that *Bohemia* and *Austria* were infected with them; that there were above 24,000 persons in *Germany* which held those errors, and that the greater part defended them with obstinacy, even to death.—*Du Pin.*

De episcoporum erroribus.—*De curatorum erroribus.*—*De perfectione evangelicâ.*—*De officio pastoralis.*—*De simoniâ sacerdotum.*—*Super pœnitentiis injungendis.*—*De seductione simplicium.*—*Dæmonum astus in subvertendâ religione.*—*De pontificum Romanorum schismate.*—*De ultimâ ætate ecclesiæ.*—*Of temptation.*—*The chartre of bevene.*—*Of ghostly battel.*—*Of ghostly and fleshly love.*—*The confession of St. Brandoun.*—*Active life, and contemplative.*—*Virtuous patience.*—*Of pride.*—*Observationes piæ in Christi præcepta.*—*De impedimentis orationis.*—*De cardinalibus virtutibus.*—*De actibus animæ.*—*Expositio orationis dominicæ.*—*De 7 sacramentis.*—*De naturâ fidei.*—*De diversis gradibus charitatis.*—*De defectione à Christo.*—*De veritate & mendacio.*—*De sacerdotio Levitico.*—*De sacerdotio Christi.*—*De dotatione Cæsareâ.*—*De versutiis pseudocleri.*—*De immortalitate animæ.*—*De paupertate Christi.*—*De physicâ naturali.*—*De essentiâ accidentium.*—*De necessitate Inturorum.*—*De temporis quidditate.*—*De temporis ampliacione.*—*De operibus corporalibus.*—*De operibus spiritualibus.*—*De fide & perfidiâ.*—*De sermone Domini in montem.*—*Abstractiones logicales.*—*A short rule of life.*—*The great sentence of the curse expounded.*—*Of good priests.*—*De contrarietate duorum dominorum.*—*Wickliffe's wicket.*—*De ministrorum conjugio.*—*De religiosis privatis.*—*Conciones de morte.*—*De vitâ sacerdotum.*—*De ablatis restituendis.*—*De arte sophisticâ.*—*De fonte errorum.*—*De incarnatione verbi.*—*Super impositis articulis.*—*De humanitate Christi.*—*Contra concilium terræ-motus.*—*De solutione Satanæ.*—*De spiritu quolibet.*—*De Christianorum baptismo.*—*De clavium potestate.*—*De blasphemîâ.*—*De paupertate Christi.*—*De raritate & densitate.*—*De materiâ & formâ.*—*De animâ.*—*Octo beatitudines.*—*De trinitate.*—*Commentarii in psalterium.*—*De abominatione desolationis.*—*De civili dominio.*—*De ecclesiæ dominio.*—*De divino dominio.*—*De origine sectarum.*—*De perfidiâ sectarum.*—*Speculum de antichristo.*—*De virtute orandi.*—*De remissione fraternâ.*—*De censuris ecclesiæ.*—*De charitate fraternâ.*—*De purgatorio piorum.*—*De Phariseo & Publicano.*

His great work, and what offended the church of Rome most highly, was his *Translation of the Scriptures* into English, which effectually exposed the sophistries and superstitions of the time, and led the people from following the traditions of men to the pure will and word of the blessed GOD.

JOHN



Thos Trotter sculp.

JOHN HUSS, D. D.

THE BOHEMIAN REFORMER.

JOHN HUSS, or Hus, whose name in the *Bohemian* language signifies *Goose*, was born at *Hussenitz*, a village in *Bohemia*. His parents were not blest with affluence; but they gave him a liberal education, which he improved by his strong mental abilities, and close application to his studies, in the university of *Prague*, where he commenced batchelor of arts in 1393, master of arts in 1395, and batchelor of divinity in 1408. *Huss* was a man (says *Wharton* in his Appendix to *Cave's Historia Literaria*) even by the confession of his enemies, illustrious and remarkable both for doctrine and piety. It was in this year that *Sbynko*, or *Subinsko Lepus*, the archbishop of that city, issued two orders to suppress the doctrine of the *Wickliffites*, which had been introduced into that kingdom, and was countenanced by the greatest part of the masters and scholars of the university of *Prague*, who, by a providence we shall mention presently, had got the books of *Wickliffe* into their hands.

Queen *Anne*, the wife of king *Richard II.* of *England*, was daughter to the emperor *Charles IV.* and sister to *Wenceslaus*, king of *Bohemia*, and *Sigismund* emperor of *Germany*. She was a princess of great piety, virtue, and knowledge; nor could she endure the implicit and unreasonable service and devotion of the *Roman* church. Her death happened in 1394, and her funeral was attended by all the nobility of *England*. She had patronized *Wickliffe*, who speaks of her in his book "Of the three-fold Bond of Love," in these words: "It is possible that the noble queen of *England*, the sister of *Cæsar*, may have the gospel written in three languages, *Bohemian*, *German*, and *Latin*: "But to hereticate her, on this account, would be *Luciferian* folly." After her death, several of *Wickliffe's* books were carried by her attendants into *Bohemia*, and were the means of promoting the reformation there.

The books of *Wickliffe* were carried into *Bohemia* by *Peter Payne*, an *Englishman*, one of his disciples: But the archbishop of *Prague* ordered the members of that university

university to bring him the books of *Wickliffe*, that those in which any errors were found might be burnt. The tracts of *Wickliffe* had been so carefully preserved, that we are assured a certain bishop wrote out of *England*, that he had got two very large volumes of them, which seemed as large as *St. Austin's* works. Archbishop *Sbynko* burnt two hundred volumes of them, very finely written, and adorned with costly covers and gold bosses; for which reason, they are supposed to belong to the nobility and gentry of *Bohemia*.

Peter Payne was principal of *Edmund-hall*, in the university of *Oxford*, where he was distinguished for his excellent parts, and his opposition to the friars. He was a good disputant, and confuted *Walden*, the *Carmelite*, about the beggary of Christ, pilgrimages, the eucharist, images, and relicts; for which he was obliged to quit the university, and fly into *Bohemia*, where he contracted an acquaintance with *Procopius*, the *Bohemian* General, and published some books written by *Wickliffe*, which were greatly esteemed by *Huss*, *Jerom*, and the greatest part of the university of *Prague*. The students belonging to this learned seminary were offended with their archbishop for suppressing the books of *Wickliffe*, and ordering the *Bohemian* clergy to teach the people, that, after the pronouncement of the words of the holy sacrament, there remained nothing but the body of *Jesus Christ* under the species of bread, and the body of *Jesus Christ* in the cup.

There was also, according to *Fox*, another cause of the dispersion of *Wickliffe's* books in *Bohemia*. A young man of an opulent and noble family of that country came over to *Oxford*, about the year 1389, for the prosecution of his studies, and, upon his return, carried with him several tracts of *Wickliffe*, amongst which were his books, *De realibus universalibus*; *De civili jure & divino*; *De ecclesiâ*; *De quæstionibus variis contra clerum*; &c. With this gentleman *Huss* was well acquainted, and obtained from him the loan of these books, which were the means of bringing light into his mind, and so much impressed him with the conviction of their truth, that he embraced and maintained the doctrines they contained ever afterwards. He used to call *Wickliffe* an angel sent from heaven to enlighten mankind; and would mention among his friends his meeting with that great author's writings, as the most happy circumstance of his life; adding, that it would be his joy in heaven to live for ever with that excellent man.

Huss had distinguished himself in the university, where he taught grammar and philosophy. He had applied him-
self

self to the study of the holy scriptures, and the Latin fathers: He was become an excellent preacher, and was made chaplain in the church of the *Holy Innocents*, called *Bethlehem*, at *Prague*. He was held in great estimation for his exemplary life and conversation as a divine, and for having been one of the principal persons who had obtained a great favor to the university. It should be observed, that this university was founded by the emperor *Charles IV.* who composed it of persons from the four different states of *Bohemia*, *Bavaria*, *Saxony*, and *Poland*. The three latter were almost all *Germans*, and had three voices against one, which made them masters of the professor's chair, governors of the university affairs, and disposers of the best benefices in the city: While the poor *Bohemians*, whose prosperity depended entirely on those advantages, found themselves utterly excluded. This was the state of that seminary, when doctor *Huss*, assisted by others, represented the cause of the complaining *Bohemians* to their king *Wenceslaus V.* *Huss* was successful; he obtained a revocation of the privileges granted to those foreigners, and the *Bohemians* were restored to the principal places in the university; which so greatly offended the foreigners, that they retired to *Misnia*, and carried with them upwards of two thousand scholars. This increased the reputation of doctor *Huss*, and made him of great consideration in the university, when the archbishop published two orders against *Wickliffitism*.

Huss arduously embraced the doctrine of *Wickliffe*, and easily persuaded many members of the university,* that the first of these orders, made by the archbishop, was an infringement of the privileges and liberties of the university, whose members had a right to read all sorts of books, without any molestation. He also observed, that the second order contained a most intolerable error, in seeming to affirm that there was nothing but the body and blood of *Christ* under the species of bread, and in the cup. Upon this foundation, they appealed from those orders to *Gregory XII.* at *Rimini*, who was then acknowledged pope in *Germany*, in opposition to *John XXIII.* at *Rome*, and *Benedict XIII.* at *Avignon*. Their appeal was received, and the pope cited the archbishop to *Rome*. But that prelate informed the pope, that the doctrine of *Wickliffe* began to take root in *Bohemia*: upon which the archbishop

* For Dr. *Huss*'s public defence of *Wickliffe*'s opinions before the university of *Prague*, in the year 1412, see *FOX's Acts*, &c. vol. 1. temp. Ric. 2.

obtained a bull, whereby the pope gave him commission to prevent the publishing of those errors in his province.

This archbishop, we are told, was a most illiterate man. He was so illiterate, that he was called, in ridicule, *Alphabetarius*, the A B C Doctor. Indeed, the clergy of those times were remarkably ignorant, insomuch that many of the prelates could not write, but directed their chaplains to subscribe their very names for them to ecclesiastical deeds and papers.

The archbishop, by virtue of this bull, definitively condemned the writings of *Wickliffe*; proceeded against four doctors, who had not delivered up the copies of that divine; and prohibited them, notwithstanding their privileges, to preach in any congregation. Doctor *Huss*, with some other members of the university, and the patron of the chapel of *Bethlehem*, made their protestations against these proceedings; and, on the twenty-fifth of *June*, A. D. 1410, entered a new appeal from the sentences of the archbishop. This affair was carried before pope *John XXIII.* who granted a commission to cardinal *Colonna* to cite *John Huss* to appear personally at the court of *Rome*, to answer the accusations laid against him of preaching both errors and heresies. Doctor *Huss* desired to be excused a personal appearance, and was so greatly favored in *Bohemia*, that king *Wenceslaus*, the queen, the nobility, and the university, desired the pope to dispense with such an appearance; as also that he would not suffer the kingdom of *Bohemia* to lie under the defamation of being accused of heresy, but permit them to preach the gospel with freedom in their places of worship; and that he would send legates to *Prague* to correct any pretended abuses, the expence of which should be defrayed by the *Bohemians*.

Three proctors appeared for doctor *Huss*, before cardinal *Colonna*, who was elected pope, in 1417, and assumed the name of *Martin V.* The proctors alledged excuses for the absence of *Huss*, and declared they were ready to answer in his behalf: But the cardinal declared *Huss* contumacious, and excommunicated him accordingly.

The proctors appealed to the pope, who appointed the cardinals of *Aquileia*, *Brancas*, *Venice*, and *Zabarella*, to draw up the process of this whole affair. These commissioners not only confirmed the judgement given by cardinal *Colonna*, but carried the matter much further; for they extended the excommunication, which had passed against *Huss*, to all his disciples, and also to his friends. He was declared a promoter of heresy, and an interdict

was

was pronounced against him. From these proceedings he appealed to a future council; and, notwithstanding the decision of the four commissioners, and his being expelled from the church of *Bethlehem*, he retired to *Hussenitz*, the place of his nativity, where he boldly continued to promulgate his doctrine, both from the pulpit, and with the pen.

The letters which he wrote, about this time, are very numerous; and he compiled a treatise wherein he maintained that the reading of the books of heretics cannot be absolutely forbidden. He justified *Wickliffe's* book on the Trinity, and defended the character of that Reformer against a charge brought by one *Stokes*, an *Englishman*, and others, who accused him of disobedience.

It is truth, and not opinion, which can travel through the world without a passport. The glorious cause of truth had been freely espoused by *Huss*, who undauntedly declaimed against the clergy, the cardinals, and even against the pope himself. He wrote a discourse to prove, that the faults and vices of churchmen ought to be reformed from the pulpit. Regarding the blood of *Jesus Christ*, which many pretended to have as a relic, he observed, that *Christ*, being glorified, took up with him all his own blood, and that there is no remain of it on earth; as also that the greatest part of the miracles, which are reported about the apparition of his blood, are the frauds and impostures of avaricious and designing men. He maintained, that *Jesus Christ* might be called bread: But he departed not from the doctrine of the church about the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of *Jesus Christ*. But it is of small importance with the church of *Rome*, in what particular points the judgements of men coincide with its doctrines, if the whole of the corrupt leaven be not implicitly swallowed. And perhaps no points are held more sacred by that heretical communion, than those which yield the most abundant profit to the holy see, falsely so called. To attack the virtue of papal indulgences, is striking at the most fundamental pillar of the popedom; and to deny the stock of merit, laid up in the church for public sale, is a damnable denial of the privileges of the clergy, to whom both heaven and earth belong, under the disposal of their pontiff, *Christ's* pretended vicar here below. These monstrous abuses, some very few of that church have attempted, as far as they dared, to censure.—And with respect to *Rome* itself, a journey thither would probably

effect more to prevent a perversion from protestantism to popery, than a thousand wordy arguments. The wickedness and vices of the clergy, in that city, speak aloud for their principles. The review of these caused *Hilbert*, archbishop of *Tours*, so long ago as the twelfth century, to characterize that famous mart of souls in the following words :

*Urbs fœlix, si vel dominis urbs illa careret,
Vel dominis esset turpe carere fide.*

That is,

‘ Happy city, if it had no masters ; or if it were scandalous for those masters to be unfaithful.’ *Luther* used to say, that ‘ for 1000 florins he would not but have been at *Rome*,’ where he saw so thoroughly into that sink of sin and spiritual abomination, that he abhorred the place and its profession all his life afterwards. He had been sent thither, in the early part of his life, in behalf of his convent. But to proceed :

About the time when *Huss* wrote the above discourses, *Peter* of *Dresden* was obliged to fly from *Saxony*, and seek a refuge at *Prague*, where he encouraged *Jacobelle* of *Misnia*, a priest of the chapel of *St. Michael*, to preach up the establishment of the communion under the species of wine. This opinion was embraced by doctor *Huss* and his followers, who began to preach, that the use of the cup was necessary to the laity, and that the sacrament should be administered under both kinds. Archbishop *Sbynko* was incensed at these proceedings, and applied to king *Wenceslaus* for assistance, which that monarch refused. The prelate then had recourse to *Sigismund*, king of *Hungary*, who promised to come into *Bohemia*, and settle the affairs of the church in that kingdom : But *Sbynko* died in *Hungary*, before *Sigismund* began his journey into *Bohemia*. *Albicus* succeeded to the archiepiscopal see of *Prague*, who permitted the *Hussites* to continue their sermons ; and their doctrine became almost general.

Doctor *Huss* left his retirement, and returned to *Prague*, in 1412, at the time that pope *John XXIII.* published the bulls against *Laodislaus*, king of *Naples*, whereby he ordered a croifade against him, and granted indulgences to all those who undertook this war. These bulls were confuted by doctor *Huss*, who declaimed against croifades and indulgences. The populace became animated by his orations, and declared that pope *John* was antichrist. The magistrates caused some of them to be apprehended, and the

the rest took up arms to set them at liberty; but they were pacified by the magistrates, who gave them solemn assurances that no injury should be done to the prisoners: however, they were privately beheaded in the judgement-hall. The blood which ran out from the place of execution discovered the massacre of these men to the common people, who took arms again, forcibly carried off the bodies of those that were executed, honourably interred them in the church of *Bethlehem*, and revered them as martyrs. ‘*Huss* (says Mr. *Gilpin*) discovered, on this occasion, a true Christian spirit. The late riot had given him great concern; and he had now so much weight with the people, as to restrain them from attempting any farther violence—whereas, at the sound of a bell, he could have been surrounded with thousands, who might have laughed at the police of the city.’

The magistrates of *Prague* found it necessary to publish their reasons for these rigorous proceedings against the Hussites. They assembled many doctors of divinity in their city, who drew up a censure of forty-five of *Wickliffe*’s propositions; and, in their preface to it, they asserted the authority of the pope, the cardinals, and the church of *Rome*; after which, they accused the Hussites of sedition. Doctor *Huss* wrote many books, and other discourses, against the censure of these doctors, whom he called Prætorians. He maintained some of the articles which they condemned; particularly those concerning the liberty of preaching, the power of secular princes over the revenues of ecclesiastics, the voluntary payment of tythes, and the forfeiture that spiritual and temporal lords make of their power, when they live in mortal sin.

Doctor *Huss* wrote a long treatise about the church, to confute the preface of that censure, in which he maintains, that the church consists of those only who are predestinate; that the head and foundation of it is *Jesus Christ*; that the pope and cardinals are only members of it, and the other bishops are successors to the apostles as well as they; that no one is obliged to obey them, if their commands are not agreeable to the law of God; and that an excommunication, which is groundless, hath no effect. He particularly answered the writings of *Stephen Paletz*, *Stanislaus Zuoima*, and eight other doctors. He also caused a writing to be fixed upon the church of *Bethlehem*, charging the clergy with these six errors:

First, Of believing that the priest, by saying mass, becomes the creator of his Creator. Second, Of saying that

we ought to believe in the virgin, in a pope, and in the saints. Third, That the priests can remit the pain and guilt of sin. Fourth, That every one must obey his superiors, whether their commands be just or unjust. Fifth, That every excommunication, just or unjust, binds the excommunicate. The sixth relates to simony.

He also wrote three large volumes against the clergy; the first entitled, “The Anatomy of the Members of Antichrist.” The second, “Of the kingdom of the People, and the Life and Manners of Antichrist.” The third, “Of the Abomination of Priests, and carnal Monks, in the Church of *Jesus Christ*.” Besides these, he wrote several other tracts on Traditions, the Unity of the Church, Evangelical Perfection, the Mystery of Iniquity, and the Discovery of Antichrist. With what surprising spirit, strength of argument, and powerful judgment, he wrote on these subjects, may be well conceived by the amazing influence that his doctrines obtained.

Wickliffe had advanced, ‘That if a bishop or priest should give holy orders, or consecrate the sacrament of the altar, or minister baptism, whiles he is in mortal syn; it were nothing avaylable.’ This was vindicated by doctor *Huss*, who observes, that the article consists of three parts: First, That a civil or temporal lord is no lord, while he is in mortal sin: Secondly, That a prelate is no prelate, while he is in mortal sin: Thirdly, That a bishop is no bishop, while he is in mortal sin. Both these divines taught subjection and obedience to princes: But *Wickliffe* asserted, that ‘If temporal lords do wrongs and extortions to the people, they ben traytors to God and his people, and tyrants of antichrist:’ And *Huss* corroborated this opinion, by shewing that it was held by St. *Austin*.

Though *John Huss*, and *Jerom* of *Prague*, so far agreed with *Wickliffe*, that they opposed the tyranny and corruptions of the pope and his clergy: Yet they were not of the same opinion with relation to the eucharist, for neither of them ever opposed the real presence, and transubstantiation, as *Wickliffe* had done.

The great and noble Sir *John Oldcastle*, lord *Cobham*, had spoken boldly in several parliaments against the corruptions of the Christian faith and worship, and had frequently represented to the kings *Richard II.* *Henry IV.* and *Henry V.* the insufferable abuses committed by the clergy. This nobleman, at the desire of doctor *Huss*, caused all the works of *Wickliffe* to be wrote out, and dis-
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perfed in *Bohemia, France, Spain, Portugal*, and other parts of *Europe*. But that good man, who had wrote feveral difcourfes concerning a reformation of difcipline and manners in the church, was abandoned by *Henry V.* and fell a facrifice to the fury of the priefts. He was condemned, in 1413, by the archbifhop of *Canterbury* as a heretic, and fent to the tower by the king, who had an affection for him. He efaped from his confinement, and avoided the execution of his fentence till 1418, when he was taken, and burnt hanging. His behaviour, at the time of his death, was great and intrepid. He exhorted the people to follow the inftructions, which God had given them in the Scriptures; and admonifhed them to difclaim thofe falfe teachers, whose lives and converfations were fo contrary to *Chrift*, and repugnant to his religion. *England* was filled with fcenes of perfecution, which extended to *Germany* and *Bohemia*, where doctör *Hufs*, and *Jerom* of *Prague*, were marked out to fhare the fate of Sir *John Oldcaftle*.

The council of *Conftance* was afsembled on the fixteenth of *November*, 1414, to determine the difpute between three perfons who contended for the papacy. There were, as attendants and members of this council (fays Mr. *Fox*), ‘ archbifhops and bifhops, 346; abbots and doctörs, 564; ‘ princes, dukes, earls, knights, and fquires, 16,000; ‘ common women, 450; barbers, 600; muficians, cooks, ‘ and jefters, 320.’ *Bartholomew Cofsa* took the name of *John XXIII*: *Angeli de Coraro* called himfelf *Gregory XII*: And *Pedro de Luna* was ftiled *Benedict XIII*: But it was *John*, who fummoned doctör *Hufs* to appear at *Conftance*. The emperor *Sigifmund*, brother and fucceffor to *Wenceslaus*, encouraged *Hufs* to obey the fummons, that he might clear the *Bohemian* nation from the imputation of herefy: And, as an inducement to his compliance, he fent him a paffport, with affurance of fafe conduct, whereby he gave him permission to come freely to the council, and return from it again.

Doctör *Hufs* caufed fome placarts to be fixed upon the gates of the churches in *Prague*, wherein he declared, that he went to the council to anfwer all the accusations that were made againft him; and that he was ready to appear before the archbifhop, to hear his adverfaries, and juftify his innocence. He demanded of the bifhop of *Nazareth*, the inquisitor, whether he had any thing to propofe againft him; from whom he received a favorable testimony: But when he prefented himfelf at the court of
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the archbishop, who had called an assembly against him, he was denied admission. When he departed from *Prague* to repair to *Constance*, he was accompanied by *Wences*, lord of *Dunbar*, and *John*, lord of *Cblum*. *Huss* made public declarations, in all the cities through which he passed, that he was going to vindicate himself at *Constance*, and invited all his adversaries to be present. He arrived at *Constance* on the third of *November*; and soon after *Stephen Paletz* came there as his adversary, who was joined by *Michael* of *Causis*. They declared themselves his accusers, and drew up a memorial against him, which they presented to the pope, and prelates of the council.

Doctor *Huss*, twenty-six days after his arrival, was ordered to appear before the pope and cardinals. It has been observed, that his appearing there was by the emperor's own request: But, notwithstanding the safe conduct, he was no sooner come within the pope's jurisdiction, than he was arrested, and committed prisoner to a chamber in the palace. This violation of common law and justice was taken notice of by a gentleman, who urged the imperial safe conduct: But the pope observed, that he never granted any safe conduct, nor was he bound by that of the emperor. This infamous synod acted up to the spirit of their own favourite maxim, THAT NO FAITH IS TO BE KEPT WITH HERETICS. The emperor arrived at *Constance* on the twenty-third of *December*, and pope *John* fled from thence; as the council had resolved, that he and his two rivals, *Gregory* and *Benedict*, should divest themselves of all authority, that their competition might be fairly decided, schism extirpated, and an universal Reformation of faith and manners enacted, with respect both to the head and members of the church. The fourth session was held on the twenty-sixth of *March* 1415, in which the powers of the council, independent of the pope, were re-acknowledged and ratified. The eighth session was held *May* the fifth, when the doctrines of *Wickliffe* were condemned as heretical in forty-five articles: And in the twelfth session, held the twenty-ninth of *May*, pope *John XXIII.* was deposed.

The fathers of the council were ranged under five nations; *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*, *England*, and *Spain*. All matters, proposed in the council, were to be determined by the plurality of voices in each nation: But the cardinals, and their college, had their votes: And it was agreed, that after the business had passed through the different committees, the full state of the whole should be made to the
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the council, and that their decree should be formed upon the plurality of the votes of the nations. *Robert Halam*, bishop of *Salisbury*, the bishop of *Litchfield*, and the abbot of *St. Mary's*, in *York*, were members of this council for the *English* nation.

The spirit with which the council of *Constance* acted against the popes; their declaring themselves as a council, and all councils to be above popes; the rigour with which they executed their decrees, and the awful form of their proceedings, are commendable. But to what did it all tend? To no generous principle of love to God, or benevolence to man. It only translated the seat of wicked power. The people were as much slaves to ignorance; they were as much tied down to superstition; and they had as little the exercise of any one rational sentiment, as ever. This council acted the part of inquisitors: They ordered the remains of doctor *Wickliffe* to be dug up and burnt, 'with this charitable caution, if they might be discerned from the bodies of other faithful people. His ashes (says *Fuller*) were cast into the *Swift*; that brook conveyed them into the *Avon*; *Avon* into the *Severn*; *Severn* into the narrow seas; they into the main ocean. Thus the ashes of *Wickliffe* are the emblems of his doctrine, which is now dispersed all over the world.'

Doctor *Huss* was allowed to be a man of consequence, and reputation, in *Bohemia*: He was a great and good man, and a noble martyr to Christianity. His accusers presented a petition to the pope, containing the heads of the accusation which they had to propose against him, and requested that commissioners might be named to draw up his process. The patriarch of *Constantinople*, and two bishops, were the persons commissioned, who heard many witnesses against doctor *Huss*, and ordered his books to be examined. While this process was drawing up, pope *John* escaped from the emperor *Sigismund*, who delivered *Huss* into the hands of the bishop of *Constance*, by whose order he was confined in a castle beyond the *Rhine*, near to *Constance*.

The council appointed the cardinals of *Cambray*, and *St. Mark*; the bishop of *Dol*, and the abbot of the *Cistercians*, to finish the process against doctor *Huss*, and renew the condemnations against the doctrine of *Wickliffe*. Soon after, they joined to these commissioners a bishop for each nation, and granted a commission to cite *Jerom* of *Prague*, the companion and friend of doctor *Huss*, who was one of the principal preachers of this new doctrine. The nobility

lity of *Bohemia* and *Poland* presented a petition to the emperor and council, wherein they desired that doctor *Huss* might be set at liberty, as he had been seized and imprisoned contrary to the safe conduct of his imperial majesty. The *Bohemians* presented a writing to the council, wherein they maintained, that the propositions, which the enemies of *Huss* had drawn out of his books, were mutilated, and falsified, on purpose to put him to death: They prayed the council to set him at liberty, that he might be heard for himself, and offered to give bond for his appearance. The patriarch of *Antioch* answered, in the name of the council, that they could not set *Huss* at liberty; but would send for him, and give him a favorable hearing. The lords of *Bohemia* then addressed the emperor, who had sent him there to defend that kingdom from a charge of heresy, and was now one of his persecutors.

The fourteenth session was held on the fifth of *June*, when it was resolved, that, before they sent for doctor *Huss*, the articles drawn out of his books should be examined, and condemned, even without hearing his vindication. This was so strongly opposed by the nobles of *Bohemia*, that the emperor told the council, they must hear *Huss*, before they condemned him; upon which they sent for him, ordered him to acknowledge his books, and read the first articles of his accusation. These were about thirty,* drawn from the writings of *Wickliffe*, and some of them he freely admitted; such as, ‘ that there was one, only, ‘ universal church, which is a collection of all the elect. ‘ That the apostle *Paul* was never a member of the devil, ‘ which he proved from the testimony of *St. Augustin*. ‘ That a predestinate person always continues a member ‘ of the church; because, though he may sometimes fall ‘ from that grace which is adventitious to him, yet never ‘ from the grace of predestination. That no member of ‘ the true church apostatizes from it, because the grace ‘ of God, which establishes him, never fails. That *St. Peter* never was, nor is, the head of the catholic church, ‘ because this is the peculiar prerogative of *Christ*. That ‘ the condemnation of the forty-five articles of *Wickliffe*

* The Reader, who is desirous more particularly to examine the acts and proceedings against this good man, together with some of his letters to friends, may find them at large in the first volume of *Fox's Acts and Monuments*. And for a more minute account, he may peruse an excellent history of *Huss*, *Jerom*, *Zisca*, &c. written in a very masterly manner by the Rev. Mr. *Gilpin*.

was irrational and unjust. That there was no colour of reason, that there should be a spiritual head always visibly conversant in the church, and governing it.

Mr. Toplady, in his very able performance, entitled, *Historic Proof of the Doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England*, states the following articles for which, among others, this excellent man was put to death. "There is but one holy, universal, or catholic church, which is the universal company of ALL the PREDESTINATE. I do confess," said Huss, "that this proposition is mine; and [it] is confirmed by St. Augustin upon St. John."

"St. Paul was NEVER any member of the devil, albeit that he committed and did certain acts like unto the acts of the malignant church" [i. e. St. Paul prior to his conversion, acted like a reprobate, though he was, secretly, and in reality, one of God's elect]. "And likewise St. Peter, who fell into an horrible sin of perjury, and denial of his Master; it was by the PERMISSION of God, that he might the more firmly and steadfastly rise again and be confirmed." To this charge, Huss replied, "I answer, according to St. Austin, that it is expedient that the elect and predestinate should sin and offend*."

"No part or member of the church doth depart, or fall away, at any time, from the body: Forsomuch as the charity of PREDESTINATION, which is the bond and chain of the same, doth never fall." Huss answers; "This proposition is thus placed in my book: As the reprobate of the church procede out of the same, and yet are not as parts or members of the same; forsomuch as no part or member of the same doth FINALLY fall away: Because that the charity of PREDESTINATION, which is the bond and chain of the same, doth never fall away. This is proved by 1 Cor. xiii. and Rom. viii. All things turn to good, to them that love God: Also, I am certain that neither death nor life can separate us from the charity and love of God, as it is more at large in the book."

Another article, objected against him, was, his being of opinion that "The PREDESTINATE, although he be not in the state of grace according to the present justice, yet is ALWAYS a member of the universal church." He answers: "Thus it is in the book, about the beginning of

* Let not the reader imagine (says Mr. Toplady) that I approve of the unguarded manner, in which Mr. Huss here expresses himself. I only give his answer, faithfully, as I find it. His meaning I doubt not, was this: That, by the incomprehensible alchymy of God's infinite wisdom, even moral evil itself shall be finally over-ruled to good.

“ the fifth chapter, where it is declared, that *There be*
 “ *divers manners or sorts of being in the church: For there*
 “ *are some in the church, according to the mis-shapen*
 “ *faith; and other some according to PREDESTINATION:*
 “ *As Christians predestinate, now in sin, SHALL RETURN*
 “ *AGAIN unto grace.*” The good man added: “ *Predesti-*
 “ *nation doth make a man member of the universal*
 “ *church; the which [i. e. Predestination] is a preparation*
 “ *of GRACE for the present, and of GLORY to come: And*
 “ *not any degree of*” [outward] “ *dignity, neither elec-*
 “ *tion of man*” [or, one man’s designation of another to

some office or station], “ *neither any sensible sign*” [i. e. *Predestination* does not barely extend to the outward signs, or means of grace: But includes something more and higher]: “ *For the traytor Judas Iscariot, notwithstanding*
 “ *Christ’s election*” [or appointment of him to the apostleship], “ *and the temporal graces which were given*
 “ *him for his office of apostleship, and that he was reputed*
 “ *and counted of men a true apostle of Jesus Christ; yet*
 “ *was he no true disciple, but a Wolf covered in a sheep’s*
 “ *skin, as St. Augustin saith.*”

“ *A REPROBATE man is never a member of the holy church.*
 “ —I answer, It is in my book, with sufficient long pro-
 “ bation out of the xxvith *Psalme*, and out of the vth
 “ chapter to the *Ephesians*: And also by St. Bernard’s
 “ saying, *The church of Jesus Christ is MORE plainly and*
 “ *evidently HIS BODY, than the body which he delivered for*
 “ *us to death.* I have also written, in the fifth chapter of
 “ my book, that *the holy church*” [i. e. the outward, visible
 “ church of professing Christians, here on earth] “ *is the*
 “ *barn of the Lord, in which are both good and evil, pre-*
 “ *destinate and reprobate: The good being as the good corn,*
 “ *or grain; and the evil, as the chaff.* And thereunto is
 “ added the exposition of St. *Austin.*”

“ *Judas was NEVER a true disciple of Jesus Christ.—I*
 “ answer, and I do confess the same.—*They came out from*
 “ *amongst us, but they were none of us.—He knew, from the*
 “ *beginning, who they were that believed not, and should betray*
 “ *him. And therefore I say unto you, that none COMETH*
 “ *unto me, except it be GIVEN him of my Father.*”

Such were some of the allegations, brought against this holy man by the council of *Constance*; and such were his answers, when he stood on his public trial, as a lilly among thorns, or a sheep in the midst of wolves. How easy is it for a man to write in defence of these inestimable truths, which (through the goodness of divine providence) have

have now, in *our* happy land, the sanction of national establishment! But with what invincible strength of grace was this adamantine saint endued, who bore his explicit, unshaken testimony to the faith, in the presence and hearing of its worst foes, armed with all the terrific powers of this world!

These are doctrines which, even in the purest ages of the church, have received countenance, and *Huss* boldly acknowledged them. But one circumstance bore more hard against him, which was, wishing his soul to be with the happy spirit of *Wickliffe*. Doctor *Huss* had too generous, too open, a nature, to deny what he thought; nor did he imagine that life was worthy prevarication. He freely confessed, he was so charmed with *Wickliffe's* books, that he wished his spirit might enjoy the same fate with his hereafter. A great many other false and frivolous objections were raised against him, which he refuted with a manly eloquence; and recommending himself, and his cause, to God, he was carried off.

He was no sooner gone, than the emperor, whose subject he was, and who shewed a peculiar zeal in his fate, rose, and told the assembly, ‘That, in his opinion, every tenet he had then held, deserved death. That if he did not abjure, he ought to be burnt: And that all his followers, especially *Jerom* of *Prague*, should be exemplarily punished.’ But we are told, that the emperor and the cardinal of *Chambre*, exhorted doctor *Huss* to submit to the decision of the council. The next day, he was brought again before the assembly, where eighty-nine articles were read to him, which were said to be drawn out of his books, and he was advised to abjure them all: But he replied, that there were many of those propositions which he had never maintained, and he was ready to explain his opinion regarding the others. After many disputes, he was sent back to prison; and a resolution was then taken to burn him as a heretic, if he would not retract.

The emperor, on the tenth of *June*, sent four bishops, and two lords, to the prison, to prevail on *Huss* to make a recantation. But that pious divine, with truly Christian simplicity, called the great God to witness, with tears in his eyes, that he was not conscious of having preached, or written, any thing against the truth of God, or the faith of his orthodox church. The deputies then represented the great wisdom and authority of the council. “Let them, said *Huss*, send the meanest person that can con-
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“vince me, by arguments, from the word of God, and
 “I will submit my judgement to him.” This Christian
 and pious answer had no effect; because he would not
 take the authority and learning of the council upon trust,
 without the least shadow of an argument offered; and the
 deputies departed in high admiration of his obstinacy!

While this good confessor was in bonds, he wrote letters to incite his countrymen to persevere in the doctrines he had taught; and expressed his own firm resolution of never departing from them while he had life.

Doctor *Huss*, on the seventh of *July*, was conducted to the place where the fifteenth session of the council was held. He was required to abjure, which he refused: And the bishop of *Londi*, in a bloody, persecuting sermon, about the destruction of heretics, pronounced the prologue of his fate, by exhorting the emperor, who seemed ready enough of himself, to exterminate the growing heresy, *that* (as he was pleased to pervert the scripture) *the body of sin might be destroyed*. He told *Sigismund*, ‘that he
 ‘ought to destroy all errors and heresies, and especially
 ‘the obstinate heretic *Huss* before him, since by his
 ‘wickedness and mischief, many places of the world were
 ‘infected with most pestilent and heretical poison, and,
 ‘by his means and occasion, almost utterly subverted and
 ‘destroyed. And that then the emperor’s praises would
 ‘be celebrated for evermore, for having overthrown such
 ‘and so great enemies of the faith.’ A most honorable testimony for doctor *Huss* from the traducing mouth of a virulent adversary! In fine, the proctor of the council demanded that the process against *Huss* should be finished; the condemned articles of *Wickliffe* were read, and the thirty articles alledged against *Huss*, who explained some, and defended others. Many other articles of accusation were also read, which were proved by witnesses against him. His fate was determined, his vindication disregarded, and judgement was pronounced. His books were thereby condemned, and he was declared a manifest heretic, convicted of having taught many heresies and pernicious errors; of having despised the keys of the church, and ecclesiastical censures; of having seduced and given scandal to the faithful by his obstinacy; and of having rashly appealed to the tribunal of *Christ*: The council, therefore, censured him for being obstinate and incorrigible, and ordained, ‘That he should be degraded from the priest-
 ‘hood, his books publicly burnt, and himself delivered
 ‘to the secular power.’

Doctor

Doctor *Huss* heard this sentence without the least emotion. He kneeled down, with his eyes lifted towards heaven, and said, with all the spirit of primitive martyrdom, "May thy infinite mercy, O my God, pardon this
 " injustice of my enemies. Thou knowest the injustice
 " of their accusations: How deformed with crimes I have
 " been represented; how I have been oppressed by worth-
 " less witnesses, and an unjust condemnation: Yet, O
 " my God, let that mercy of thine, which no tongue can
 " express, prevail with thee not to avenge my wrongs."

These excellent sentences were so many expressions of treason against the trade of priestcraft, and considered as such by the narrow-minded assistants. The bishops appointed by the council stripped him of his priestly garments, degraded him from his priestly function and university degrees, and put a mitre of paper on his head, on which devils were painted, with this inscription, in great letters, 'A RING-LEADER OF HERETICS.' Our heroic martyr received this mock-mitre, smiling, and said, "It was less
 " painful than a crown of thorns." A serenity, a joy, a composure, appeared in his looks, which indicated that his soul had cut off many stages of tedious journey, in her way to the point of eternal joy and everlasting peace.

The bishops delivered *Huss* to the emperor, who put him into the hands of the duke of *Bavaria*. His books were burnt at the gate of the church, and he was led to the suburbs to be burnt alive. Prior to his execution, Mr. *Huss* made his solemn *appeal* to God, from the judgement of the pope and council. In this *appeal* (the whole of which would well repay the reader's perusal,) he again repeats his assured faith in the doctrine of *election*; where he celebrates the willingness with which *Christ* vouchsafed, "By the most bitter and ignominious death, to REDEEM
 " the CHILDREN OF GOD, CHOSEN BEFORE THE
 " FOUNDATION OF THE WORLD, from everlasting dam-
 " nation." When he came to the place of execution, he fell on his knees, sang portions of psalms, looked steadfastly towards heaven, and repeated these words: "Into
 " thy hands, O Lord, do I commit my spirit; thou hast
 " redeemed me, O most good and faithful God. Lord
 " *Jesus Christ*, assist and help me, that with a firm and
 " patient mind, by thy most powerful grace, I may un-
 " dergo this most cruel and ignominious death, to which
 " I am condemned for preaching the truth of thy most
 " holy gospel." When the chain was put about him at the stake, he said, with a smiling countenance, "My
 " Lord

“ Lord *Jesus Christ* was bound with a harder chain than
 “ this for my sake ; and why should I be ashamed of this
 “ old rusty one ?” When the faggots were piled up to
 his very neck, the duke of *Bavaria* was officious enough
 to desire him to abjure. “ No, says *Huss*, I never preached
 “ any doctrine of an evil tendency ; and what I taught
 “ with my lips, I now seal with my blood.” He said to
 the executioner, “ Are you going to burn a *goose* ? In
 “ one century, you will have a *swan* you can neither
 “ roast nor boil.” If he was prophetic, he must have
 meant *Luther*, who had a swan for his arms. The flames
 were then applied to the faggots, when the martyr sang
 a hymn with so loud and chearful a voice, that he was
 heard through all the cracklings of the combustibles, and
 the noise of the multitude. At last his voice was cut
 short, after he had uttered, “ *Jesus Christ*, thou Son of
 “ the living GOD, have mercy upon me ;” and he was
 consumed in a most miserable manner. The duke of
Bavaria ordered the executioner to throw all the martyr’s
 cloaths into the flames : After which, his ashes were care-
 fully collected, and cast into the *Rhine*.

While doctor *Huss* was in prison, he wrote some treatises about the commands of God, of the Lord’s prayer, of mortal sin, of marriage, of the knowledge and love of God, of the three enemies of man, and the seven mortal sins, of repentance, and of the sacrament of the body and blood of *Christ*. He also drew up a little piece about the communion in both kinds. He wrote an answer to the propositions drawn out of his books, which had been communicated to him : And he prepared three discourses ; one about the sufficiency of the law of *Jesus Christ* ; another to explain his faith about the last articles of the creed, and the third about peace. All these treatises were printed in one volume at *Nuremburg* in 1558 : As also a second volume containing a harmony of the four evangelists, with moral notes ; many sermons ; a commentary upon the first seven chapters of the first epistle to the *Corinthians* ; commentaries upon the seven canonical epistles, the sixth psalm, and those following to the cxixth ; and several other pieces, which, if they were not altogether correct, must be imputed to the reigning darkness of the times, and to his incessant conflicts with the sons of *Rome*.

This great martyr, as well as his friend *Jerom*, may be considered, in some measure, as dying for the principles of *Wickliffe*, or rather the principles of the gospel, transmitted to them from *England*. To preserve the memory of
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this excellent man, the seventh of *July* was, for many years, held sacred among the *Bohemians*. In some places large fires were lighted in the evening of that day upon the mountains, to preserve the memory of his sufferings; round which the country-people would assemble, and sing hymns.

As a specimen of the composed spirit of this excellent martyr, in the midst of this virulent persecution, we will subjoin one of his letters, which he wrote from the prison, to his friends in *Bohemia*.

“My dear friends, let me take this last opportunity of
 “exhorting you to trust in nothing here; but to give
 “yourselves up entirely to the service of GOD. Well
 “am I authorized to warn you not to trust in princes,
 “nor in any child of man, for there is no help in them.
 “GOD only remaineth steadfast. What HE promiseth,
 “he will undoubtedly perform. As to myself, on his
 “gracious promise I rest. Having endeavoured to be his
 “faithful servant, I fear not being deserted by him.
 “Where I am, says the gracious Promiser, there shall my
 “servant be.—May the GOD of heaven preserve you!
 “—This is probably the last letter I shall be enabled to
 “write. I have reason to believe, I shall be called upon
 “to-morrow to answer with my life.—*Sigismund* hath, in
 “all things, acted deceitfully. I pray, GOD forgive
 “him! You have heard in what severe language he hath
 “spoken of me.”

There are several other letters in Fox's acts and monuments, in old *English*; to which we must refer our Readers. They all breathe the same spirit of piety, firmness, and inward consolation.

JEROM OF PRAGUE.

THE LAY-REFORMER.

GREAT were the commotions, which prevailed in the world, about the time of the promulgation of the gospel in *Germany*. The truth had every kind of prejudice to encounter; nor did the kingdom of darkness yield to its power without violent struggles and disorder. And all protestants, who are protestants indeed, and who
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know the grace of GOD and his gospel, have reason to bless that wonderful providence, by which many of the *European* nations were delivered from the grossest darkness and ignorance, and by which indeed even popish nations have been led to the revival of knowledge, and to disdain in part the blind submission, they once universally shewed, to the corrupted see of *Rome*.

Jerom of *Prague* was the companion and co-martyr of doctor *Hufs*, to whom he was inferior in experience, age, and authority; but he was esteemed his superior in all polite and liberal endowments. He was born at *Prague*, and educated in that university, where he was admitted master of arts; and promoted the doctrine of *Wickliffe* in conjunction with *Hufs*. He travelled into most of the states of *Europe*, and was every where esteemed for his happy elocution, which gave him great advantages in the schools, where he promoted what *Hufs* had advanced. The universities of *Paris*, *Cologne*, and *Heidelberg*, conferred the degree of master of arts upon him. He is said also to have had the degree of master of arts conferred upon him at *Oxford*; but it is certain, that he commenced doctor in divinity, in the year 1396. He began to publish the same doctrine with doctor *Hufs* in 1408, and it is averred, that he had a greater share of learning and subtilty than his excellent friend. However that may be, the council of *Constance* kept a very watchful eye upon him, and esteemed him to be a very dangerous person to the interests of *Rome*. While he was in *England*, and most probably when at *Oxford*, he copied out the books of *Wickliffe*, and returned with them to *Prague*. By that great man's evangelical writings, it pleased GOD to work upon him, and upon his friend doctor *Hufs*, to the acknowledgement of his truth. *England*, therefore (as we observed in the life of *Wickliffe*) may claim the honor of beginning the Reformation; and may it be the last country upon earth to lose it! At present, it must be owned, such is the national corruption of manners, the prevailing luxury of the times, and the practical atheism and irreligion of many among us, that it will be through GOD's mercy, if we are not consumed by his judgments, and given up for a prey to our enemies.

Jerom was cited before the council of *Constance*, on the seventeenth of *April*, 1415, when his friend doctor *Hufs* was confined in a castle near that city. He arrived at *Constance* in the same month, when he was informed how his friend had been treated, and that he also would be seized:

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Upon which, *Jerom* retired to *Iberlingen*, an imperial city, from whence he wrote to the emperor and council to desire a safe conduct; and one was presented to him, which gave him permission to come, but not to return. He then caused a protestation to be fixed up, wherein he declared, that he would appear before the council to justify himself, if a proper safe conduct was granted: And he demanded of the *Bohemian* lords an act of his declaration. After this, he began his journey to return into *Bohemia*: But he was stopt at *Hirschau*, by the officers of *John* the son of prince *Clement*, count *Palatine*, who had the government of *Saltzbach*: And *Lewis*, another son of the same prince, carried *Jerom* to *Constance*, where he was to answer the same accusation as had been exhibited against doctor *Huss*, who was martyred on the seventh of *July*.

Jerom had many friends at the council, who bore him great affection, and tried all they could to bring him to a recantation; as they were convinced he had no prospect of escaping if he took his trial, because the emperor had declared that he should be exemplarily punished. His friends prevailed, and he was brought before the council, in the nineteenth session, held the twenty-third of *September*, when he read a public abjuration of his doctrines, thinking thereby to elude his prosecution.

In this retractation, he is said to have anathematized the doctrines of *Wickliffe* and *Huss*; to have protested, that he was of the same sentiments with the *Romish* church; and to have professed, that he would follow its doctrine, particularly about the keys, the sacraments, the orders, the offices, and the censures of the apostolic see; as also concerning indulgences, the relics of saints, ecclesiastical liberty, and the ceremonies. It is farther said, that he thereby approved the condemnation of the articles which the council prescribed; acknowledged they were faithfully extracted from the works of *Huss*; and that he was justly condemned. But he was carried back to prison, notwithstanding this recantation, and was accused of insincerity. New articles of accusation were brought against him, and it was alledged, that it would be dangerous to set him at liberty. He immediately repented of his abjuration, and of condemning *Huss*. He desired audience of the council, and was twice heard in the general congregations held in *May*, 1416, when one hundred and seven heads of accusation were proposed against him, which he endeavored to answer, and made an oration, wherein he declared that he repented of his recantation, and of having approved

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the condemnation of *Wickliffe* and *Huss*. *Dupin* also says, that the fathers of the council were fully satisfied of his relapse, and sent for him to the twenty-first session, held the thirtieth of *May*. The bishop of *Londi*, who preached the sermon previous to the condemnation of *Huss*, now preached another to usher in the fate of *Jerom*. When the sermon was ended, the martyr, unjustly stigmatized a heretic, declared he still persisted in his last retractation, and told them, that they would condemn him wickedly and unjustly. But (says he) after my death, I will leave a sting in your conscience and a nail in your hearts, ET CITO VOS OMNES, UT RESPONDEATIS MIHI CORAM ALTISSIMO ET JUSTISSIMO JUDICE, POST CENTUM ANNOS: That is, "I cite you all to answer to me before
 " the most high and the most just Judge, within a hundred years." He was then condemned as a heretic relapsed, delivered over to the secular power, and led away to death, which he endured with great constancy.

Such is the account given by the popish writers: But the *Florentine* secretary, *Poggius*, who was a spectator of all he relates, and gave a full account of the matter to *Aretin* the pope's secretary, is most circumstantial and impartial in his relation of this affair. He tells us, (as we shall see below) that as *Jerom* was returning to *Bohemia*, he was brought back to *Constance* by the duke of *Bavaria*; and, the next day, carried as a prisoner before the council, where it soon appeared, that his abjuration had slipped from him in an unguarded hour through the weakness of the flesh. *Poggius*, who was one of the best judges of the age, asserts, that *Jerom* spoke with such a quickness of sentiment, such a dignity of expression, and such strength of argument, that he seemed to equal the noblest of the antient compositions. When some members of the council called out to him to put in his answers, he told the assembly, that the objections against him were the effects of prepossession and prejudice: That, therefore, in justice, they should permit him to lay open the whole tenor of his doctrine, life, and conversation, whereby he could indubitably weaken and invalidate all the prepossessions, which ignorant zeal and open malice had rendered too strong against him in his unhappy condition. He was told, he could not expect such indulgence. This exhausted his patience, and he exclaimed to the whole assembly in these terms. "What barbarity
 " is this! For three hundred and forty days have I been
 " through all the variety of prisons. There is not a
 " misery

" misery, there is not a want, that I have not experienced.
 " To my enemies you have allowed the fullest scope of
 " accusation: To me you deny the least opportunity of
 " defence. Not an hour will you indulge me in pre-
 " paring my trial. You have swallowed the blackest
 " calumnies against me. You have represented me as a
 " heretic, without knowing what is my doctrine; as an
 " enemy to the faith, before you knew what faith I pro-
 " fessed; and as a persecutor of priests, before you could
 " have any opportunity of understanding my sentiments
 " on that head. You are a general council: In you
 " center all that this world can communicate of gravity,
 " wisdom, and sanctity: But still you are men, and men
 " are seducible by appearances. The higher your cha-
 " racter is for wisdom, the greater ought your care to be
 " not to deviate into folly. The cause I now plead is
 " not my own cause: It is the cause of men; it is the
 " cause of Christians; it is the cause which is to affect
 " the rights of posterity, however the experiment is to
 " be made in my person." The bigotted part of the
 assembly considered this speech as poison to the ears of
 the auditors: But many of the members were men of
 taste and learning, who were favorably inclined to the
 prisoner, and pitied him in their hearts, though a re-
 straint was on their tongues.

Jerom was obliged to give way to their authority, and
 to hear his charge read, which was reduced under these
 heads; ' That he was a derider of the papal dignity, an
 ' opposer of the pope, an enemy of the cardinals, a per-
 ' secutor of the prelates, and a hater of the Christian
 ' religion.' He answered this charge with an amazing
 force of elocution, and strength of argument. " Now,
 " says he, wretch that I am! whither shall I turn me?
 " To my accusers! My accusers are as deaf as adders.
 " To you my judges! You are prepossessed by the arts
 " of my accusers." We are told by *Poggius*, that *Jerom*
 in all he spoke, said nothing unbecoming a great and wise
 man: And he candidly asserts, that, if what *Jerom* said
 was true, he was not only free from capital guilt, but
 from the smallest blame.

The trial of *Jerom* was brought on the third day after
 his accusation, and witnesses were examined in support of
 the charge. The prisoner was prepared for his defence;
 which will appear almost incredible, when it is considered
 that he had been three hundred and forty days shut up in
 a dark offensive dungeon, deprived of day-light, food, and
 sleep.

sleep. His spirit soared above these disadvantages, under which a man less enabled, must have sunk; nor was he more at a loss for quotations from fathers and antient authors, than if he had been furnished with the finest library in *Europe*.

Many of the zealots and bigots of the assembly were against his being heard, as they knew what effect eloquence is apt to have on the minds even of the most prejudiced. However, it was carried by the majority that he should have liberty to proceed in his defence, which he began in such an exalted strain of moving elocution, that the heart of obdurate zeal was seen to melt, and the mind of superstition seemed to admit a ray of conviction. He made an admirable distinction between evidence as resting on facts, and as supported by malice and calumny. He laid before the assembly the whole tenor of his life and conduct, which he owned had been always open and unreserved. He justly observed, that the greatest and most holy men have been known to differ in points of speculation, with a view to distinguish truth, not to keep it concealed. And he then expressed a noble contempt of all his enemies, who would have induced him to retract the cause of religion and truth. He next entered on a high encomium upon doctor *John Huss*; and declared he was ready to follow him in the glorious tract of martyrdom. He was (said *Jerom*) a good, just and holy man, and very unworthy of the death which he suffered. He knew him, from his youth upward, to be neither fornicator, drunkard, nor addicted to any kind of vice; on the contrary, he was a chaste and sober man, and a faithful and true preacher of the blessed gospel. That, with respect to himself, whatsoever things *Wickliffe* and *Huss* had written, and especially against the pomp and pride of the clergy, he would affirm to his latest breath, that they were holy and blessed men, and that nothing so much troubled his conscience as the sin, which he committed by his recantation in speaking against them, which recantation he utterly abjured and abhorred from the bottom of his heart. He added, that he could not help saying, with his dying breath, it was certainly impious that the patrimony of the church, which was originally intended for the purpose of charity and universal benevolence, should be prostituted to the lust of the flesh, and the pride of the eye, in whores, feasts, foppish vestments, and other reproaches to the name and profession of Christianity.

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The prisoner received many interruptions from the impertinence of some, and the inveteracy of others: But he answered every one with so much readiness, and vivacity of thought, that, at last, they were ashamed, and he was permitted to finish his defence. His voice was sweet, clear, and sonorous; pliable to captivate every passion, and able to conciliate every affection, which he knew how to do with wonderful address. He was admired by his enemies, and compassionated by his friends: But he received the same sentence that had been passed upon his martyred friend; and, *Poggius* says, the assembly condemned him with great reluctance.

The same author tells us, that *Jerom* had two days allowed for his recantation; and that the cardinal of *Florence* used all the arguments he could for that effect, which were ineffectual. The Reformer was resolved to seal his doctrine with his blood; he could not be seduced to make another retractation; and he suffered death with all the magnanimity of *Huss*. He embraced the stake to which he was fastened, with the peculiar malice of wet cords. When the executioner went behind him to set fire to the pile, "Come here, said the martyr, and kindle it before my eyes; for if I dreaded such a sight, I should never have come to this place, when I had a free opportunity to escape." The fire was kindled, and he then sung a hymn, which was soon finished by the incircling flames.

He cried out several times, *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum*; i. e. "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." His last words, which could be heard were; "O Lord GOD, the Father Almighty, have mercy upon me, and forgive all my sins: Thou knowest, with what sincerity I have loved thy truth." He appeared to endure much by the fire for the space of a quarter of an hour, all the while seeming, by the motion of his lips, to pray within himself. After he was dead, his bed, cloaths, and the other things he had with him in prison, were thrown into the fire and consumed with him. Finally, the ashes were gathered together, and cast into the river *Rhine*, which runs close by the city.

We cannot conclude this account of *Jerom*, without annexing at large the most honorable testimony given of him by *Poggius* of *Florence*, an adversary and the secretary of two popes, and consequently not a more favorable testimony than truth itself compelled. We copy it from Mr. *Gilpin's* valuable and elegant history of *Jerom*; whose life
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of *Zisca*, the great General of the *Bohemians*, is an admirable performance.

A Letter from *Poggius* of *Florence* to *Leonard Aretin*.

‘ In the midst of a short excursion into the country, I wrote to our common friend ; from whom, I doubt not, you have had an account of me.

‘ Since my return to *Constance*, my attention hath been wholly engaged by *Jerom*, the *Bohemian* heretic, as he is called. The eloquence, and learning, which this person hath employed in his own defence are so extraordinary, that I cannot forbear giving you a short account of him.

‘ To confess the truth, I never knew the art of speaking carried so near the model of antient eloquence. It was indeed amazing to hear with what force of expression, with what fluency of language, and with what excellent reasoning he answered his adversaries ; nor was I less struck with the gracefulness of his manner ; the dignity of his action ; and the firmness, and constancy of his whole behaviour. It grieved me to think so great a man was labouring under so atrocious an accusation. Whether this accusation be a just one, God knows : For myself, I enquire not into the merits of it ; resting satisfied with the decision of my superiors. — But I will just give you a summary of his trial.

‘ After many articles had been proved against him, leave was at length given him to answer each in its order. But *Jerom* long refused, strenuously contending, that he had many things to say previously in his defence ; and that he ought first to be heard in general, before he descended to particulars.—When this was over-ruled, “ Here, said he, standing in the midst of the assembly, here is justice ; here is equity. Beset by my enemies, I am already pronounced a heretic : I am condemned, before I am examined. Were you gods omniscient, instead of an assembly of fallible men, you could not act with more sufficiency.—Error is the lot of mortals ; and you, exalted as you are, are subject to it. But consider, that the higher you are exalted, of the more dangerous consequence are your errors.—As for me, I know I am a wretch below your notice : But at least consider, that an unjust action, in such an assembly, will be of dangerous example.”

‘ This, and much more, he spoke with great elegance of language, in the midst of a very unruly and indecent assembly ;

‘ assembly : And thus far at least he prevailed ; the coun-
 ‘ cil ordered, that he should first answer objections ; and
 ‘ promised that he should then have liberty to speak.
 ‘ Accordingly, all the articles alledged against him were
 ‘ publicly read ; and then proved ; after which he was
 ‘ asked, whether he had aught to object ? It is incredible
 ‘ with what acuteness he answered ; and with what
 ‘ amazing dexterity he warded off every stroke of his ad-
 ‘ versaries. Nothing escaped him : His whole behaviour
 ‘ was truly great and pious. If he were indeed the man
 ‘ his defence spoke him, he was so far from meriting
 ‘ death, that, in my judgement, he was not in any degree
 ‘ culpable.—In a word, he endeavoured to prove, that
 ‘ the greater part of the charge was purely the invention
 ‘ of his adversaries.—Among other things, being accused
 ‘ of hating and defaming the holy see, the pope, the car-
 ‘ dinals, the prelates, and the whole estate of the clergy,
 ‘ he stretched out his hands, and said, in a most moving
 ‘ accent, “ On what side, reverend fathers, shall I turn
 “ me for redress ? whom shall I implore ? whose assistance
 “ can I expect ? which of you hath not this malicious
 “ charge entirely alienated from me ? which of you hath
 “ it not changed from a judge into an inveterate enemy ?
 “ —It was artfully alledged indeed ! Though other parts
 “ of their charge were of less moment, my accusers
 “ might well imagine, that if this were fastened on me,
 “ it could not fail of drawing upon me the united in-
 “ dignation of my judges.”

‘ On the third day of this memorable trial, what had
 ‘ passed was recapitulated : When *Jerom*, having obtained
 ‘ leave, though with some difficulty, to speak, began his
 ‘ oration with a prayer to God ; whose divine assistance
 ‘ he pathetically implored. He then observed, that many
 ‘ excellent men, in the annals of history, had been op-
 ‘ pressed by false witnesses, and condemned by unjust
 ‘ judges. Beginning with profane history, he instanced
 ‘ the death of *Socrates*, the captivity of *Plato*, the banish-
 ‘ ment of *Anaxagoras*, and the unjust sufferings of many
 ‘ others : He then instanced the many worthies of the
 ‘ Old Testament, in the same circumstances, *Moses*, *Jo-*
 ‘ *seph*, *Daniel*, and almost all the prophets ; and lastly
 ‘ those of the New, *John the Baptist*, *St. Stephen*, and
 ‘ others, who were condemned as seditious, profane, or
 ‘ immoral men. An unjust judgement, he said, proceed-
 ‘ ing from a layic was bad ; from a priest, worse ; still
 ‘ worse from a college of priests ; and from a general
 ‘ council,

‘ council, superlatively bad.—These things he spoke
 ‘ with such force and emphasis, as kept every one’s atten-
 ‘ tion awake.

‘ On one point he dwelt largely. As the merits of the
 ‘ cause rested entirely upon the credit of witnesses, he
 ‘ took great pains to shew, that very little was due to
 ‘ those produced against him. He had many objections
 ‘ to them, particularly their avowed hatred to him; the
 ‘ sources of which he so palpably laid open, that he made
 ‘ a strong impression upon the minds of his hearers; and
 ‘ not a little shook the credit of the witnesses. The
 ‘ whole council was moved, and greatly inclined to pity,
 ‘ if not to favour him. He added, that he came uncom-
 ‘ pelled to the council; and that neither his life nor doc-
 ‘ trine had been such, as gave him the least reason to
 ‘ dread an appearance before them. Difference of opi-
 ‘ nion, he said, in matters of faith had ever arisen among
 ‘ learned men; and was always esteemed productive of
 ‘ truth, rather than of error, where bigotry was laid
 ‘ aside. Such, he said, was the difference between *Aus-*
 ‘ *tin* and *Jerom*: And though their opinions were not
 ‘ only different, but contradictory, yet the imputation of
 ‘ heresy was never fixed on either.

‘ Every one expected that he would now either retract
 ‘ his errors, or at least apologize for them: But nothing
 ‘ of the kind was heard from him: He declared plainly,
 ‘ that he had nothing to retract. He launched out into
 ‘ an high encomium of *Huss*; calling him a holy man;
 ‘ and lamenting his cruel, and unjust death. He had
 ‘ armed himself, he said, with a full resolution to follow
 ‘ the steps of that blessed martyr; and to suffer with con-
 ‘ stancy whatever the malice of his enemies could inflict.
 ‘ The perjured witnesses, (said he) who have appeared
 ‘ against me, have won their cause: But let them re-
 ‘ member, they have their evidence once more to give
 ‘ before a tribunal, where falsehood can be no disguise.”

‘ It was impossible to hear this pathetic speaker with-
 ‘ out emotion. Every ear was captivated; and every
 ‘ heart touched.—But wishes in his favour were vain.
 ‘ He threw himself beyond a possibility of mercy. Brav-
 ‘ ing death, he even provoked the vengeance, which was
 ‘ hanging over him. “If that holy martyr, (said he,
 ‘ speaking of *Huss*) used the clergy with disrespect, his
 ‘ censures were not levelled at them as priests, but as
 ‘ wicked men. He saw with indignation those reve-
 ‘ nues,

“ nues, which had been designed for charitable ends,
“ expended upon pageantry and riot.”

‘ Through this whole oration he shewed a most amaz-
‘ ing strength of memory. He had been confined almost
‘ a year in a dungeon: The severity of which usage he
‘ complained of, but in the language of a great and
‘ good man. In this horrid place, he was deprived of
‘ books and paper. Yet notwithstanding this, and the
‘ constant anxiety, which must have hung over him, he
‘ was at no more loss for proper authorities, and quota-
‘ tions, than if he had spent the intermediate time at
‘ leisure in his study.

‘ His voice was sweet, distinct, and full: His action
‘ every way the most proper, either to express indigna-
‘ tion, or to raise pity; though he made no affected ap-
‘ plication to the passions of his audience. Firm, and
‘ intrepid, he stood before the council; collected in him-
‘ self; and not only contemning, but seeming even de-
‘ sirous of death. The greatest character in antient story
‘ could not possibly go beyond him. If there is any jus-
‘ tice in history, this man will be admired by all poste-
‘ rity.—I speak not of his errors: Let these rest with
‘ him. What I admired was his learning, his eloquence,
‘ and amazing acuteness. God knows whether these
‘ things were not the ground-work of his ruin.

‘ Two days were allowed him for reflection; during
‘ which time many persons of consequence, and particu-
‘ larly my lord cardinal of *Florence*, endeavoured to bring
‘ him to a better mind. But persisting obstinately in his
‘ errors, he was condemned as a heretic.

‘ With a chearful countenance, and more than stoical
‘ constancy, he met his fate; fearing neither death itself,
‘ nor the horrible form, in which it appeared. When he
‘ came to the place, he pulled off his upper garment,
‘ and made a short prayer at the stake; to which he was
‘ soon after bound with wet cords, and an iron chain;
‘ and inclosed as high as his breast with faggots.

‘ Observing the executioner about to set fire to the
‘ wood behind his back he cried out, “ Bring thy torch
“ hither. Perform thy office before my face. Had I
“ feared death, I might have avoided it.”

‘ As the wood began to blaze, he sang an hymn, which
‘ the violence of the flame scarce interrupted.

‘ Thus died this prodigious man. The epithet is not
‘ extravagant. I was myself an eye-witness of his whole
‘ behaviour.

‘behaviour. Whatever his life may have been, his death, without doubt, is a lesson of philosophy.

‘But it is time to finish this long epistle. You will say I have had some leisure upon my hands: And, to say the truth, I have not much to do here. This will, I hope, convince you, that greatness is not wholly confined to antiquity. You will think me perhaps tedious; but I could have been more prolix on a subject so copious.—Farewel, my dear *Leonard*.’

Constance, May 20th.

Such was the testimony borne to an adversary by this ingenuous papist. His friend *Aretin* was less candid. ‘You attribute more, says he, to this man, than I could wish. You ought at least to write more cautiously of these things.’ And indeed, it is probable, *Poggius* would have written more cautiously, had he written a few days afterwards. But his letter is dated on the very day on which *Jerom* suffered, and came warm from the writer’s heart. It is sufficiently plain, what *Poggius* himself thought of the council, and its proceedings. His encomium on *Jerom*, is certainly a tacit censure of them.

WE may add here, as there are not materials to compose a distinct life, that the persecution of JOHN de WESALIA, for adopting the opinions of *Wickliffe*, followed not many years after the martyrdom of *Huss* and *Jerom*. He was brought before the inquisition and treated with great harshness and severity, which appear to be the more inhuman, as the good man was advanced to decrepid old age. However, he boldly defended the truth, and even told his inquisitors, upon an instance of their ill treatment, “that if *Christ* himself were upon the earth, they must condemn him for an heretic, if they condemned him for following his doctrines.” He maintained, that the substance of bread continued in the sacrament, but did not deny that *Christ*’s body was there, after a manner; That no profession of religion can save a man, but only the grace of GOD; That the merits of the saints could not be disposed of on earth at market by the pope and his priests, if even the works of the saints had any merit, because it is written, that *their works do follow them*; That pardons and indulgences were nothing better than *piæ fraudes*, holy cheats, to impose upon the ignorant; * That holy

* See an entertaining exposure of these delusions in a late pamphlet, entitled, *A new Defence of the holy Roman Church against Heretics*: Where,

holy water had no more virtue than common water; That GOD gives his grace without the motion of our free-will; and that St. *Paul* in particular did nothing of his own free-will in his conversion; That nothing is to be believed, which cannot be proved by scripture; That GOD hath from everlasting written a book, where he hath inscribed *all his elect*, and that whosoever is not already written there, will never be written there at all; but that he, who is written therein, will never be blotted out of it; That the elect are saved by the alone grace of GOD; and that what man soever GOD willeth to save, by enduing him with grace, if all the priests in the world were desirous to damn and excommunicate that man, he would still be saved; That he despised the pope, his church, and his councils; but that he loved *Christ*, and desired that his word might dwell in him abundantly.

Doctor *Wesalia* was bowed down with years and infirmities, when he underwent the above examination, which produced, in that dark age [*viz.* A. D. 1479] this noble testimony for the truth. Thus broken by age, and insulted with menaces, he was prevailed upon to sign a retraction, into which he was trepanned. It is plain, that this retraction was not considered as sincere, from his being condemned to perpetual confinement and penance in a monastery of the *Augustins*, where he died soon after, about the time of the birth of LUTHER.

PATRICK HAMILTON, THE FIRST SCOTCH REFORMER.

PATRICK HAMILTON was a gentleman of Scotland, and, says Mr. *Hugh Spence*, of royal descent, being by his father nephew to *James Hamilton*, earl of *Arran*; and by his mother nephew to *John Stewart*, duke of *Albany*; a circumstance in Providence, that was subservient to raise more attention to his excellent doctrine, holy life, and patient sufferings. He had an amiable

Where, in a vein of irony, the author has shewn the most palpable absurdities and blasphemies of popery. Printed for *Mathews*, in the Strand; Or may be had of Mr. *Middleton*, price 1 s.

disposition, and was well educated; he was very early made abbot of *Ferme*, with a view to his being one day more highly preferred. At the age of twenty-three, he with three companions travelled into *Germany*, in pursuit of religious knowledge, and coming to *Wittenberg* he met with *Luther* and *Melancthon*, with whom he held frequent and close conferences, and by whom he was well instructed in the doctrines of the gospel. From thence he went to *Marpurg*, an university newly erected by *Philip Landgrave* of *Hesse*; he became intimately acquainted with *Lambert*, our *English* martyr, at whose instance he was the first in that university who set up public disputations concerning faith and works; the propositions and conclusions of which, are in what is entitled *Patrick's Places*, of which excellent tract we shall subjoin a specimen at the end of this article.

He grew daily in grace and in the knowledge of *Jesus Christ*; and being well established in the faith, and much improved in all useful learning, he returned with one of his companions to *Scotland*, desirous to impart the knowledge of the true religion to his countrymen. With a view to this, he began to preach the gospel of *Jesus Christ* with great fervency and boldness, and to lay open the errors and corruptions of the church of *Rome*. This soon alarmed the whole body of the clergy, and particularly *James Beaton*, archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, who labored to get Mr. *Hamilton* to come to him at *St. Andrew's*; where, after several days conference, he was dismissed, the archbishop seeming to approve of his doctrine, acknowledging that many things wanted reformation in the church. But, at the same time, the archbishop consulted with other bishops, to put the king, (who was young and much led by them) upon going on a pilgrimage to *St. Dothesse* in *Ross*; so that, during his absence, they might condemn Mr. *Hamilton*, as no interest could then be made with the king to save his life. Mr. *Hamilton*, not suspecting their malice and treachery, remained at *St. Andrew's*; and the king being gone on his pilgrimage, he was cited to appear before the archbishop and his colleagues on the first day of *March*, 1527. The articles of accusation brought against him, which he was found guilty in holding and maintaining, and for which he was condemned to death, are the following. “ That
 “ man hath no free-will.—That there is no purgatory.—
 “ That the holy patriarchs were in heaven before *Christ's*
 “ passion.—That the pope hath no power to loose and
 “ bind:

“ bind: Neither any pope had that power since St. *Pe-*
 “ *ter*.—That the pope is *antichrist*, and that every priest
 “ hath the power, that the pope hath.—That Mr. *Pa-*
 “ *trick Hamilton* was a bishop.—That it is not necessary
 “ to obtain any bulls from any bishop.—That the vow
 “ of the pope’s religion is a vow of wickedness.—That
 “ the pope’s laws be of no strength.—That all Chris-
 “ tians, worthy to be called Christians, do know that
 “ they be in the state of grace.—That none be saved, but
 “ those that are before predestinate.—Whosoever is in
 “ deadly sin, is unfaithful.—That God is the cause of
 “ sin, in this sense; that is, that he withdraweth his
 “ grace from men, whereby they sin.—That it is devilish
 “ doctrine, to enjoin to any sinner actual penance for sin.
 “ —That the said Mr. *Patrick Hamilton* himself doubteth
 “ whether all children, departing incontinent after their
 “ baptism, are saved or condemned.—That auricular con-
 “ fession is not necessary to salvation.”

Though these articles are inserted in their registers,
 ‘ nevertheless,’ says Mr. *Fox*, ‘ other learned men, who
 ‘ communed and reasoned with him, do testify, that these
 ‘ articles following were the very articles, for which he
 ‘ suffered.’

“ 1. Man hath no free-will. 2. A man is only justifi-
 “ fied by faith in *Christ*. 3. A man, so long as he liveth,
 “ is not without sin. 4. He is not worthy to be called
 “ a Christian, who believeth not that he is in grace.
 “ 5. A good man doeth good works: But good works do
 “ not make a good man. 6. An evil man bringeth forth
 “ evil works: Evil works, being faithfully repented, do
 “ not make an evil man. 7. Faith, hope, and charity,
 “ be so linked together, that one of them cannot be with-
 “ out another in one man in this life.”

‘ And as touching the other articles,’ adds Mr. *Fox*,
 ‘ whereupon the doctors gave their judgements, as divers
 ‘ do report, he was not accused of them before the arch-
 ‘ bishop. Albeit in private disputation he affirmed and
 ‘ defended the most of them.’ That he did not hold the
 whole of them, at least as they are expressed in their re-
 gister, may easily be learnt from his writings, where he
 treats of the same doctrines, and especially in his treatise
 entitled *Patrick’s Places*. A performance so very judi-
 cious and truly evangelical, that it is some concern to us,
 that we cannot oblige the Reader with the whole of it.

Having gone through the farce of a trial, they pro-
 ceeded to pronounce sentence upon him, which, because

it

it shews his understanding, orthodoxy and innocence, as well as the ignorance and cruelty of the papists, we will lay it before the Reader in their own words.

His sentence, as it stands in the register of the archbishop's court, was as follows:

‘ CHRISTI nomine invocato: We James, by the mercy
 ‘ of God, archbishop of Saint Andrew's, primate of Scot-
 ‘ land, with the council, decree, and authority of the
 ‘ most reverend fathers in God, and lords, abbots, doc-
 ‘ tors of theology, professors of the holy scripture, and
 ‘ masters of the university, assisting us for the time, sit-
 ‘ ting in judgement within our metropolitan church of
 ‘ Saint Andrew's, in the cause of heretical pravity, against
 ‘ Mr. Patrick Hamilton, abbot or pensionary of Ferme,
 ‘ being summoned to appear before us, to answer to cer-
 ‘ tain articles affirmed, taught, and preached by him, and
 ‘ so appearing before us, and accused, the merits of the
 ‘ cause being ripely weighed, discussed, and understood
 ‘ by faithful inquisition made in Lent last past: We have
 ‘ found the same Mr. Patrick Hamilton many ways in-
 ‘ flamed with heresy, disputing, holding, and maintaining
 ‘ divers heresies of Martin Luther, and his followers, re-
 ‘ pugnant to our faith, and which are already condemned
 ‘ by general councils, and most famous universities*.
 ‘ And he being under the same infamy, we discerning be-
 ‘ fore him to be summoned and accused upon the pre-
 ‘ mises, he of evil mind (as may be presumed) passed to
 ‘ other parts forth of the realm, suspected and noted of
 ‘ heresy. And being lately returned, not being admitted,
 ‘ but of his own head, without licence or privilege, hath
 ‘ presumed to preach wicked heresy.

‘ We have found also, that he hath affirmed, published
 ‘ and taught divers opinions of Luther, and wicked he-
 ‘ resies, after that he was summoned to appear before us,
 ‘ and our council: “ That man hath no free-will: That
 ‘ “ man is in sin so long as he liveth: That children, in-
 ‘ “ continent after their baptism, are sinners†: All Chris-
 ‘ “ tians, that be worthy to be called Christians, do know
 ‘ “ that they are in grace: No man is justified by works, but
 ‘ “ by faith only: Good works make not a good man, but
 ‘ “ a good man doth make good works: That faith, hope,
 ‘ “ and charity, are so knit, that he, that hath the one, hath

* They do not pretend so much as to say they were condemned by the scriptures.

† It may be observed, that these articles do not agree with those in their register.

“ the rest, and he, that wanteth the one of them, wanteth
 “ the rest, &c.” with divers other heresies and detestable
 ‘ opinions: and hath persisted so obstinate in the same,
 ‘ that by no counsel nor persuasion he may be drawn
 ‘ therefrom to the way of our right faith.

‘ All these premises being considered, we, having God
 ‘ and the integrity of our faith before our eyes, and fol-
 ‘ lowing the council and advice of the professors of the
 ‘ holy scripture, men of law, and other assisting us for the
 ‘ time, do pronounce, determine, and declare the said
 ‘ Mr. *Patrick Hamilton*, for his affirming, confessing, and
 ‘ maintaining of the aforesaid heresies, and his pertinacity
 ‘ (they being condemned already by the church, general
 ‘ councils, and most famous universities) to be an here-
 ‘ tic, and to have an evil opinion of the faith, and
 ‘ therefore to be condemned and punished, like as we
 ‘ condemn, and define him to be punished, by this our
 ‘ sentence definitive, depriving and sentencing him to be
 ‘ deprived of all dignities, orders, offices, and benefices
 ‘ of the church; and therefore do judge and pronounce
 ‘ him to be delivered over unto the secular power, to be
 ‘ punished, and his goods to be confiscate.

‘ This our sentence definitive was given and read at
 ‘ our metropolitan church of St. *Andrew's*, the last day
 ‘ of the month of *February*, anno 1527, being present the
 ‘ most reverend fathers in *Christ*, and lords, *Gawand*, bi-
 ‘ shop of *Glasgow*; *George*, bishop of *Dunkeld*; *John*,
 ‘ bishop of *Breham*; *William*, bishop of *Dunblane*; *Pa-*
 ‘ *trick*, prior of St. *Andrew's*; *David*, abbot of *Abirbro-*
 ‘ *thoke*; *George*, abbot of *Dumfermling*; *Alexander*, abbot
 ‘ of *Caunbuskineth*; *Henry*, abbot of *Lendors*; *John*, prior
 ‘ of *Peterweme*; the dean and subdean of *Glasgow*; Mr.
 ‘ *Hugh Spence*, *Thomas Ramsay*, *Allane Meldrum*, &c. In
 ‘ the presence of the clergy and the people.’

That this sentence might have the greater authority,
 they caused it to be signed by all present, of any account,
 whether clergy or laity; and, in order to make their num-
 ber appear great, they took the subscription of the very
 children of the nobility. Being thus condemned as an
 obstinate heretic, he was delivered over to the secular
 power, and after dinner, on the same day, the fire was
 prepared, and he was led to execution; whilst most peo-
 ple thought it was only to terrify him, and to make him
 recant. But God, for his own glory, the good of the
 elect, and for the manifestation of their brutal tyranny,
 had decreed it otherwise; and so strengthened him, that
 neither

neither the love of life, though young, nor fear of this cruel death, could in the least move him from the truth he had boldly professed.

At the place of execution, he gave his servant, that had long attended him, his gown, coat, cap, and his other garments, saying, "These are the last things you can receive of me, nor have I any thing now to leave you, but the example of my death, which I pray you to bear in mind; for, though it be bitter to the flesh, and fearful before men, yet it is the entrance into eternal life, which none shall inherit, who deny *Jesus Christ* before this wicked generation." He was then bound to the stake in the midst of wood and coal, which they attempted to set on fire with gun-powder; but it neither killed him nor kindled the fire, only exceedingly scorched one side of his body and his face. During the painful interval of their going to the castle for more powder and combustibles, the friars called frequently upon him to recant; and when the fire was kindled, it burnt so slowly, that he endured great torment; which the friars endeavored to increase by setting some of their own creatures to cry out in a clamorous manner, "Turn, thou heretic, pray to the virgin, say, *salve regina*, &c." to whom he answered, "Depart from me, and trouble me not, you messengers of *Satan*." One friar *Campbell*, who had visited him often in prison, was particularly officious, and continued to bellow out, "Turn, thou heretic; turn, thou heretic;" whom *Mr. Hamilton* thus addressed, "Wicked man! you know I am not a heretic, and have confessed the same to me in private; but I appeal to the just tribunal seat of *Jesus Christ*, and cite you to appear there to answer for it to almighty *GOD*." And then said, "How long, O Lord, shall darkness overwhelm this realm? and how long wilt Thou suffer the tyranny of these wicked men?" And at length with a loud voice he cried, as he had frequently done, "Lord *Jesus*, receive my spirit!" and died.

It is recorded, that friar *Campbell* died not long after in a phrensy, and seemingly in despair. Which, considered with the circumstance of his being cited by *Mr. Hamilton*, made a great impression on the minds of the people, and caused them to inquire more particularly into the nature and meaning of the articles, for which *Mr. Hamilton* was burnt; and so this event proved the means of many embracing the truth. *Mr. Knox*, in his history of *Scotland*, relates the amazing effects of this great man's death, and

and how wonderfully the Lord spread abroad the light of the gospel, by a careful examination of the articles upon which he was condemned, and of his writings.

When those cruel wolves had, as they supposed, clean devoured the prey, they found themselves in worse case than before; for then, within *St. Andrew's*, yea, almost within the whole realm, (who heard of that fact) there was none found who began not to inquire, wherefore *Mr. Patrick Hamilton* was burnt; and when his articles were rehearsed, question was holden, if such articles were necessary to be believed, under the pain of damnation? And so, within a short space, many began to call in doubt, that which before they held for a certain verity; insomuch that the university of *St. Andrew's* and *St. Leonard's* college, principally by the labours of *Mr. Gavin Logy*, the novices of the abbey, and the sub-prior, began to smell somewhat of the verity, and to espy the vanity of the received superstition; yea, within few years after, began both black and grey friars publickly to preach against the pride and idle life of bishops, and against the abuses of the whole ecclesiastical state. Amongst whom was one called *William Arithe*, who, in a sermon preached in *Dundee*, spake somewhat more freely against the licentious life of the bishops, than they could well bear. The bishop of *Berchin* having his parasites in the town, buffeted the friar, and called him heretic. The friar passed to *St. Andrew's*, and did communicate the heads of his sermon to *Mr. John Mair*, whose word then was held as an oracle, in matters of religion; and being assured of him, that such doctrine might well be defended, and that *he* would defend it, for it contained no heresy; there was a day appointed to the said friar, to make repetition of the same sermon; and advertisement was given to all such, as were offended at the former, to be present. And so, in the parish church of *St. Andrew's*, upon the day appointed, appeared the said friar, and had, amongst his auditors, *Mr. John Mair*, *Mr. George Lockhart*, the abbot of *Cambuskeneth*, *Mr. Patrick Hepburn*, prior of *St. Andrew's*, with all the doctors and masters of the universities. Shortly after this, new consultation was taken there, that some should be burnt; for men began freely to speak. A merry gentleman, called *John Lindsay*, familiar to archbishop *Beaton*, standing by, when consultation was had, said, "My lord, if ye burn any more, except ye follow my counsel, ye will utterly destroy
K " yourselves;

“ yourselves; if you will burn them, let them be burnt
 “ in hollow cellars; for the smoke of Mr. *Patrick Hamil-*
 “ *ton* hath infected as many as it blew upon.”

The rulers and doctors of the university of *Louvain*, hearing that the bishops and doctors of *Scotland* had condemned and burnt this great and good man, exceedingly rejoiced and triumphed; and in a letter written to the archbishop of *St. Andrew's* and the other doctors, they ‘ highly applaud the worthy and famous deservings of their atchieved enterprize in that behalf.’ Which letter *Fox* has given at large.

We may here observe, that the church of *Rome*, from the very beginning of her claiming *temporal* authority, *worldly* riches, and *earthly* government, has more and more departed from the purity of the gospel, has imbibed a bloody and persecuting spirit against all opponents, and at length has placed itself entirely upon a footing with the princes and kingdoms of this world, which come to nought. The love of temporal dominion and authority in the church, in which the passions of carnal men can be as fully satisfied as in any other system of human polity, has been the chief ground of dissention, error, and persecution. Nor is this love of rule to be confined to the church of *Rome*; the smallest sect and party, acting upon the same principles, and founded upon the bottom of human aims and human authority, either exercising dominion or despising dominion from worldly motives, is guilty of the same spirit, and would exercise the same conduct, but for the prevention of superior force. While men act *from* the world, their end will be *the world*; be their outward professions what they may. These professions, in no sense, make a Christian, whose definition it is, to be *crucified to the world* and to the *flesh*, to *put on Christ* and to be *one with him*, and to be a *stranger and pilgrim upon earth*, seeking a *better country and a heavenly*.

In the interval between this holy man's death, and the public ministrations of the excellent Mr. *George Wishart*; several persons suffered for the truth in *Scotland*, and, among the rest, Mr. *John Rogers*, a gracious and learned minister, who was murdered in prison, by the order of cardinal *Beaton*, and thrown over the wall, with a report, that in attempting to escape he had broken his neck. Mr. *Thomas Forrest*, another minister, was also burned, for an heretic, by the means of the popish bishop of *Dunkelden*. By the writings and sermons of these blessed men, a seed of Reformation was sown in *Scotland*, which, being watered
 and

and witnessed by their blood, soon sprung up into a flourishing tree, and gloriously overspread that whole country.

WE promised to give our Readers a specimen of this excellent man's tract, called *Patrick's Places*, which have ever been esteemed by the most able and serious Christians (especially considering the time when they were written) as an admirable and invaluable performance. They were prefaced by Mr. *John Frith*, the martyr, in the following manner:

‘ JOHN FRITH unto the *Christian Reader*.

‘ Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord *Jesus*
 ‘ *Christ*, which, in these last days and perilous times,
 ‘ hath stirred up in all countries witnesses unto his Son, to
 ‘ testify the truth unto the unfaithful, to save at the least
 ‘ some from the snares of antichrist, which lead to per-
 ‘ dition; as ye may here perceive by that excellent and
 ‘ well learned young man, *Patrick Hamilton*, born in *Scot-*
 ‘ *land* of a noble progeny: Who to testify the truth
 ‘ sought all means, and took upon him priesthood (even
 ‘ as *Paul* circumcised *Timothy*, to win the weak *Jews*)
 ‘ that he might be admitted to preach the pure word of
 ‘ God. Notwithstanding, as soon as the chamberlain
 ‘ and other bishops of *Scotland* had perceived, that the
 ‘ light began to shine, which disclosed their falsehood that
 ‘ they conveyed in darkness, they laid hands on him, and
 ‘ because he would not deny his Saviour *Christ*, at their
 ‘ instance, they burnt him to ashes. Nevertheless, God
 ‘ of his bounteous mercy (to publish to the whole world,
 ‘ what a man these monsters have murdered) hath reserved
 ‘ a little treatise, made by this *Patrick*, which if ye list,
 ‘ ye may call PATRICK'S PLACES: For it treateth ex-
 ‘ actly of certain common places, which known, ye have
 ‘ the pith of all divinity. This treatise I have turned
 ‘ into the *English* tongue, to the profit of my nation: To
 ‘ whom I beseech God to give light, that they may espie
 ‘ the deceitful paths of perdition, and return to the right
 ‘ way, which leadeth to life everlasting; Amen.’

The following are extracts from the treatise.

The doctrine of the LAW.

Proposition.

“ He that keepeth not all the commandments of God,
 “ keepeth not one of them.

Argument.

“ *He that keepeth one commandment of God, keepeth all,*
 “ *Ergo, he that keepeth not all the commandments of God,*
 “ *keepeth not one of them.*

Proposition.

“ *It is not in our power to keep any one of the com-*
 “ *mandments of God.*

Argument.

Ba- { “ *It is impossible to keep any of the commandments of*
 ro- { “ *God, without grace.*
 co. { “ *It is not in our power to have grace.*
 { “ *Ergo; it is not in our power to keep any of the com-*
 { “ *mandments of God.*

“ *And even so may you reason concerning the Holy*
 “ *Ghost and faith, forasmuch as neither without them*
 “ *we are able to keep any of the commandments of God,*
 “ *neither yet be they in our power to have. Non est*
 “ *volentis neque currentis, &c. Rom. ix. 16.*

Proposition.

“ *The law was given us to shew our sin.*
 “ *By the law cometh the knowledge of sin; Rom. iii. 20.*
 “ *I knew not what sin meant, but through the law:*
 “ *For I had not known what lust had meant, except the law*
 “ *had said, Thou shalt not lust. Without the law, sin was*
 “ *dead, that is, it moved me not, neither wist I that it was*
 “ *sin, which notwithstanding was sin, and forbidden by the*
 “ *law. Rom. vii.*

Proposition.

“ *The law biddeth us do that thing, which is impos-*
 “ *sible for us.*

Argument.

Da- { “ *The keeping of the commandments is to us impossible.*
 ri- { “ *The law commandeth to us the keeping of the com-*
 i. { “ *mandments.*
 { “ *Ergo; the law commandeth unto us what is impos-*
 { “ *sible.*

“ *Objection.* But you will say, Wherefore doth God
 “ *bid us do that, which is impossible for us?*

“ *Answer.* To make thee know, that thou art but evil,
 “ *and that there is no remedy to save thee in thine own*
 “ *hand: And that thou mayest seek a remedy at some other:*
 “ *For the law doth nothing else, but condemn thee.*

The doctrine of the GOSPEL.

“ *The GOSPEL is, in other words, good tidings*; and*
 “ *may be expressed in the following manner.*

* *Luke ii.*

“ *Christ*

“ *Christ* is the Saviour of the [elect] world¹. *Christ* is
 “ the Saviour². *Christ* died for us³. *Christ* died for our
 “ sins⁴. *Christ* bought us with his blood⁵. *Christ*
 “ washed us with his blood⁶. *Christ* offered himself for
 “ us⁷. *Christ* bare our sins on his own back⁸. *Christ*
 “ came into this world to save sinners⁹. *Christ* came into
 “ this world to take away our sins¹⁰. *Christ* was the
 “ price that was given for us and our sins¹¹. *Christ* was
 “ made debtor for us¹². *Christ* hath payed our debt, for
 “ he died for us¹³. *Christ* made satisfaction for us and
 “ our sins¹⁴. *Christ* is our righteousness¹⁵. *Christ* is our
 “ sanctification¹⁶. *Christ* is our redemption¹⁷. *Christ* is
 “ our peace¹⁸. *Christ* hath pacified the Father of heaven
 “ for us¹⁹. *Christ* is ours, and all his²⁰. *Christ* hath
 “ delivered us from the law, from the devil, and from
 “ hell²¹. The Father of heaven hath forgiven us our
 “ sins for *Christ*’s sake. And many other similar ex-
 “ pressions, equally scriptural, which declare unto us the
 “ mercy of God.

“ *The nature and office of the LAW and of the GOSPEL.*

- { “ The law sheweth us our sin. *Rom.* iii.
 - { “ The gospel sheweth us a remedy for it. *John* i.
 - { “ The law sheweth us our condemnation. *Rom.* vii.
 - { “ The gospel sheweth us our redemption. *Col.* i.
 - { “ The law is the word of ire [wrath] *Rom.* iv.
 - { “ The gospel is the word of grace. *Acts* xiv. 20.
 - { “ The law is the word of despair. *Deut.* xxvii.
 - { “ The gospel is the word of comfort. *Luke* ii.
 - { “ The law is the word of disquietude. *Rom.* vii.
 - { “ The gospel is the word of peace. *Eph.* vi.
- “ *A disputation between the LAW and the GOSPEL, in which*
 “ *is shewed the difference or contrariety between them both.*
- { “ The law saith, *Pay the debt.*
 - { “ The gospel saith, *Christ hath paid it.*
 - { “ The law saith, *Thou art a sinner, despair, and thou*
 “ *shalt be damned.*
 - { “ The gospel saith, *Thy sins are forgiven thee; be of good*
 “ *comfort, for thou shalt be saved.*
 - { “ The law saith, *Make amends for thy sins.*
 - { “ The gospel saith, *Christ hath made it for thee.*

¹ *John* iv. ² *Luke* ii. ³ *Rom.* v. ⁴ *ibid.* iv. ⁵ *1 Pet.* ii.
⁶ *Rev.* i. v. ⁷ *Gal.* i. ⁸ *Isa.* liii. ⁹ *1 Tim.* i. ¹⁰ *1 John* iii.
¹¹ *1 Tim.* ii. ¹² *Rom.* viii. ¹³ *Col.* ii. ¹⁴ *1 Cor.* vii. ¹⁵ *1 Cor.* i.
¹⁶ *1 Cor.* i. ¹⁷ *Eph.* ii. ¹⁸ *Rom.* v. ¹⁹ *1 Cor.* iii. ²⁰ *Col.* iii.
²¹ *John* i.

- { " The law faith, *The Father of heaven is angry with thee.*
- { " The gospel faith, *Christ hath pacified him with his blood.*
- { " The law faith, *Where is thy righteousness, goodness, and*
 satisfaction?
- { " The gospel faith, *Christ is thy righteousness, goodness,*
 and satisfaction.
- { " The law faith, *Thou art bound and obliged to me, to the*
 devil, and to hell.
- { " The gospel faith, *Christ hath delivered thee from them*
 all.

" A comparison between FAITH and UNBELIEF.

- { " Faith is the root of all good.
- { " Unbelief is the root of all evil.
- { " Faith maketh God and man good friends.
- { " Unbelief maketh them foes.
- { " Faith bringeth God and man together.
- { " Unbelief separates them.
- { " All that faith doth, pleaseth God.
- { " All that unbelief doth displeaseth God.
- { " Faith only maketh a man good and righteous.
- { " Unbelief maketh him unjust and evil.
- { " Faith maketh a man a member of *Christ*.
- { " Unbelief maketh him a member of the devil.
- { " Faith maketh him an inheritor of heaven.
- { " Unbelief maketh a man the inheritor of hell.
- { " Faith maketh a man the servant of God.
- { " Unbelief maketh him the servant of the devil.
- { " Faith sheweth us God to be a tender Father.
- { " Unbelief sheweth him to be a terrible judge.
- { " Faith holdeth fast by the word of God.
- { " Unbelief wavereth here and there.
- { " Faith esteemeth God to be true.
- { " Unbelief looketh upon him to be false and a liar.
- { " Faith knoweth God.
- { " Unbelief knoweth him not.
- { " Faith loveth both God and his neighbour.
- { " Unbelief loveth neither of them.
- { " Faith only saveth us.
- { " Unbelief only condemneth us.

" A comparison between FAITH, HOPE, and CHARITY.

- " *Faith* cometh of the word of God; *hope* cometh of
- " *faith*; and *charity* springeth of them both.
- " *Faith* believeth the word; *hope* trusteth to enjoy that,
- " which is promised in the word; *charity* doeth good unto
 her

“ her neighbour, through the love that it hath to God,
“ and gladness that is within herself.

“ *Faith* looketh to God and his word; *hope* looketh
“ unto his gift and reward; *charity* looketh on her neigh-
“ bour's profit.

“ *Faith* receiveth God; *hope* receiveth his reward; *cha-
“ rity* loveth her neighbour with a glad heart, and that
“ without any respect of reward.

“ *Faith* pertaineth to God only; *hope* to his reward,
“ and *charity* to her neighbour.”

This little treatise of Mr. *Hamilton's* (continues his editor) though short, is very comprehensive, containing matter sufficient for several volumes; and shews us the true doctrine of the law, of the gospel, of faith, and of works, with their nature, properties and difference. Which difference is thus to be understood, that in the article of salvation, and in the office of justifying, they are distinct and to be kept asunder, the law from the gospel, and faith from works: Though in the person that is justified, and also in the order of doctrine, they ought and do go necessarily together.

Therefore, wheresoever any question or doubt ariseth respecting salvation, or our justification before God, there the law and all good works must be utterly excluded, that grace may appear to be sovereign, the promise free and gratuitous, and that faith may stand alone; which faith alone, without law or works, confirms to every believer his own particular salvation. For as the grace of God is the *efficient* cause, and *Jesus Christ* the *meritorious* cause, of our redemption; so faith is the *instrumental* cause by which the believer applieth the merits of *Christ* particularly to his own salvation. So that, in the act and office of justification, both the law and works are entirely out of the question, as things that have nothing to do in the matter. The reason is this, that all our salvation is by *Christ* alone, so nothing can savingly profit us, but that with which we can apprehend *Christ*. Now, as neither the law nor works, but faith alone is that by which we can apprehend *Christ* as an almighty and all-sufficient Saviour, so faith alone justifieth the sinner before God, through the object it doth apprehend; namely, *Jesus Christ*. For the only object of our faith is *Christ*, just as the brazen serpent, lifted up in the wilderness, was the object only of the eyes of the *Israelites* looking, and not of their hands working; by virtue of which, through the promise of God, immediately proceeded health to the beholders:
So

So *Christ*, being the object of our faith, becomes righteousness and salvation to our souls, not by works, but by faith only.

Thus we see how faith, being the only eye of our soul, standeth alone in apprehending or seeing *Christ* for justification to life; but yet, nevertheless, in the body it standeth not alone: For besides the eye, there are also hands to work, feet to walk, ears to hear, and other members, every one convenient for the service of the body; and yet of them all, the eye only can see. So in a Christian man's life, and in order of doctrine, there is the law, repentance, hope, charity, and the deeds of charity; all which in life and in doctrine are joined, and necessarily do concur together, and yet in the act of justification there is nothing else in man, that hath any part or place but faith alone apprehending the object, which is *Christ* crucified, in whom is all the worthiness and fulness of our salvation; that is, by our apprehending and receiving of him by faith, as it is written, *Whosoever received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name: Which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God**. And also in *Isaiah* †, — *By his knowledge, shall my righteous Servant justify many; &c.*

Argument.

Da- { “ Apprehending and receiving of *Christ* only mak-
ti- { “ eth us justified before God. *John* i.
fi. { “ *Christ* only is apprehended and received by faith.
“ *Ergo*; faith only maketh us justified before God.

Argument.

Ba- { “ Justification cometh only by apprehending and
ro- { “ receiving of *Christ*. *Isa.* liii.
co. { “ The law and works do nothing pertain to the
“ apprehending of *Christ*.
“ *Ergo*; the law and works pertain nothing to
“ justification.

Argument.

Ce- { “ Nothing, which is unjust of itself, can justify
la- { “ us before God, or help any thing to our justi-
re. { “ fying.
“ Every work we do is unjust before God. *Isa.* lxiv.
“ *Ergo*; no work, that we can do, can justify us
“ before God, nor help any thing to our justi-
“ fying.

* *John* i. 12, 13.

† Chap. liii. 11.

Argument.

- Ca- { " If works could any thing further our justification,
 " then should our works something profit us be-
 " fore God.
- me- { " No works, do the best we can, do profit us be-
 " fore God. *Luke xvii. John xv.*
- stres. { " *Ergo*; no works, that we do, can any thing fur-
 " ther our justification.

Argument.

- Ba- { " All that we can do with God, is only by *Christ*.
 " *John xv.*
- ro- { " Our works and merits be not *Christ*, neither any
 " part of him.
- co. { " *Ergo*; our works and merits can do nothing with
 " God.

Argument.

- Da- { " That, which is the cause of condemnation, can-
 " not be the cause of justification.
- ri- { " The law is the cause of condemnation. *Rom. iv.*
- i. { " *Ergo*; it is not the cause of justification.

A consequent.

- " We are quit and delivered *from* the law. *Rom. vii.*
- " *Ergo*; we are not quit and delivered *by* the law.
- " For as much, therefore, as the truth of the scripture,
 " in exprefs words, hath thus included our salvation in
 " faith only; we are inforced necessarily to exclude all
 " other causes and means in our justification, and to
 " make this difference between the law and the gospel,
 " between faith and works; affirming, with scripture,
 " that the law condemneth us, our works do not avail us,
 " and that faith in *Christ* only justifieth us. And this
 " difference and distinction ought diligently to be learned
 " and retained of all Christians, especially in conflicts of
 " conscience between the law and gospel, between faith
 " and works, grace and merits, promise and condition,
 " God's free election and man's free-will: So that the
 " light of the free grace of God in our salvation may ap-
 " pear to all consciences, to the immortal glory of God's
 " holy name. *Amen.*

" The order and difference of places.

" The GOSPEL.	{	Faith.	{	Promise.	}
		Grace.		God's free election.	

" The LAW.	{	Works.	{	Condition.	}
		Merits.		Man's free-will.	

L

" The

“ The difference and repugnance of these foresaid
 “ places being well noted and expended, it shall give no
 “ small light to every faithful Christian, both to under-
 “ stand the scriptures, to judge in cases of conscience,
 “ and to reconcile such places in the *Old and New Testa-*
 “ *ment*, as seem to contradict each other, according to
 “ St. *Augustine's* rule, which is, *Distingue tempora, &*
 “ *conciliabis scripturas*, &c. ‘ Make distinction of times,
 “ and thou shalt reconcile the scriptures, &c.’ On the
 “ other hand, where men are not perfectly instructed in
 “ these places, to discern between the law and the gospel,
 “ between faith and works, &c: So long they can never
 “ rightly establish their minds in the free promises of
 “ God’s grace; but walk confidently without order, in
 “ all matters of religion. Example of which we have
 “ too much in the *Romish* church, who confounding these
 “ places together without distinction, following no me-
 “ thod, have perverted the true order of Christian doc-
 “ trine, and have obscured the sweet comfort and benefit
 “ of the gospel of *Christ*, not knowing the true use either
 “ of the law or gospel.

“ *In the doctrine of the LAW three things are to be noted.*

“ In the *law*, three things are to be considered. *First*,
 “ what is the true vigour and strength of the law, which
 “ is, to require full and perfect obedience of the whole
 “ man, not only to restrain his outward actions, but also
 “ his inward motions, and inclinations of will and af-
 “ fection from the appetite of sin. And therefore saith
 “ St. *Paul*, *The law is spiritual, but I am carnal, &c.*
 “ Rom. vii. Whereupon riseth this proposition, That
 “ it is not in our nature and power to fulfil the law.
 “ *Item*; The law commandeth that which is to us im-
 “ possible, &c.

“ The *second* thing to be noted in the doctrine of the
 “ law, is, to consider the time and place of the law, what
 “ they be, and how far they extend. For as the surging
 “ seas have their banks and bars to keep them in; so the
 “ law hath its times and limits, which it ought not to
 “ pass. If *Christ* had not come and suffered, the time and
 “ dominion of the law had been everlasting. But now
 “ seeing *Christ* hath come, and hath died in his righteous
 “ flesh; the power of the law against our sinful flesh doth
 “ cease. *For the end of the Law is Christ*. Rom. x. that is,
 “ the death of *Christ's* body is the death of the law to all
 “ that believe in him: So that whosoever repent of their
 “ sins, and flee to the death and passion of *Christ*; the
 “ condemnation

“ condemnation and time of the law to them is expired.
 “ Wherefore, this is to be understood as a perpetual rule
 “ in the scripture, that the law, with all his sentences
 “ and judgements, wheresoever they are written, either
 “ in the *Old or New Testament*, do ever include a privy
 “ exception of repentance and faith in *Christ*, to the
 “ which always it giveth place, having there his end, and
 “ can proceed no further; according as *St. Paul* faith,
 “ *The law is our schoolmaster until Christ, that we might be*
 “ *justified by faith**.

“ Moreover, as the law hath its time, *how long* to reign,
 “ so also it hath his proper place, *where* to reign. By
 “ the reign of the law here is meant the condemnation of
 “ the law: For as the time of the law ceaseth, when the
 “ faith of *Christ* in a true repenting heart beginneth; so
 “ hath the law no place in such, as be good and faithful;
 “ that is, in sinners repenting and amending, but only
 “ in them which be evil and wicked. Evil men are such,
 “ as walking in sinful flesh are not yet driven by earnest
 “ repentance to flee to *Christ* for succour. And therefore
 “ faith *St. Paul*, *The law is not made for a righteous man,*
 “ *but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for*
 “ *sinners, &c.*†. By the *just* man here is meant, not he
 “ which never had disease, but he, who knowing his dis-
 “ ease, seeketh out the physician, and being cured, keepeth
 “ himself in health, as much as he may, from any more
 “ surfeits. Notwithstanding, he shall never so keep
 “ himself, but that his health (that is, his new obedience)
 “ shall always remain frail and imperfect, and shall con-
 “ tinually need the physician. Where, by the way, these
 “ three things are to be noted; first, the sickness itself:
 “ Secondly, the knowing of the sickness: Thirdly, the
 “ physician. The sickness is sin. The knowing of the
 “ sickness is repentance, which the law worketh. The
 “ physician is *Christ*. And therefore although in remis-
 “ sion of our sins repentance is joined with faith, yet it
 “ is not the dignity or worthiness of repentance that
 “ causeth remission of sins, but only the worthiness of
 “ *Christ*, whom faith only apprehendeth; no more than
 “ the feeling of the disease is the cause of health, but
 “ only the physician. For else, when a man is cast and
 “ condemned by the law, it is not repentance that can
 “ save or deserve life; but if his pardon come, then is it
 “ the grace of the prince, and not his repentance that
 “ saveth.

* Gal. iii. 24.

† 1 Tim. i. 9.

“ The third point to be considered in the doctrine of
 “ the law, is this, that we mark well the end and purpose
 “ why the law is given, which is not to bring us to sal-
 “ vation, nor to work God’s favour, nor to make us
 “ good : But rather to declare and convict our wicked-
 “ ness, and to make us feel the danger thereof, to this
 “ end and purpose, that we, seeing our condemnation,
 “ and being in ourselves confounded, may be driven
 “ thereby to have our refuge in *Christ* the Son of God,
 “ and submit ourselves to him, in whom only is to be
 “ found our remedy, and in none other. And this end
 “ of the law ought to be seriously considered by all Chris-
 “ tians : That they do not fall into manifold errors and
 “ inconveniences. 1. They pervert all order of doc-
 “ trine. 2. They seek that in the law, which the law
 “ cannot give. 3. They are not able to comfort them-
 “ selves nor any other. 4. They keep men’s souls in an
 “ uncertain doubt of their salvation. 5. They obscure
 “ the light of God’s grace. 6. They are unkind to
 “ God’s benefits. 7. They are injurious to *Christ*’s pas-
 “ sion, and enemies to his cross. 8. They stop Chris-
 “ tians’ liberty. 9. They bereave the church, the spouse
 “ of *Christ*, of her due comfort, as taking away the sun
 “ out of the world. 10. In all their doings, they shoot
 “ at a wrong mark : For where *Christ* only is to be set
 “ up to be apprehended by our faith, and so freely to jus-
 “ tify us ; they, leaving this justification by faith, set up
 “ other marks, partly by the law, partly of their own
 “ devising, for men to shoot at. And here cometh in
 “ the manifest and manifold absurdities of the bishop of
 “ *Rome*’s doctrine, which (the Lord willing) we will re-
 “ hearse, as in a catalogue here following.”

*Errors and absurdities of the Papists, touching the doctrine of
 the LAW and of the GOSPEL.*

“ 1. They erroneously conceive an opinion of salva-
 “ tion in the law, which only is to be sought in the faith
 “ of *Christ*, and in no other.

“ 2. They erroneously seek God’s favour by works of
 “ the law : Not knowing that the law, in this our cor-
 “ rupt nature, worketh only the anger of God. *Rom. iii.*

“ 3. They err also in this, that where the office of the
 “ law is diverse and contrary from the gospel, they,
 “ without any difference, confound the one with the
 “ other, making the gospel to be a law, and *Christ* to be
 “ a *Moses*,

“ 4. They

“ 4. They err in dividing the law unskilfully into
 “ three parts, into the law-natural, the law-moral, and
 “ the law-evangelical.

“ 5. They err again in dividing the law-evangelical
 “ into precepts and counsels, making the precepts to
 “ serve for all men, the counsels only to serve for them
 “ that be perfect.

“ 6. The chief substance of all their teaching and
 “ preaching resteth upon the works of the law; as ap-
 “ pears by their religion, which wholly consisteth in
 “ men’s merits, traditions, laws, canons, decrees, and
 “ ceremonies.

“ 7. In the doctrine of salvation, of remission, and
 “ justification, either they admit the law equally with
 “ the gospel, or else, clean secluding the gospel, they
 “ teach and preach the law; so that little mention is
 “ made of the faith of *Christ*, or none at all.

“ 8. They err in thinking, that the law of God re-
 “ quireth nothing in us under pain of damnation; but
 “ only our obedience in external actions: As for the in-
 “ ward affections and concupiscence, they esteem but
 “ light matters.

“ 9. They, not knowing the true nature and strength
 “ of the law, do erroneously imagine that it is in man’s
 “ power to fulfil it.

“ 10. They err in thinking, that it is in man’s power
 “ not only to keep the law of God, but also to perform
 “ more perfect works than be in God’s law commanded,
 “ and these they call the works of perfection. And hereof
 “ rise the works of supererogation, of satisfaction, of con-
 “ gruity and condignity, to store up the treasure-house of
 “ the pope’s church, to be sold out to the people for money.

“ 11. They err in saying, that the state monastical is
 “ more perfect for keeping the counsels of the gospel,
 “ than other states be in keeping the law of the gospel.

“ 12. The counsels of the gospel they call the vows of
 “ their religious men; as profound humility, perfect chas-
 “ tity, and wilful poverty.

“ 13. They err abominably, in equalling their laws
 “ and constitutions with God’s law, and in saying, that
 “ man’s law bindeth under pain of damnation, no less
 “ than God’s law.

“ 14. They err sinfully, in punishing the transgressors
 “ of their laws more sharply than the transgressors of the
 “ law of God; as appeareth by their inquisitions, and
 “ their cannon-law, &c.

“ 15. Finally,

“ 15. Finally, they err most horribly in this, that where
 “ the free promise of God ascribeth our salvation only to
 “ our faith in *Christ*, excluding works; they, on the con-
 “ trary, ascribe salvation only, or principally, to works
 “ and merits, excluding faith. Whereupon ariseth the
 “ application of the sacrifice of the mass, *ex opere operato*,
 “ for the quick and dead, application of the merits of
 “ *Christ*'s passion, in bulls, application of the merits of
 “ all religious orders, and other such like trumpery, as
 “ above mentioned.

“ **THREE** *cautions to be observed and avoided in the true un-
 derstanding of the LAW.*

“ *First*, that we, through the misunderstanding of the
 “ scriptures, do not take the law for the gospel, nor the
 “ gospel for the law; but skilfully discern and distinguish
 “ the voice of the one from the voice of the other. Many
 “ there be, who reading the book of the *New Testament*,
 “ imagine that whatever they find contained in it, to be
 “ only and merely the voice of the gospel. And, on the
 “ other hand, whatever is contained in the *Old Testament*,
 “ that is, within the *law, stories, psalms, and prophets*,
 “ to be only and merely the word and voice of the law.
 “ In which they are deceived; for the preaching of the
 “ law and of the gospel are mixed together in both the
 “ *Testaments*, as well in the *Old* as in the *New*. Neither
 “ is the order of these two doctrines to be distinguished
 “ by books and leaves, but by the diversity of God's spi-
 “ rit speaking unto us. For sometimes in the *Old Tes-
 tament* God doth comfort, as he comforted *Adam*, with
 “ the voice of the gospel. Sometimes also in the *New*,
 “ he doth threaten and terrify; as when *Christ* threatened
 “ the *Pharisees*. In some places, again, *Moses* and the
 “ *prophets* play the *evangelists*: Insomuch that *Jerom*
 “ doubted whether he should call *Isaiah* a prophet or an
 “ *evangelist*. In some places, likewise, *Christ* and the
 “ *apostles* supply the part of *Moses*: And as *Christ* him-
 “ self, until his death, was under the law (which law he
 “ came not to break, but to fulfil), so his sermons made to
 “ the *Jews*, run all for the most part upon the perfect doc-
 “ trine and works of the law, shewing and teaching what
 “ we ought to do by the right law of justice, and what
 “ danger ensueth in not performing the same. All which
 “ places, though they be contained in the book of the
 “ *New Testament*, yet they are to be referred to the doc-
 “ trine of the law, ever having in them included a privy
 “ exception

“ exception of repentance and faith in *Christ Jesus*. As
 “ for example; where *Christ* thus preacheth, *Blessed are*
 “ *the pure in heart; for they shall see God* *. *Except ye be*
 “ *converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter*
 “ *into the kingdom of heaven* †. *But he, that doeth the will*
 “ *of my Father, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven* ‡.
 “ Likewise the parable of the unkind servant, justly cast
 “ into prison for not forgiving his fellow-servant, &c. §
 “ The casting the rich glutton into hell, &c. || *He, that*
 “ *denieth me before men, shall be denied before the angels of*
 “ *God*. ¶ With other such like places of scripture. All
 “ these, I say, pertaining to the doctrine of the law, do
 “ ever include in them a secret exception of earnest re-
 “ pentance and faith in *Christ’s* precious blood. For
 “ else, *Peter* denied, and yet repented. Many publicans
 “ and sinners were unkind, unmerciful, and hard-hearted
 “ to their fellow-servants; and yet many of them re-
 “ pent, and by faith were saved, &c. The grace of
 “ *Christ Jesus* works in us repentance towards God, and
 “ faith in himself unfeigned.

“ Briefly, to know when the law speaketh, and when
 “ the gospel speaketh, and to discern the voice of the one
 “ from the voice of the other, we may learn from the
 “ following remark. That when there is any moral
 “ work commanded to be done, either to avoid punish-
 “ ment, or upon promise of any reward temporal or eter-
 “ nal, or else when any promise is made with condition
 “ of any work commanded in the law; there is to be un-
 “ derstood the voice of the law. On the other hand,
 “ where the promise of life and salvation is offered unto
 “ us freely, without any merits or doings of ours, and
 “ simply without any condition annexed, of any law,
 “ either natural, ceremonial, or moral: All such places,
 “ whether they be read in the *Old Testament* or in the
 “ *New*, are to be referred to the voice and doctrine of
 “ the gospel. And this promise of God, freely made to
 “ us by the merits of *Jesus Christ*, so long before pro-
 “ phesied to us in the *Old Testament*, and afterward ex-
 “ hibited in the *New Testament*, and now requiring no-
 “ thing but our faith in the Son of God, is called pro-
 “ perly the voice of the gospel, and differeth from the
 “ voice of the law in this, that it hath *no condition* ad-
 “ joined of our meriting, but only respecteth the merits
 “ of *Christ* the Son of God; by faith in whom alone we

* Matth. v. 8.

† Ibid. xviii. 3.

‡ Ibid. vii. 21.

§ Ibid. xviii. 23, &c.

|| Luke xvi. 19, &c.

¶ Ibid. xii. 19.

“ are promised of God to be saved and justified, accord-
 “ ing as we read, *The righteousness of God, which is by*
 “ *faith of Jesus Christ unto all, and upon all them that be-*
 “ *lieve, &c.* Rom. iii. 22.

“ The second caution or danger to be avoided is, that
 “ we now knowing how to discern rightly between the
 “ law and the gospel, and having intelligence not to
 “ mistake one for the other, must take heed again that
 “ we break not the order between these two, taking and
 “ applying the law where the gospel is to be applied,
 “ either to ourselves or towards others. For notwith-
 “ standing the law and the gospel many times are to be
 “ joined together in order of doctrine; yet it may some-
 “ times fall out, that the law must be utterly sequestered
 “ from the gospel. As when any person or persons do
 “ feel themselves with the majesty of the law and judge-
 “ ment of God so terrified and oppressed, and with the
 “ burden of their sins overweighed and thrown down in-
 “ to utter discomfort, and almost even to the pit of hell,
 “ as happeneth many times to soft and timorous con-
 “ sciences of God’s good servants: When such mortified
 “ hearts do hear, either in preaching or in reading, any
 “ such example or place of the scripture which per-
 “ taineth to the law; let them think, that they do not in
 “ the least belong to them, no more than a mourning-
 “ weed belongeth to a marriage-feast; and therefore re-
 “ moving out of their minds all thoughts of the law, of
 “ fear, of judgement, and condemnation, let them only
 “ set before their eyes the gospel, the sweet comfort of
 “ God’s promise, free forgiveness of sins in *Christ*, grace,
 “ redemption, liberty, rejoicing, psalms, thanks, singing,
 “ and a paradise of spiritual jocundity, and nothing else;
 “ thinking thus with themselves, that the law hath done
 “ his office in them already, and now must needs give
 “ place to his better; that is, must needs give room to
 “ *Christ* the Son of God, who is the Lord and Master,
 “ the Fulfiller and Finisher of the law; *for Christ is the*
 “ *end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth,*
 “ Rom. x. 4.

“ The third danger to be avoided is, that we do not,
 “ on the other hand, use or apply the gospel, instead of
 “ the law. For, as applying the law instead of the gos-
 “ pel, is like going to a marriage-feast in a mourning
 “ gown; so to apply the gospel instead of the law, is to
 “ cast pearls before swine: In which there is great abuse
 “ among many. For commonly it is seen, that these
 “ worldly epicures and secure mammonists, to whom the
 “ doctrine

“ doctrine of the law doth properly appertain, do receive
 “ and apply to themselves most principally the sweet
 “ promises of the gospel: So likewise it is too often the
 “ case, for those broken and contrite in heart, to whom
 “ only belong the joyful tidings of the gospel and not
 “ the law, to receive and retain to themselves the terrible
 “ voice and sentences of the law. Whereby it cometh
 “ to pass, that many do rejoice, that should mourn; and
 “ many fear and mourn, that should rejoice. Where-
 “ fore, to conclude; in private use of life, let every per-
 “ son wisely discern between the law and the gospel,
 “ and aptly apply to himself, that which he seeth con-
 “ venient.

“ And again, in public order of doctrine, let every
 “ discreet preacher put a difference between the broken
 “ heart of the mourning sinner, and the impenitent
 “ worldling, and so join both the law with the gospel,
 “ and the gospel with the law; that in throwing down
 “ the wicked he ever spare the weak-hearted; and again, so
 “ spare the weak, that he do not encourage the ungodly.”

The Christian Reader will excuse the length of these
 extracts, which we will conclude with remarking; that
 this excellent man *Hamilton*, and his blessed commentator
Frith, lived before the establishment of the Reformation
 in their respective countries of *Scotland* and *England*; and
 that it is comfortable to reflect, that the same Spirit teaches
 the same truth in all places and times; as appears in the
 instance before us, which contains the gospel with as much
 clearness (and would to GOD, it might not be said,
 with *more* clearness) as among the professors of a later day.

GERARD GELDENHAUR,

SOMETIMES CALLED,

GERARDUS NOVIOMAGUS.

GERARD GELDENHAUR, a very learned
German, was born at *Nimeguen*, in the year 1482.
 From his earliest youth, he was distinguished by his love
 M of

of learning, especially of history and poetry. He studied classical learning at *Daventer*, and went through his course of philosophy at *Louvain* with such success, that he was chosen to teach that science there. It was in this famous university, that he contracted a very strict friendship with several learned men, and in particular with *Erasmus*, as appears from the epistles of the latter. He made some stay at *Antwerp*, from whence he was invited to the court of *Charles of Austria*, to be reader and historian to that prince: But not loving to change his abode often, he did not think proper to attend him into *Spain*, but disengaged himself from his service, and entered into that of *Philip of Burgundy*, bishop of *Utrecht*. He was his reader and secretary twelve years, namely, to the year 1524; after which, he executed the same functions in the court of *Maximilian of Burgundy*. He was sent to *Wittenberg* in the year 1526, in order to enquire into the state of the schools, and of the church there. He faithfully reported what he had observed in that city, and confessed, he could not disapprove of a doctrine so conformable to the scriptures, as that which he heard there: And upon this he forsook the popish religion, and retired towards the *Upper Rhine*. He married at *Worms*, and taught youth for some time. Afterwards, about the year 1531, he was invited to *Augsburg*, to undertake the same employment; and at length, in the year 1534, he went from thence to *Marpurg*, where he taught history for two years, and then divinity to his death. He died of the plague on the 10th of *January*, A. D. 1542. He was a man well skilled in poetry, rhetoric, and history. The most considerable of his works are—*Historia Batavica*; *Strasburg*, 1533; but *Vossius* mentions an edition of the year 1520.—*De Batavorum Insulâ*.—*Germaniæ Inferioris Historia*; *Strasburg*, 1532.—*Epistola de Zelandiâ*.—*Satyræ Octo*, printed at *Louvain*, in 1515.—*Historiæ et Catalogus episcoporum Ultrajectinorum*, &c.

His changing his religion, and some writings which he published against the church of *Rome*, occasioned a quarrel between him and *Erasmus*. *Erasmus* called him a seditious fellow, and blamed him for publishing scoffing books, which only irritated princes against *Luther's* followers. He blamed him also for prefixing the name, and some notes, of *Erasmus* to certain letters, the intent of which was to shew, that the heretics ought not to be punished. This was exposing *Erasmus* to the court of *Rome*, and to the popish powers: For it was saying in effect,

effect, that *Erasmus* had furnished the innovators with weapons to attack their enemies. Nothing could be more true; but *Erasmus* did not like to have such offices done him. Age had made him a coward, if he was not one naturally; and he was afraid to avow principles, which he secretly maintained. He abused *Geldenhaur*, therefore, in very severe terms; compared him to the traitor *Judas*; and, instead of assisting him in his necessity, put him off with raillery. ‘But, my dear *Vulturius*,’ for so he nick-named him, ‘since you have taken the resolution to profess an evangelical life, I wonder you find poverty uneasy; when *St. Hilarion*, not having money enough to pay his boat-hire, thought it cause of glory, that he had undesignedly arrived at such gospel-perfection. *St. Paul* also glories, that he knew how to abound, and how to suffer need; and that, having nothing, he possessed all things. The same apostle commends certain *Hebrews*, who had received the gospel, that they took the spoiling of their goods joyfully. Add that, if the *Jews* suffer none to be poor among them, how much more does it become those, who boast of the gospel, to relieve the wants of their brethren by mutual charity: Especially, since evangelical frugality is content with very little? Those, who live by the spirit, want no delicacies, if they have but bread and water: They are strangers to luxury, and feed on fasting. We read, that the apostles themselves satisfied their hunger with ears of corn rubbed in their hands. Perhaps, you may imagine, I am jesting all this while; —very likely—but others will not think so.’—These taunts of *Erasmus* give us another trace of his true character. He had not grace to dare the frowns of the world, and particularly of the great, among whom were most of his considerable friends; and these were of the *Roman* communion. Whatever he said in favor of Protestantism, was by pure constraint of the truth. He had very little court to make in that quarter. Hence, as he was a man of great wit as well as learning, he was free in his jests upon the foibles of many excellent men among the Protestants, which served his purpose, with many of the popish party, of concealing his real sentiments, or of enjoying them without molestation. He had, in short, too much of that wisdom, which strives to reconcile GOD and mammon.

Under this life, *Melchior Adam* relates an anecdote of *John Weselus*, a physician, as well as divine, who canvassed

vassed the doctrine of the sacrament full thirty years before the ventilation of that subject by *Luther* and *Zuinglius*; and wrote notes upon those passages of the New Testament; in which it occurs. *Weselus* was also surnamed *Basil* and *Gansfort*. He was esteemed of such uncommon learning, piety, and judgement; that he was usually called *lux mundi*, 'The light of the world;' and, in respect to any controverted matter (like another *Pythagoras*) it was sufficient for determination to prove, *hoc dixit, hoc docuit, hoc scripsit*; that *Weselus* had said, taught, and wrote it. He visited most of the universities of note in the Christian world; and was an intimate friend of *John de Wesaliâ*, whom we mentioned before; and whom the younger *Spanheim* has mistaken for the same person in his ecclesiastical history. He expected to have shared persecution with his learned friend; and probably would, but for the interposition of *David à Burgundiâ*, then bishop of *Utrecht*, whom he had greatly served in his medical capacity. He wrote many tracts, which were printed at *Leipsig, Antwerp, &c.* and which have been honored by being placed in the first class of those books, prohibited by the church of *Rome*. He died in his 70th year. By the writings of this excellent person, were the eyes of *Geldenhaur* opened, to the acknowledgement of the truth. And he relates this remarkable circumstance, that in the church of *St. Levinus*, in *March 1520*, he [*Geldenhaur*] was informed by *John Ostendorp*, a man advanced in years, that *Weselus*, long before, had, in conversation with him, when he was but a youth, addressed him [the said *Ostendorp*,] in these words: "My
 " studious young friend, you will live to see the day;
 " when the doctrine of our late contentious school-di-
 " vines, *Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure*, and others of the
 " same leaven, shall be exploded by all true teachers of
 " the Christian religion."—How true a prophet he was, the event amply shewed; for, soon after that time, the Reformation began in *Germany*. — The learned Reader may see more of this *Weselus*, in *Baselius's* "*Sulpitius Belgicus*," and in the writings of *Flaccus Illyricus, Wolfius*, and others.

It is proper to observe, that *Gerard Geldenhaur* was better known by the name of his country, than by that of his family; for he was usually called *Gerardus Noviomagus*: And *Erasmus*, in his letters to him, gives him no other name.

JOHN OECOLAMPADIUS.

THIS German Reformer was born at *Winsperg* in *Franconia*, in the year 1482, according to *Bayle*: *Dupin* says he was born at *Auschein* in *Switzerland*; but it is certain he was of *Franconia*. His parents were of a good family and in very competent circumstances. It appears, in the preface to his annotations upon the prophecy of *Isaiab*, that his grand-father was of *Basil*, and that his mother was remarkable for the great sanctity of her life, and liberality to the poor. His father, being (it is said) a merchant, designed him for his own profession; but his mother was desirous of making him a scholar, and prevailed on her husband to send him to the college of *Heilbrun*. He was soon removed to the university of *Heidelberg*, where he received the degree of batchelor at fourteen years of age. From *Heidelberg*, he was sent to *Boulogne*, where he studied the civil law six months; and then returned to *Heidelberg*, where he applied himself to the study of divinity. He assiduously read the works of *Thomas Aquinas*, *Richard*, and *Gerson*; but he despised the subtilties of *Scotus*, and scorned to follow the humour which prevailed in the universities. He disregarded the honorary distinctions in the public exercises; and only endeavored to obtain the character of a learned man. He furnished his mind with useful knowledge, and abstained from the disputations of the schoolmen. All his conversation was remarkably serious and exemplary, grounded upon the maxim, *Eum, qui proficiat in literis & deficiat in moribus, non proficere, sed deficere*: That he, who increases in knowledge without virtue, does not increase, but decrease. 'Not long after (says *Dr. Fuller* in his *Abel Redivivus*) he was honored with the title of master of arts, in the same academy; after which, by the advice of his parents, he went to *Bononia*, with an intent to apply himself to the study of the civil law; but after staying half a year, and finding the air very prejudicial to his health, he returned again to his father, and remained with him till he had recovered his former strength. He then went again to *Heidelberg*; where, contrary to the will of his father, he quitted the study of the civil law, and gave himself

himself wholly to the study of divinity; being led and guided thereto by the love of truth. In the performance of which act he imitated the example of that burning lamp of the church *John Chrysostom*, the same act being also approved and embraced by *Martin Luther*, *John Calvin*, *Peter Martyr*, *Theodore Beza*, *Lambertus Danæus*, and others.

Here he began to make himself acquainted with such schoolmen, whose judgement in points of controversy were most approved of in that academy; as *Thomas Aquinas*, *Gerson*, and others; which he studied with the utmost labor day and night, desiring an explanation of such distinctions, as he could not understand.

This more than ordinary industry procured him a general approbation, together with a certain demonstration of his future worth, not only in *Heidelberg*, but in the adjacent places; insomuch, that he was recommended to that illustrious prince *Philip*, *Electoꝛ Palatine*, who sent for him, and committed his youngest sons to his tuition; bearing always a reverend respect to him, for the excellency of those parts with which he saw he was endowed. After he had been a while in this new employment, he perceived that a courtly life did not suit his natural inclination; therefore he left it, and returned again (as one that had been long captivated) to the study of divinity.

His parents perceiving that his mind was altogether set on that study, and having no other child but him, they made use of those means that God had blessed them with, in order to procure a priesthood for him, in the town where he was born, to which also was added the authority of preaching: Unto this place he was called; but finding himself, after a fortnight's trial, unable to undergo so laborious an office; he desired leave to return again to *Heidelberg*, that he might acquire a greater measure of knowledge, and return from thence better qualified to discharge the important duties of that sacred function.

Having obtained leave, he changed his resolution and steered his course towards *Tubingen*; and from thence to *Stutgard*; where *Reuchlin* lived; a man famous for his excellent knowledge in the languages. Here he staid for a short space, during which time, he received from *Reuchlin* some light concerning the *Greek*; in which, by daily study and practice, he so profited, that, upon his return to *Heidelberg*, he published a *Greek* grammar; where he also learned the *Hebrew* by a *Spanish* teacher.

Finding

Finding himself better qualified by the addition of the languages, he returned to his native place, and chearfully labored in his pastoral office; preaching *Christ* so powerfully to them, that he was greatly admired of his auditors; nor did he shine only in sound excellent doctrine, but also in a corresponding life and conversation; setting a good example before those to whom he preached; and always associating with such as were famous for religion or learning, especially *Wolfgang Capito*, with whom he was acquainted at *Heidelberg*: Their friendship being here renewed, it continued firm till death.

During the discharge of his holy calling in the place of his nativity, *Wolfgang Capito* was called to *Basil*, to be their public lecturer; which advancement did not cause him at all to forget his old friend *Oecolampadius*, but rather put him upon thinking, how he might be of service in promoting him to some more eminent place; shewing great concern, that so bright a lamp of piety should be shut up in so narrow and unregarded a part of the country; wherefore he used all means to persuade the inhabitants of *Basil*, signifying his worth, to invite him to this city, and to confer that dignity upon him, which should correspond with his merit. *Capito* herein succeeded according to his wishes, for they readily agreed, and sent *Oecolampadius* a call to the pastoral office in that city, in 1515. Where, after he had preached, with great applause, for about a twelve-month, he was honored, in the same academy, with the title of doctor in divinity. About the same time *Erasmus Rotterodamus* came to *Basil*, to publish his annotations on the New Testament; for the perfecting of which, he used the assistance of our *Oecolampadius*, on account of the eminency of his parts, as he himself freely confesseth.

When *Erasmus's* work was finished, *Oecolampadius* left *Basil* and went to *Augsburg*, being called by the commons of the cathedral church to preach in that place unto the people: But he remained not long here; partly because of the humble opinion he had of his own abilities, thinking himself insufficient for so important and eminent a station; and, partly because of a degree of melancholy which predominated in his constitution, that disposed him to retirement and solitude. He therefore departed, and entered into the monastery of *St. Bridget*, situated without the city of *Augsburg*; but used such caution in making his covenant with the monks, as that he was to have liberty to study, and to believe what he would, and to depart from them

them when he pleased; for, said he, "*Etiam si sexcentis juramentis me obstrixero, nequaquam ea servare potero, si quando utilis ministerio verbi sum futurus.*" Although I should bind myself by innumerable oaths, I shall not by any means be able to keep them, if at any time I shall perceive that any profit will accrue to the church by my ministry.

The monks, sensible of their acquisition, received him joyfully into their society, bestowing all things on him that he desired most liberally, and particularly acquainted him with all their privileges. After a few months he was so well pleased, that he purposed to spend the rest of his days in this lazy manner of life: But it pleased God to call him out again, and for that end stirred up his friends, and especially *Capito*, who seriously persuaded and earnestly exhorted him to give over that monastical life; to whose entreaties he yielded, and purposed to betake himself again to the labors of his calling; but, by way of preparation to his leaving the monastery, he first prepared and published a book of confession, in which, in many particulars, he opposed the doctrine of the church of *Rome*, and thereby rendered his life in danger. The monks also were greatly afraid, lest any inconvenience should happen to them on account of his proceedings, and therefore endeavored to free their monastery of him. In the mean time, he sharply reprehended them for their errors, persuading them to embrace the truth, which so exceedingly incensed them against him, that they labored privately with his friends to be more earnest with him to leave the monastery.' Thus far *Fuller*.

Oecolampadius, in 1517, wrote a letter to *Erasmus*, full of friendship and respect. He had seen *Erasmus* at *Basil*, and informed him, of his own occupations at this time; for he was collating the *Vulgate* with the *Hebrew*; and of his connections with *Melancthon*. In 1518, *Erasmus* wrote a friendly letter to *Oecolampadius*, in which he highly commends *Melancthon*; though, at that time, he was displeased with him, for having spoken slightly of his New Testament.

Oecolampadius had acquired a great reputation for his skill in the learned languages, and was held in great esteem for his preaching. He was so far from admitting any change in religion, that he wrote a book against *Luther* to prove that the mass might be called a sacrifice. It was in 1520, when he was thirty-eight years old, that he withdrew himself from the world, and became a monk of the order of *St. Bridget*, in the monastery of *St. Laurence*, near *Augsburg*,

Augsburg. ‘I hear, says *Erasmus*, that *Oecolampadius* is turned monk: I wish he had thought better upon it.’ *Erasmus* approved this step of *Oecolampadius* as little as his friend *Bilibaldus*; and observes, that a man’s discontented and restless temper will pursue him even into the retirement of a monastery. *Oecolampadius* informed *Erasmus* of his change of life; to which the latter replied, and wished, that this learned man might find his new situation answerable to his hopes. ‘If I thought, says *Erasmus*, it would prove so, I could be content to bear you company: But I fear you will find your expectations disappointed.’ *Oecolampadius* suspected, that *Erasmus* disapproved of his entering into a monastic life. *Erasmus* tells him, it was not so; and that, when he treated the monks as *Pharisees*, he only meant his own persecutors; and those, who, under a pretence of religion, were real foes to it. He was willing to suppose, that *Oecolampadius* had chosen a society less infected than some others.

Erasmus was not deceived in his conjecture; for, in 1521, *Oecolampadius* began to go over to the reformers. He had corrected the first edition of the New Testament published by *Erasmus*, who describes him as a person that approved the state of life into which he had entered, and performed his duty: However, *Oecolampadius* soon altered his judgement, and left his monastery in 1522. He retired to *Basil*, in *Switzerland*, where he was made curate, and preacher of the church of *St. Martin*; and he soon introduced the doctrine of *Luther*. Here he was again advanced by the senate to a pastoral office, with a yearly stipend, which he performed with great zeal and constancy to the glory of God and the good of his church; here he boldly discovered to his auditors those errors, which by continuance had got firm footing in the church—he opened up to them the perfection and sufficiency of the merits of *Christ*—he declared to them the true nature of faith—and explained to them the true doctrine of charity; insomuch that they began to waver in their minds about the authority of the popish religion. Whilst he was thus zealously occupied in these things, there were some who labored to draw him again to the *Pseudo-Catholick* religion, especially *Johannes Cochläus*, who, in 1524, wrote letters to him, in which he declared himself deeply afflicted, to hear that a man, so excellently learned, should lay aside his soul, and adhere to such heretical opinions; and at the same time exhorted him to revoke his opinion

and return to the monastery, promising him a dispensation from the *Pope*, and the favor of the *Prior*, which he had formerly enjoyed: But these and such like things were slighted by *Oecolampadius*, who, bringing them to the word of God, found they would not endure the trial.

In the performance of his pastoral charge, an assistant was appointed him by public authority; and now he began to settle a more excellent Reformation in the church, commanding the sacrament of baptism to be administered in the mother tongue, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper to be received in both kinds; he taught that the mass was not a sacrifice for the living and the dead, or for those who were tormented in their feigned purgatory; but that perfect satisfaction was made for all believers by the passion and merits of *Christ*. He dissuaded them from sprinkling themselves with holy-water, and from the consecration of palms, and the like; declaring, that they, who attributed virtue to such things, did exceedingly detract from the glory and power of God. His preachings of the doctrines of *Christ* took such deep root in the hearts of his auditors, that they gave a period to many superstitious actions among them.

The foundation of future Reformation was no sooner laid, than the old dragon began to play his part, and to discover his malicious envy and hatred against such things as make for the glory of God; either by hindering their proceedings, or by laying some foul aspersions on them: For at that time brake forth that, yet continued, sacramentary dissension between *Martin Luther* and *Huldericus Zuinglius*, pastor of the church at *Zurich*, concerning the eucharist, which caused a great dissension between the churches of *Switzerland* and *Saxony*. *Oecolampadius* endeavored, but with little success, to heal these dissensions by publishing a book upon the true meaning of these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*; and by many strong arguments affirmed, that it was a tropial phrase.

This intended Reformation was again hindered by *Eckius* and his followers, who taught, 1. That the substantial body and blood of *Christ* was in the sacrament of the altar. 2. That they were truly offered up in the mass, both for the living and the dead. 3. That the virgin *Mary* and the *Saints* were to be worshipped as intercessors. 4. That the images of *Jesus* and the *Saints* were not to be abolished. 5. That after this life there was a purgatory.

These positions were vehemently opposed by *Oecolampadius* at the public disputation held at *Baden*: The consequence

consequence of which was, that some of the *Helvetians* or *Switzers*, subscribed the arguments of *Eckius*, and others those of *Oecolampadius*; so that their dissension still remained; nor could it be removed by any means, although attempted by many worthy instruments of *Christ*, who encountered many dangers, in order to accomplish an end so desirable. However *Oecolampadius* wrought so with the people, that liberty of conscience was granted to the citizens in matters of religion.

Luther was introducing the Reformation in *Germany*; while *Zuinglius* began to introduce it in *Switzerland*, by publicly preaching against the corruptions of the *Roman* church. *Oecolampadius* assisted *Zuinglius*; which made *Erasmus* speak ill of them both, in 1524, and inveigh violently against the morals both of the reformed, who then began to make a party, and of the Lutherans. ‘ Shall we, says *Erasmus*, shake off the domination of ‘ popes and prelates, to submit to worse tyrants than ‘ they, to scabby madmen, to the scum of the earth?’ He had in view *Otho Brunfeld*, and *Farellus*, whom he could not bear, because they had declared him as a political time-server, who durst not act according to his true sentiments. They had their faults: But they applied themselves closely to the study of the holy scriptures; and, as far as they understood the gospel, they preached it with great fervor, and with no less danger. If there was something in their behavior which *Erasmus* could justly censure, there was also something which he might have commended.

Oecolampadius and *Zuinglius* had declared openly enough, that they followed not the sentiments of *Luther* in all things: Yet they spoke of *Luther* with respect; and these differences were not concerning things essential and fundamental. *Erasmus*, who was so well versed in ecclesiastical antiquities, knew that the antient fathers were far enough from being all of a mind, though they agreed in the main; and as he pardoned them, he ought to have extended the same favor to his contemporaries, to men equally liable to the same defects, and equally worthy of the same regard and respect.

Erasmus, in 1525, appeared angry with *Oecolampadius*; because, in the preface to his commentary on *Isaiah*, he had said of *Erasmus*, *Magnus Erasmus noster*, “ Our great “ *Erasmus*,” which might give occasion to the enemies of the latter to say, that he and *Oecolampadius* were of a mind. The beginning of this epistle is not worthy of *Erasmus*.

‘ I judge not, says he, I leave that to the Lord, who will
 ‘ absolve, or condemn you: But I consider what several
 ‘ great men think of you, the emperor, the pope; *Ferdi-*
 ‘ *nand*, the king of *England*, the bishop of *Rocheſter*, car-
 ‘ dinal *Wolfey*, and many others, whose authority it is
 ‘ not ſafe for me to deſpiſe, and whose favour it is not
 ‘ prudent for me to throw away.’ What reply this
 learned and worthy Reformer made to this ſtrange com-
 plaint, we know not: But he might very juſtly have told
Erasmus; that he had done him more honor than he de-
 ſerved; and that, for the future, he would throw away
 no more civilities upon him.

Whilst Lutheraniſm was ſettling in *Germany*, the doc-
 trine of the new ſect, founded in *Switzerland* by *Zuinglius*,
 was called, ‘ Evangelical Truth;’ and *Zuinglius* boldly
 oppoſed the errors of the church of *Rome*. Upon this
 foundation he continued preaching from the beginning
 of the year 1519, not only againſt indulgences, but alſo
 againſt the interceſſion and invocation of ſaints, the ſa-
 crifice of the maſs, the eccleſiaſtical vows, the celibacy
 of prieſts, and the abſtinence from meats. However, he
 attempted no alteration in the outward and public worſhip
 of God till 1523, when he found the magiſtrates and citi-
 zens of *Zurich* diſpoſed to caſt off the *Romiſh* doctrine, and
 receive the reformed.

About this time, the ſect of Anabaptiſts ſprung up in
Germany, under *Nicholas Stork* and *Thomas Muncer*, who
 had been followers of *Luther*: They taught, that the
 goods of all men ought to be common: That all men
 ſhould be free, and independent: That God would no
 longer permit the oppreſſions of kings, and the injuſtice
 of magiſtrates: That the time was come for them to be
 depoſed, and men of honeſty and religion ſet up in their
 places. This ſeditious doctrine was diſperſed in *Germany*,
 and cauſed a rebellion among the peaſants in all places.
 The firſt commotions began in *Swabia*, which ſoon ſpread
 throughout all the ten circles of the empire, where vaſt
 multitudes of peaſants plundered the country; robbed and
 burnt the churches, monaſtries, and caſtles; ſlew the
 prieſts, monks, and nobility; and made a ſtrange deſo-
 lation in all the ſtates. The princes of the empire ſent a
 confederate army againſt the rebels, who were defeated
 in three battles by *George Truchſes*, count of *Walburg*, and
 the elector Palatine. *Muncer* ſtill kept ſome bands of
 peaſants in *Thuringia*, and made *Mulhaufen* the chief re-
 ſidence of his *Utopian* kingdom. But *John* elector of
Saxony,

Saxony, Frederic prince of Hesse, and the duke of Brunswick, attacked Muncer at Franckhusen, where he was defeated, taken prisoner, and executed.

While the German princes were crushing this rebellion of the peasants, there happened great disputes in Germany and Switzerland between the Romish priests and the Reformers; as also between the Lutherans, Zuinglians, and Anabaptists. Luther declared himself against the doctrine of Zuinglius concerning the Lord's Supper: But Oecolampadius concurred with Zuinglius, and taught the same doctrine at Basil.

Erasmus resided at this time at Basil, and speaks of the slaughter of the peasants in Germany: But commends the comparative moderation of the reformers of Basil. He wrote to Bedda, to justify a letter which he had formerly sent to the bishop of Basil. In it we find some remarkable things concerning the sentiments of the reformed, as to the eucharist. 'Carolostadt, says he, hath brought a most formidable tragedy upon the stage. He hath persuaded the people, that there is nothing in the Lord's Supper except bread and wine. Zuinglius hath written books to support this opinion: And Oecolampadius hath defended it with such skill, and hath employed so many arguments, and such persuasive eloquence, that, if God should not interpose, even the elect may be seduced. This city of Basil wavers; but it may still be confirmed in the faith. I am obliged to quit all my other affairs, to enter into this war, although I have not abilities equal to so difficult a task.' It appears not, that Erasmus even undertook to confute Oecolampadius; and this was probably a mere bragging and threatening, not intended to be put in execution, and thrown out only to please the Romanists. He acted very prudently in leaving Oecolampadius and Zuinglius at quiet, and in declining a combat, wherein he would infallibly have been buffeted and disgraced. He was ever suspected of favoring this very sentiment; and, in another letter, he bestows the same praises upon this work of Oecolampadius.

Oecolampadius agreed with Zuinglius in the nature of the doctrine; but he gave a different sense of our Lord's words. Zuinglius placed the figure of these words, 'This is my body,' in the verb, 'is;' which he held to be taken for signifies. Oecolampadius laid it upon the noun, body; and affirmed that the bread is called, *the body*, by a metonymy, which allows the name of the thing signified to be given to the sign.

The



The Lutherans, in *Swabia* and *Bavaria*, decried the doctrine of *Oecolampadius* in their sermons, which obliged him to dedicate a treatise upon the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper to them, printed at *Strasburg* in 1525, and afterwards in the *German* tongue at *Basil*, where it was at first forbidden. As soon as this formidable book appeared, the magistrates of *Basil* consulted two divines and two lawyers, to know whether the public sale of it might be permitted. The divines were *Erasmus* and *Berus*; the lawyers were *Bonifacius Amerbachius* and *Claudius Canzonetta*. *Erasmus* says, that, in giving his answer upon this point, he made no invectives against *Oecolampadius*; and so the book was allowed to be sold. He adds, *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Capito*, and *Pellican*, were alarmed at this procedure; and that *Capito* wrote from *Strasburg*, desiring that too much deference might not be paid to the judgement of these four arbitrators.

Brentius answered *Oecolampadius*, in the name of all the Lutheran ministers of *Swabia*, in a book intitled, *Syngramma Suevicum super verbis cænæ*, in which he asserted, 'That *Jesus Christ* is present in the sacrament, and in the action of the supper: That his body and blood are received, although in an invifible manner, by faith; as remission of fins is received by baptism.' Yet he intimated, that the body and blood of *Christ* are present only by faith, and are received only spiritually. The *Syngramma* was translated by *John Agricola* into the *German* language; and it was approved by *Luther*, who wrote a preface to it, wherein he says, 'The sacramentarians had already five or six leaders; the first, *Carlostadius*, who applies the pronoun *this*, to the visible body of *Jesus Christ*; the second *Zuinglius*, who expounds the word *is*, by *signifies*; the third *Oecolampadius*, who places the figure upon the word, *body*; a fourth perverts the order of the words; a fifth alters their places; the sixth is not yet produced, who will chicane about the words; and, perhaps, we may soon see a seventh, who will overthrow all.'

Oecolampadius and *Zuinglius* were obliged to defend themselves against *Luther*, who answered them, and wrote a book on purpose upon the eucharist in the *German* tongue, in which he attempted to prove the ubiquity of the body of *Jesus Christ* by this argument: 'That in all places where the divinity of our Saviour is, there his humanity ought also to be present.' *Oecolampadius* and *Zuinglius* immediately replied: And *Oecolampadius* and
Bucer

Bucer confuted the large confession of *Luther*. *Brentius* opposed their opinions in his exposition upon the gospel of *St. John*; and the other Lutherans persisted resolutely in the condemnation of it.

Erasmus, in 1526, passed a remarkable judgement upon the sentiments of *Oecolampadius* touching the eucharist, in a letter to *Pirckheimerus*, who had written a book on the subject against *Oecolampadius*. ‘The opinion of *Oecolampadius*, says *Erasmus*, would not displease me, if the consent of the church did not hinder me from adopting it: For I discern not what good an invisible substance can do there, or how it can profit any one, if it were discernable.’ Here the good sense of *Erasmus* suggested to him plain and strong arguments against either transubstantiation, or the real and bodily presence: He thought miracles should be so wrought as to be seen, and that they should never be wrought in vain. *Pirckheimerus* rallied *Erasmus* for having said, that he preferred the sentiment of *Oecolampadius* upon the eucharist to that of others. *Erasmus* replied, ‘I never said that his sentiment was the best: I only said to some friends that I could adopt it, if the authority of the church had approved it; but that I could not quit the sentiments of the church. I call the church, the consent of the body of Christian people.’

The consequence of these disputes was a division among the reformers into two considerable sects: The Lutherans, and the Zuinglians, or Sacramentarians. The Saxons continued firm to the doctrine of *Luther*; and that of *Zuinglius* was received by the Switzers, and some cities of the upper Germany.

All this time, the gospel was preached in no other of the Swiss cantons, than *Zurich*. The other twelve cantons, therefore, appointed among themselves a disputation to be held at *Baden*, at which place were assembled the famous *Eckius*, *John Faber*, *Murner*, &c. together with the bishops’ legates of *Lucern*, *Basil*, *Lausanne*, &c. The points disputed were, transubstantiation, the propitiation offered in the mass, the invocation of saints, the worship of images, and purgatory. *Oecolampadius*, with others, disputed against these theses; but came to no other conclusion, than to refer the decision to the authority of the next general council, when it should be convened.

A conference between the Zuinglians, Lutherans, and Papists, was held at *Bern*, on the seventh of *January*, 1528. This disputation was particularly on the proposition of the sacrament; and *Oecolampadius*, together with
Zuinglius,

Zuinglius, *Bucer*, *Capito*, *Blauretus*, and several other Sacramentarians, maintained it against the Papists and Lutherans. It ended in the abolition of the superstitious ceremonies of the *Romish* church, throughout the canton of *Bern*. The cities of *Constance* and *Geneva* immediately followed the example: But it was not effected in the cities of *Basil* and *Strasburgh* till 1529. *Oecolampadius* was married this year to the widow of *Cellarius*. It is remarkable, that, after the death of *Oecolampadius*, she was married to *Wolfgangus Capito*: And lastly, to *Martin Bucer*. *Erasmus* laughed at *Oecolampadius* for his marriage; and said, ‘He hath taken to himself a wife, a pretty girl; probably he designs to mortify the flesh. Some call Lutheranism a tragedy: I call it a comedy, where the distress ends in matrimony.’ Yet he afterwards commended him as a divine.

The troubles of *Germany* increased, and the emperor *Charles V.* was obliged to call a diet at *Spire*, in *March* 1529; in the first place, to require the assistance of the princes of the empire against *Solyman*, who had taken *Buda*, and threatened to conquer all *Hungary*: And in the next place, to find out some way to allay the disputes about religion. The Anabaptists were not permitted to come to this diet: It was also intended to exclude the deputies of *Strasburgh*, and the other cities, who had, contrary to the edicts of the preceding diets, abolished the mass, and other ceremonies, by their own authority. The Catholics labored all they could to divide the Lutherans, and Sacramentarians; and had accomplished their design, if the landgrave of *Hesse* had not prevented their divisions from breaking out. The Lutheran princes protested against the edict published at the diet of *Spire*; and, for that reason, were called PROTESTANTS. In the following year they presented to the emperor, at the diet of *Augsburg*, their confession of faith; and entered into a defensive league, at *Smalcald*, for their common security.

The article of the *protestation*, which concerned the doctrine of the Sacramentarians, was particularly worded, that the princes might take away the difference between the Lutherans and *Zuinglians*, without approving the doctrine of the Sacramentarians. *Oecolampadius* complained, in a letter wrote to *Melancthon*, that *Faber*, bishop of *Vienna*, attempted to procure the condemnation of their opinions: And he desired *Melancthon* to declare on his side. *Melancthon* answered him, that he could not approve their opinion, as he found no sufficient reason to depart

depart from the literal sense of the words. He desired *Oecolampadius* to consider the importance of the question in debate: And adds, it would be convenient that some good men should confer together upon that head. *Oecolampadius* replied to this letter of *Melancthon*, and yielded to the necessity of some conferences: But observed, that the persons to be appointed should be men free from passion, and not of contentious spirits; otherwise they would be unable to discover the truth, and only increase their enmity.

The landgrave of *Hesse*, in pursuance of these propositions, invited *Zuinglius* and *Luther* to a friendly conference at *Marpurg*, in *October* following. Both parties were unwilling to accept the proposal: But *Oecolampadius* prevailed on *Zuinglius*, *Bucer*, and *Hedio*, to embrace it, and repair to *Marpurg*, where they were followed by *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Justus Jonas*, *Andreas Osiander*, *Brentius*, and *Agricola*. Before they held their public conference, there was a private meeting between *Oecolampadius* and *Zuinglius*, *Luther* and *Melancthon*. They disagreed upon the article of the Lord's Supper, and debated it before the landgrave himself. This conference held three days; wherein *Luther* kept close to the words of the institution, which he affirmed to be full and positive for the corporal manducation. *Oecolampadius* asserted, that they ought to be understood metaphorically, and of a spiritual presence; but affirmed, that it did not exclude the corporal. Many authorities and arguments were produced on both sides: Though neither was convinced.

Bucer endeavored to reconcile the Lutherans and *Zuinglians* at the diet of *Augsburg*: But *Oecolampadius* disapproved of his articles; and his labours to procure an union were ineffectual. In 1531, a civil war broke out between the popish and protestant cantons in *Switzerland*, in which *Zuinglius* was killed. The same year the book, published by *Servetus* about the errors concerning the Trinity, was brought into *Switzerland*, where it disgusted several of the protestant divines, as it appears from a letter of *Oecolampadius* to *Bucer*, dated the fifth of *August*, 1531, wherein he says, "I have seen our friends of *Bern*,
 " who are very much offended with the book intituled *De*
 " *Trinitatis Erroribus*. I desire you will acquaint *Luther*,
 " that this book was printed out of this country, and
 " without our knowledge. The author impudently af-
 " firms, that the Lutherans do not understand the doc-
 " trine of justification; and our church will be ill spoken
 O of,

“ of, unless our divines make it their business to explode
 “ him. I beseech you to make an apology for our church,
 “ at least in your confutation inscribed to the emperor.
 “ He wrests all the passages of the scripture, to prove
 “ that the Son is not co-eternal and consubstantial with
 “ the Father; and that the man *Christ* is the Son of God.”

The magistrates of *Basil* desired that *Oecolampadius* would give them his opinion concerning the book of *Servetus*; and the reformer made a short discourse in their presence, wherein he shewed that it was a pernicious book; but he expressed himself with great moderation. *Oecolampadius* also wrote two letters to *Servetus* about his book, wherein he confuted him in a very civil manner, and intreated him to renounce his errors. He blamed *Servetus* for expressing a greater esteem for *Tertullian*, than for all the other fathers of the church. *Servetus* continued an Anti-trinitarian; and some are of opinion, that the Reformation would have made a further progress, if it had not been for that sect.

After the painful sustaining (says *Dr. Fuller*) of so many labors, at home and abroad, he returned to *Basil*, where he spent the remainder of his life in preaching, reading, writing, publishing, visiting the sick, and also the care of certain adjacent churches, till 1531, when it pleased God to visit him with sickness, that soon confined him to his bed, with the greatest appearance of a speedy dissolution. He sent for the pastors of the place, and welcomed them with a short, pithy oration; in which he exhorted them to remain constant and firm in the purity of the doctrine which they professed, because it was agreeable to the word of God: As to other things, he wished them to be less careful; assuring them, that the all-sufficient God would care for them, and would not be wanting to his church.

His children standing before him, he took them by their right-hand, and gently stroking their heads, he advised them to love God, who would be to them in place of a father.

A little before his death, one of his intimate friends coming to him, he asked him, “*What news?*” his friend answered, “*None.*” But (said he) “*I will tell thee news;*” being asked, what it was? he answered, “*Brevi ero apud CHRIS-*
 “*TUM DOMINUM:*” I shall in a short time be with
 CHRIST my LORD. And laying his hand upon his breast, he said, “*Here is abundance of light.*” In the morning before he died, he repeated the fifty-first psalm; at the end of which he added, “*Salva me, Christe Jesu;*” save me, O Christ
Jesus;



Iesus; being the last words he was heard to speak: Those present in the room praying, continued to pray till he had surrendered his spirit to his Creator; which he did most willingly and chearfully, on the first day of *December*, 1531, and in the forty-ninth year of his age; and was buried, with every mark of respect and concern, in the same city.

He was of a meek and quiet disposition, in the undertaking of any business; he was very circumspect; nor was any thing more pleasing to him, than to spend his time in reading and commenting. He left the following works behind him.

1. Annotations on *Genesis*. 2. On *Job*. 3. On *Isaiah*.
4. *Jeremiah*. 5. *Ezekiel*. 6. *Daniel*. 7. *Hosea*. 8. *Amos*.
9. *Jonah*. 10. *Micah*, chap. ii. 11. On the three last prophets.
12. On the *Psalms*. 13. *Matthew*. 14. *Romans*.
15. *Hebrews*. 16. 1 Epistle of *John*. 17. Of the genuine sense of these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*.
18. An exhortation to the reading of God's word. 19. Of the dignity of the eucharist.
20. Of the joy of the resurrection. 21. A speech to the senate of *Basil*.
22. A catechism. 23. Annotations on *Chrysostom*.
24. Enchiridion to the Greek tongue. 25. Against Anabaptists.
26. Annotations on the *Acts* of the apostles, and epistles to the *Corinthians*.
27. Of alms-deeds. 28. Against *Julian* the apostate.
29. Of true faith in *Christ*. 30. Of the praises of *Cyprian*.
31. Of the life of *Moses*. 32. Against usury.

His learning and doctrine were such, that even cardinal *Sadolet*, on hearing the news of his death, wished that he could lawfully grieve for the loss of him. He was succeeded by *Oswaldus Myconius*. *Sleidan* says, that his grief upon the death of *Zuinglius*, whom he loved extremely, heightened his disorder, and hastened his end. *Verheiden* says, that there was scarce ever such an instance of cordial friendship, as subsisted between these two great men.

ULRICUS ZUINGLIUS,

THE REFORMER OF SWITZERLAND.

ULRICUS ZUINGLIUS, the famous Reformer of this country, was of a good parentage, and born on the first of *January*, 1487, at *Wildehausen* in the county of

of *Tockenburg*, which is a distinct republic, in alliance with the *Switzers*, or *Helvetic* body. He was sent to *Basil*, when he was ten years of age, to receive the first rudiments of his learning; and from thence he went to *Bern*, where he was taught Greek and Hebrew under *Henry Lupulus*. He studied philosophy at *Vienna*, and divinity at *Basil*, where he was made doctor in 1505, about which time he heard *Thomas Wittenbach* preach, that the death of *Christ* is the only price of our redemption, and that indulgences were but a device of the pope: And the next year he began to preach with such good success, that he was elected pastor of *Glaris*, the chief town in the canton of that name. He continued there till 1516, when the reputation which he had acquired by his sermons occasioned him to be called to the *Hermitage*, a place famous for pilgrimages to the virgin *Mary*.

It is reported, that *Zuinglius*, about this time, had a remarkable conference with cardinal *Matthew*, bishop of *Syon*, in the allied country of *Valais*, concerning the abuses which had crept into the church, and the way to work a Reformation. He had before read the conclusions of the famous *Picus* of *Mirandula*, which had gone far to determine his judgement. He then had heard nothing of *Luther*.

He was soon after invited to *Zurick*, the capital of that canton, to undertake the principal charge of that city, and to preach the word of God among the inhabitants. The method which he followed in his sermons, was to explain a text of holy scripture; and he began with the gospel of *St. Matthew*.

About the year 1517, *Martin Luther*, professor of *Wittenberg* in *Saxony*, had entered into a dispute against the custom of selling indulgences by the pope, who condemned *Luther*: But he appealed to a council, and went on writing against the errors of the church of *Rome*.

Zuinglius shewed himself at first very favorable to *Luther*, and recommended his books to his auditors, though he would not preach them himself. *Samson*, a franciscan of *Milan*, was sent by the pope, as general visitor of his order, to publish indulgences at *Zurick*. He preached, according to the usual manner, that the pope had granted an absolute pardon of sins to such as purchased those indulgences, and that they might thereby infallibly deliver souls out of purgatory. *Zuinglius* followed the example of *Luther*, by declaiming powerfully against this franciscan, and against the indulgences. *Hugh* bishop of *Constance*

stance believed, that *Zuinglius* was displeased only with the abuse, and exhorted him to proceed under his patronage: But *Zuinglius* went farther, and solicited that prelate, as also the papal legate in *Switzerland*, to favor the doctrine that he intended to settle, which he called *evangelical truth*. They refused his proposals; and he opposed the popish ceremonies from the year 1519, to 1523, when he found an opportunity of establishing his own doctrine, and of abolishing the superstition of *Rome*.

Erasmus was displeased at the violent quarrels which arose about the Lord's Supper among the Reformers, the *Zuinglians*, and the Lutherans; for, in those days, *Zuinglius* and his adherents were the only men who talked reasonably upon that subject. He informed the president of the court at *Mechlin*, in 1522, that the spirit of Reformation increased in *Switzerland*, where there were two hundred thousand who abhorred the see of *Rome*. *Erasmus* was not mistaken in this, as the Reformation in *Switzerland* soon afterwards shewed.

The *Switzers* had rendered themselves a very formidable nation, and their bravery was admired in all the *European* states. *Francis I.* king of *France* purchased their friendship with a great sum of money in 1515: And, in 1521, concluded a treaty with the *Switzers*, by which he was at liberty to levy any number of *Swiss* troops, from six to sixteen thousand, without asking the consent of the magistrates. The canton of *Zurick* refused to enter into this treaty; because *Zuinglius*, who was in great esteem there, represented that the suffering a foreign prince to raise troops in this manner, was, in effect, selling the blood of their allies and children.

Zuinglius conducted the Reformation in *Switzerland* with as much progress as *Luther* conducted that in *Saxony*; though he carried himself with more moderation and prudence. He propounded his doctrine in his sermons, which he preached four years successively in *Zurick*, and thereby prepared the minds of the people for its reception: But he would not attempt to make any alterations in the divine worship without the concurrence of the magistrates, and he caused an assembly to be called for that purpose by the senate of *Zurick*, on the twenty-ninth of *January*, 1523, that the differences among preachers in matters of religion might be composed.

The assembly met upon the day appointed, when a great number of the clergy appeared, and the bishop of *Constance* sent three deputies, among whom was *John Fa-*
ber,

ber, his chief vicar. The consul opened the conference by declaring, that the sermons of *Zuinglius* had raised so many disputes in their city, that the senate thought it the best way to allay these differences by appointing a conference before the council of two hundred, to which all the clergy both of the city and country had been summoned. *Zuinglius* replied, “ That the light of the gospel
 “ had been obscured, and almost extinguished, by human
 “ traditions: But that several eminent men had lately
 “ endeavoured to restore it, by preaching the word of
 “ God to the people in its purity. That he was one of
 “ that number; and, like them, had been treated as an
 “ heretic and seducer; though he had, for five years past,
 “ taught only what was contained in the holy scripture.
 “ That it was for this reason he had desired to give an
 “ account of his doctrine before the senate of *Zurick*, and
 “ the bishop of *Constance*. That he thanked the senate
 “ for granting him this favor; and that he had drawn his
 “ doctrines into sixty-seven propositions, which he was
 “ fully persuaded were agreeable to the gospel: And he
 “ was ready to answer for himself, if any person would
 “ accuse him of error or heresy.”

The doctrines contained in those sixty-seven propositions, may be reduced to these following articles. That the gospel is the only rule of faith. The church is the communion of saints. We ought to acknowledge no other head of the church but *Jesus Christ*. All traditions should be rejected. There is no other sacrifice but that of *Jesus Christ* upon the cross: And the mass is no sacrifice, but a commemoration of the sacrifice of *Christ*. We have need of no other intercessor with God than *Jesus Christ*. All sorts of meat may be eaten at all times. The habits of monks smell of hypocrisy. Marriage is allowed to all men, and no man is obliged to make a vow of chastity, nor are priests at all obliged to live unmarried. Excommunication ought not to be inflicted by the bishop alone, but by the whole church; and notorious offenders only ought to be excommunicated. The power which the pope and bishops assume to themselves, is a piece of pride that has no foundation in the scripture. God alone can forgive sins: For confession of sin to a priest, is only to beg his ghostly advice; and works of satisfaction proceed from human tradition. The scripture does not teach us, that there is such a place as purgatory. The character which the sacraments are said to impress is of a modern invention. The scripture acknowledges
 none

none for priests, or bishops, but such as preach the word of God. Lastly, he promised to deliver his judgement about tythes, the revenues of the church, the condition of infants not baptized, and about confirmation, if any person desired to dispute with him upon these points.

Zuinglius exhorted the magistrates of *Zurick* to leave their citizens no longer in doubt of what concerned their salvation. The council then declared, that if any person present had any thing to alledge against *Zuinglius*, he had free liberty to speak. *Zuinglius* made a public challenge three times: But he met with no opponent, except *Faber*, who inadvertently mentioned the intercession of saints, which gave *Zuinglius* an opportunity of opposing that doctrine, and drawing his adversary into a dispute.

Faber made a very general discourse about the authority of the church and councils, which had condemned the antient heretics, and lately *Wickliffe*, *Huss*, and *Jerom* of *Prague*, whose doctrines were now revived. He said, that the intercession of saints was a doctrine, which had been long settled in the church, and authorized by the practice of all nations: But concluded, that such questions ought to be debated only among divines, as in the universities of *Paris*, *Cologne*, or *Louvain*.

Zuinglius replied, that he desired of him only to resolve, whether the scripture made any mention of the intercession of saints? If councils were infallible? Whether traditions and customs ought not to be rejected, when they are not grounded upon the authority of holy scripture? And whether it is not clearly expressed, that *Jesus Christ* is our only Mediator?

From this question, they passed to another concerning the celibacy of priests; and these two questions were the subject of a long contest, between the deputies of the bishop of *Constance* on the one part, and *Zuinglius*, *Leo Judæ*, and some other ministers on the other. The former supported their opinions by tradition, the authority of the church, and the canons of the councils: But the latter would abide only by the holy scripture.

The debates ended at noon, and the senate published an edict, whereby it was ordained, ‘ that *Zuinglius* should
 ‘ continue to teach and preach the doctrine of the gospel,
 ‘ and the word of God, in his usual manner; and all
 ‘ pastors and teachers, both in the city and country, were
 ‘ forbid to teach any thing that could not be proved by
 ‘ the gospel, and holy scripture; and they were enjoined
 ‘ to forbear all accusations of heresy, or other crimes.’

Faber

Faber entered a protestation against this edict, and said, he would demonstrate, that the doctrine of *Zuinglius* was contrary to that of *St. Paul*. *Zuinglius* challenged him to do it; and promised him a cheese of *hare's milk*, if he could prove any of his doctrines erroneous, by the gospel, or holy scripture.

It is easy to imagine, after the publication of this edict, that the doctrine of *Zuinglius* became general throughout all the canton of *Zurick*, under the name of 'evangelical truth.' The external worship was contrary to the new doctrine; for images remained, and mass was celebrated, in the churches, which could not be abolished without authority. *Zuinglius* was determined to perfect his design, and engaged the senate to call a new assembly, to which they invited the bishops of *Constance*, *Coire*, and *Basil*, the university of *Basil*, and the other twelve cantons of *Switzerland*, to send their deputies, and make the assembly of greater authority.

The senate assembled again, on the twenty-sixth of October, 1523, when *Joachim Vadianus*, *Sebastian Hoffman*, and *Christoph'r Chapplerus*, were chosen arbitrators of the dispute: *Zuinglius* and *Leo Judæ* were respondents: And all persons present were allowed to object what they pleased. The first question propounded was, 'What the church is, and where it is?' *Zuinglius* distinguished, and said, "That the church was taken in two senses: "First, For the congregation of all true Christians, of "whom *Jesus Christ* is the head: Secondly, For the particular congregation of Christians in one place:" And he maintained, that the congregations of cardinals and bishops were not the church. He declared, his disregard of the councils, his contempt of the pope's decree, and his neglect of the emperor's edict. *Leo Judæ* opposed the use of images by texts of the Old Testament, whereby it was forbidden the Jews to make or worship any graven image; and by such places of the New Testament, wherein the adoration of idols was prohibited. *Zuinglius* maintained, that images were not to be tolerated, and that the law of God forbid them absolutely. The resolution of this first conference was, that no images were to be allowed among Christians.

In the second conference, they discoursed about the mass, which *Zuinglius* maintained was no sacrifice. The three arbitrators, appointed by the senate, gave sentence, that 'The abuses of images and masses were sufficiently 'proved by the word of God; therefore, they left it to

the senate to enquire how they might be abolished without offence.' This was the result of the conference, which was followed with an edict, whereby it was forbidden to the priests and monks to make any public processions, to carry the holy sacrament, or elevate it in the church to be worshipped. Relics were taken out of churches: It was ordered, that organs should not be played, or bells be rung; that palm-branches, salt, or tapers should not be blessed; and that extreme unction should not be administered to the sick. Thus, part of the outward worship and ceremonies of the church of Rome were abolished in the canton of Zurich.

The other twelve cantons were dissatisfied with this edict, which was maintained by the canton of Zurich, whose senators ordered all the images to be pulled down.

Zuinglius himself relates in his book *Coronis de Eucharistiâ*, Oper. part. II. fol. 249. that when one of his opponents, in the conference, challenged him to shew, in any place of scripture, where the verb *est* (is) stood for *significat* (signifies) without an evident tropical allusion; such as where Christ says, *the seed is the word of God*, in which place, *is*, evidently means *signifies*; or, *I AM the door, the vine, &c.* which are tropical expressions at first sight; but that *hoc est corpus meum* did not necessarily and obviously imply, *this SIGNIFIES my body*, or that our Lord used in that case a figurative way of speech: Zuinglius was puzzled at the time, and (as he says) for thirteen days afterwards, in which he was continually revolving the matter in his mind, and turning over his bible incessantly, but without the explicit satisfaction he desired. At length, in his sleep, he dreamed that he was in disputation with his adversary, who pressed him very close with this circumstance, insomuch that he seemed to have given up the point, and to be struck dumb before the audience. While he was in this perplexity, he saw in his vision a form approaching to him, and saying, 'O thou unwise one, why dost not answer to him the word of the Lord in *Exod. xii. 11.* where it is expressly and positively said of the *Lamb* that was eaten, *IT IS the Lord's PASS-OVER, or passage out of Egypt.*'—He awoke from his sleep, and with this proof, in the next day's discourse, he refuted the objection of his adversary, shewing that, in this text, the word *is* necessarily means *signifies*. The elder Spanheim could not but believe, from the occasion, the matter, and the use, that this vision was *θεοπνευματος*, sent from God; and the excellent *Witsius* inclines to the same

same opinion, confirming it by the modest and sober manner in which *Zuinglius* himself relates the story. See *WITSII Miscell. Sacr. Lib. 1. c. 24.*

About this time, *Zuinglius* wrote several books in defence of his doctrine. The first was a large explication of the propositions, which he had delivered in the first conference. The second was a discourse dedicated to all the cantons of *Switzerland*; exhorting them not to impede the progress of his doctrine, nor to be dissatisfied with the marriages of priests. The third was an answer to the advice, which the bishop of *Constance* had given to the senate of *Zurick*, to oppose innovations. He also wrote a book about the certainty and evidence of the word of God: Two treatises against the canon of the mass: A letter concerning the grace of *Jesus Christ*: And an answer to a book written by *Jerom Emser*.

The bishop of *Constance*, in 1524, published a book in vindication of images and the mass. This was presented to the senate of *Zurick*; and *Zuinglius* answered it in their name.

Zuinglius, *Leo Judæ*, *Engelhardus*, *Megander*, and *Myconius*, on the eleventh of *April*, 1525, petitioned the senate of *Zurick* to abolish the mass, and the adoration of the elements in the sacraments; in consequence of which, the senate made a decree, whereby the mass was abolished for ever, and the sacrament was ordered to be received after another manner.

The form of celebrating the Lord's Supper prescribed by *Zuinglius*, differed more from the church of *Rome*, than the form prescribed by *Luther*. He ordered, "that the
 " table should be covered with a white cloth; on which
 " were to be set the patin full of leavened bread, and
 " vessels filled with wine: That the minister and dea-
 " cons should stand by the table, where they were to
 " exhort the people to approach with reverence; after
 " which, one of the deacons should read the institution
 " of the Lord's Supper, taken out of the epistle to the
 " *Corinthians*; and another should repeat a part of the
 " sixth chapter of *St. John*: That the minister should
 " then read the creed, and exhort all the communicants
 " to examine their own consciences, that they might not
 " be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord by re-
 " ceiving them unworthily: That the minister and peo-
 " ple should then kneel, and say the Lord's Prayer;
 " after which, the minister should take the bread in his
 " hands, and deliver the words of the institution of the
 " Lord's

“ Lord’s Supper with an audible voice; then give the
 “ bread and wine to the deacons, who should distribute
 “ them to the people, while the minister should read the
 “ discourse which our Saviour had with his disciples be-
 “ fore his passion, as related in the gospel of St. *John*.”
 This was the form of administering the sacrament, which
Zuinglius appointed to be used. He maintained, in his
 doctrine concerning the sacrament, that these words of
Jesus Christ, “ *This is my body, this is my blood*, are to be
 “ understood thus: *This signifies my body and blood; this*
 “ *bread and this wine are a figure of my body and blood;*
 “ *this is a testimony and pledge, that my body shall be deli-*
 “ *vered up, and broken for you upon the cross, and my blood*
 “ *shall be shed for you.*” From whence it follows, that
 not only the bread and wine exist after consecration; but
 also, that the body and blood of *Jesus Christ* are not pre-
 sent in the Eucharist; and that the bread and wine are
 only a figure of the body and blood of *Jesus Christ*, com-
 municated in a spiritual manner by faith.

In 1525, he published his book *De vera et falsa Religione*,
 which was dedicated, and presented to *Francis I.* of
France.

Luther declared against the doctrine of *Zuinglius*, which
Oecolampadius embraced. *Zuinglius* was less concerned at
 the writings of the catholics than of *Luther*, who published
 a sermon at *Wittenberg* about the body and blood of *Jesus*
Christ, which he made against the giddy-headed spirits,
contra spiritus vertiginosos, as he called the *Zuinglians*. A
 confutation of this sermon was wrote by *Zuinglius*, who
 sent letters to *Nuremberg* upon that subject. He also an-
 swered the letters which *Pelicanus*, and *Urbanus Regius*,
 wrote against him: And he composed a work, entitled,
 The Lord’s Supper. In 1527, he drew up an apology
 against a book written by *Jacobus Straussius*, wherein he
 explained the Lord’s Supper at large, dedicated to *Luther*,
 and answered his sermon at *Wittenberg* against the Sa-
 cramentarians.

Bucer wrote several tracts in defence of the *Zuinglians*,
 and assisted *Oecolampadius* in confuting the large confession
 of *Luther*. The papists found, that the *Zuinglians* were
 more to be feared than the Lutherans, and exerted their
 utmost endeavors to prevent the spreading of that sect in
 the popish cantons of *Switzerland*.

The Reformation gained ground, notwithstanding the
 remonstrances of the emperor, the bishops of *Constance*,
Basil, *Lausanne*, and *Sion*, and eight of the cantons.

Another general assembly was convened at *Bern* by *Zuinglius*, on the seventh of *January* 1528, when the doctrines of the church of *Rome* were condemned. The opinions of *Zuinglius* were then introduced all over *Bern*, which example was imitated by the cantons of *Basil* and *Schaffhausen*. This occasioned ill blood: But the imprudence of the inhabitants of *Underwald*, who protected the revolvers from *Bern*, conduced most to the embroiling the cantons. The *Zurickefe* armed themselves, and were on the point of attacking the five cantons of *Lucern*, *Uri*, *Switz*, *Zug*, and *Underwald*: But, by an agreement made at *Cassel*, it was determined, 'that there should be
' liberty of conscience throughout *Switzerland*: And that
' the five cantons should renounce their alliance with
' the emperor *Ferdinand*.' *Henry VIII.* of *England* employed *Grynæus* to try what *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, and *Bucer*, thought of his marriage with his queen *Catharine*. *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* were of opinion, that the issue by a marriage *de facto*, grounded upon a received mistake, ought not to be illegitimated.

There was great altercation between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, before the citizens of *Bern* abolished popery. *Constance*, *Geneva*, *Basil*, and *Strasburg*, also threw off the yoke, and pulled down the altars and images in all places. But *Bucer* was embarrassed between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, and endeavored to procure a good understanding between them in vain.

It must however be observed, that the only principal ground of difference was upon the subject of the sacrament, and that, in this respect also, both parties were far enough from the *Romish* opinion. In the other material points, both Lutherans and Zuinglians were sufficiently agreed, as appears by the acts of the synod held at *Marpurg*, under the auspices of the landgrave of *Hesse*, in the year 1529, where both *Luther* and *Zuinglius* were present, and formed an agreement upon the following articles; viz, 1. On the Unity and Trinity of the Godhead. 2. On the incarnation of the Word. 3. On the passion and resurrection of *Christ*. 4. On the article of original sin. 5. On the article of faith in *Christ*. 6. That this faith doth not spring from human merit, but only from the gift of God. 7. That, through this faith, believers have righteousness. On several other articles, respecting the baptism of infants, on confession, on good works, on the civil power, on traditions, &c. And, lastly, concerning the Lord's Supper, they mutually agreed, that it ought to be administered

administered in both kinds; that the mass is no such work or sacrifice, as to obtain grace either for quick or dead; that the sacrament is a true sacrament of the body and blood of *Christ*; that the spiritual manducation of his body and blood is the true receiving of this sacrament and necessary for all believers; and that the Spirit of GOD confers grace in the faithful use of it. In fine, as *Martin Bucer* observed, there was a greater difference in charity between both parties, than in the true state of the doctrine. There were, indeed, warm men on both sides, who, however sincerely pious and meaning what was right, could not yield up their own formulary, though undeniably essential to the peace of the church and the spreading interest of the protestant religion.

The diet of *Augsburg* was held in 1530, to consult about matters of religion, and the war against the *Turks*. The protestant princes publicly read their confession of faith; and the catholic divines drew up a confutation of it. The protestants presented an ‘apology for their confession to the emperor, who would not receive it, though it was drawn up by *Melancthon*, with his usual moderation.’

The Zuinglians also presented their confession of faith to the emperor, in the name of the cities of *Strasburg*, *Constance*, *Memmingen*, and *Landau*. It was drawn up by *Bucer* and *Capito*; but contained nothing about the Trinity, or Incarnation, that was contrary to the doctrine of the *Romish* church. They held, ‘That men are justified only by the merits of *Jesus Christ*, and faith: That good works are necessary; and so is obedience to magistrates: They commended fasting and prayer; but condemned the worship and intercession of saints, vows, and the monastic state: They allowed of such traditions as are not contrary to the word of God; and defined the church to be a congregation of true believers. They allowed of only two sacraments; baptism, and the Lord’s Supper; and that God unites Christians in an outward communion by those sacred symbols; not only because they are visible signs of invisible grace, but also because they are testimonies of our faith. They disapproved of private masses, and confession: And concluded with a long invective against the court of *Rome*.’

This confession of faith was more unacceptable than that of the Lutherans; and the emperor ordered *Faber* and *Eckius* to draw up an answer to it, which was read in

a full diet; and the emperor commanded the Zuinglians to renounce their doctrine. *Zuinglius* soon after wrote a letter to the protestant princes in defence of his opinions against *Eckius*, and particularly concerning the sacrament of the Eucharist, wherein he expressly denied the real presence, concerning which the Lutherans had not been so explicit; for *Bucer* drew up this article of the Supper in such ambiguous terms, that the Lutherans might not be condemned. *Melancthon* and *Brentius* published a treatise, to shew, that the doctrine of the Zuinglians was entirely different from the Lutherans, whatever ambiguity there was in their words.

Zuinglius also sent to the diet a particular confession of faith, comprized in twelve articles, relating to the Trinity and incarnation; the fall of man, and necessity of grace; original sin; baptism of infants; the church; the sacraments; ceremonies; the ministry of the gospel; the authority of magistrates; and purgatory.

The emperor published the decree of the diet against the protestants and sacramentarians, which neither obeyed: But the protestant princes, and the reformed cantons of *Switzerland*, entered into a confederacy to defend themselves and their religion, against the emperor and the *Roman* catholic powers. This was the league of *Smalkald*, concluded in 1531, upon the success of which the protestant religion depended.

The same year a civil war began in *Switzerland*, between the five catholic cantons, and those of *Zurick* and *Bern*. The *Zurickese* were defeated in their own territories, with the loss of four hundred men. *Zuinglius*, who accompanied them, was killed in this action, in the forty-fourth year of his age. Great cruelty was shewn to his corpse, and it was attempted to be burnt.

Much has been said by the enemies of *Zuinglius*, respecting his appearance on the field of battle; but it may be observed, what *Oecolampadius* and *Sleidan* have urged in his defence, that it was the custom of the *Zurickese*, from time immemorial, when they engaged in war, to have the chief minister of their church attendant upon them, both to preach to the people and to pray for a blessing upon their arms. And, it must be owned in this view, it could be no more improper for him, than for the chaplains who are now appointed to accompany regiments in their campaigns, or to sail in ships of war. Perhaps, no order of men require instruction in religious duties more than soldiers, who have always, in actual service, the prospect

prospect of death before them, and who certainly cannot be the worse, either in morality or courage, for being prepared for it. It may be added, that *Zuinglius* went not forth of his own accord: He was absolutely enforced and commanded by the senate, in point of duty. He did not go forth ‘ as a captain or commander of the army, but as a good citizen and faithful pastor, who would not forsake his friends in their greatest peril; nay, he went (says *Melchior Adam*) as a persuader to peace. About three hundred and eighty of his friends fell with him.’ The action was on the 11th of *October*, in the year 1531.

‘ The compilers of the Biographical Dictionary (says a late able writer) in translating some of *Zuinglius*’s dying words, have been guilty of an over-sight, which does no more honour to their precision, than justice to the Christian heroism of that great man. Upon receiving his death’s wound, say they, and falling, he was heard to utter these words, *What a misfortune is this? &c.* Rather, what a *misfortune* is it, when fine sentiments are murdered in the relating! — The fact was this. During the hurry of the fight, *Zuinglius*, overwhelmed by the press of the rushing enemy, was thrice thrown down, and recovered his feet as often. At last, a weapon, doomed to extinguish one of the most valuable lives that ever added lustre to religion and learning, entering under his chin, transfixed his throat. The holy man, falling first on his knees, and then sinking to the ground, uttered these noble sentences: *Ecquid hoc infortunii?* CAN THIS BE CONSIDERED AS A CALAMITY? *Age, corpus quidem occidere possunt; animam non possunt:* WELL! THEY ARE ABLE, INDEED, TO SLAY THE BODY: BUT THEY ARE NOT ABLE TO KILL THE SOUL. Could any thing be more truly Christian, more divinely triumphant, more sublimely philosophic? His body being found by the papists, among the slain, they burned it to ashes: Which occasioned these elegant verses, consecrated to his memory by *Beza*.’

*ZUINGLIUS arderet gemino quum sanctus amore,
Nempe DEI imprimis, deinde etiam PATRIÆ;
Dicitur in solidum se devovisse duobus:
Nempe DEO imprimis, deinde etiam PATRIÆ.
Quàm benè persolvit simul istis vota duobus!
Pro patriâ exanimis, pro pietate cinis!*

After this battle, matters were accommodated: And it was agreed, that the two parties, for the future, should
not

not molest each other on a religious account; and that the papists should renounce their league with the emperor, and the Zuinglians the same with the landgrave of *Hesse*. Their contentions were renewed in 1577, which ended in acknowledging *Geneva* to be a free state by the duke of *Savoy*: And, by the treaty of *Westphalia*, in 1648, the emperors of *Germany* lost all authority in *Switzerland*. The abbot of *St. Gall* renewed the dispute in 1712, which was ended, after the battle of *Wilmerguen*, by the treaty of *Roschau* in 1714.

Peace was settled in *Germany* by the treaty of *Nuremberg*, in 1532: But these religious disputes broke out again in 1612. The protestants were assisted by *Gustavus Adolphus* king of *Sweden*, who lost his life at *Lutzen* in 1632: And the protestant interest was very much strengthened by the treaties of *Westphalia* and *Osnabrug* in 1648.

Zuinglius was succeeded by *Henry Bullinger*; and his doctrine was vindicated against *Luther* by *Bucer*. The long disputes between the Lutherans and Zuinglians were concluded in 1538, by a pretended treaty of accord: But this was a work of disguise and dissimulation, and as little durable as it was sincere. The *Switzers* continued in the opinion of *Zuinglius*: But the cities of *Strasburg*, *Augsburg*, *Memmingen*, and *Landau*, became Lutherans, by keeping literally to the expressions of the articles of agreement.

The works of *Zuinglius*, and an apology for his doctrine, were published by *Rodolphus Gualterus*. The *Switzers* paid the utmost gratitude to his memory; and his remains were interred with all the pomp of a *Grecian* funeral, for a man who had devoted his life to the service of his country.

Zuinglius and *Oecolampadius* were more esteemed by the learned men of their time, than any other of the Reformers; because they had more moderation. *Zuinglius* was successful against the enthusiasts, called Anabaptists: And some have confidently affirmed, that he was for putting them to death; and said, "Let him who dippeth
" again, be dipped; that is, drowned:" But it is a very improbable story, since *Minus Celsus* himself, namely, *Sebastian Castalia*, whose testimony in points of this kind ought to be credited, having publicly defended his position, 'That heretics ought not to be put to death;' appeals to the authority of *Zuinglius*, and affirms, that the Anabaptists at that time never suffered on account of their
opinions,

opinions, as heretics, but of their evil actions, as perjured and seditious rebels.

The first Anabaptists shewed a surprizing mixture of folly, stupidity, wickedness, and religious frenzy. An immoral fanatic is of all animals the most dangerous to the church and state; and the history of these Anabaptists is an everlasting monument of the mischief, which such people can perpetrate.

Pellicanus threatened *Erasmus* with an attack from *Zuinglius*; and *Erasmus* declared that he feared not ten *Zuinglius*'s. Yet he did not care to engage in combat with this one *Zuinglius* about the eucharist; and, from the manner in which he had spoken of the performance of *Oecolampadius*, it appears, that he thought it not so easy a matter to refute these divines. Very true it is, that the struggles of the Reformers drew a terrible persecution upon them and their successors: But it was through the fault of that church, to which *Erasmus* wanted to remain united, and which would hear of no amendments. Nor is it to be forgotten, that *Erasmus* could easily have embraced the sentiments of *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius*, if his mother the church would have given him leave.

Zuinglius had skill in music, and a love for it. He always studied standing, and was always a great student. He received a most courteous letter from pope *Adrian VI.* and might have had any favors, if he had declared himself a friend to the see of *Rome*.

He wrote four volumes in folio: viz. TOME the first, containing, 1. A work of articles. 2. An exhortation to the whole state of *Switzerland*. 3. A supplication to the bishop of *CONSTANCE*. 4. Of the certainty and purity of *GOD*'s word. 5. An answer to *VALENTINE* of the authority of the fathers. 6. Institutions for youth. 7. A good shepherd. 8. Of justice divine and human. 9. Of providence.

TOME the second, 1. Of baptism. 2. Of original sin. 3. Of true and false religion. 4. An epistle to the princes of *GERMANY*. 5. Of the Lord's Supper. 6. Of Christian faith, written to the *FRENCH* king.

TOME the third, 1. Commentaries on *GENESIS*. 2. *EXODUS*. 3. *ISAIAH*. 4. *JEREMIAH*. 5. The *PSALTER* out of *Hebrew* into *Latin*.

TOME the fourth, 1. Annotations on the four *EVANGELISTS*. 2. History of our *SAVIOUR*'s passion. 3. Annotations on *ROMANS*. 4. *CORINTHIANS*. 5. *PHILIPPIANS*. 6. *COLOSSIANS*. 7. *THESSALONIANS*. 8. *HEBREWS*. 9. *JAMES*. 10. The first epistle of *JOHN*.

THOMAS BILNEY.

THOMAS BILNEY, an *Englishman*, was brought up at the university of *Cambridge* from a youth, where he became so great a proficient in all the liberal sciences, that in a short time he commenced batchelor in both laws. But being enlightened by the Spirit of *Christ*, and his heart endued with the knowledge of better things, he left the study of man's laws, and devoted himself wholly to the study of divinity. Mr. *Bilney*, in a *Latin* letter to *Cuthbert Tonsal*, bishop of *London*, gives the following account of his conversion: Comparing the priests and friars to the physicians, upon whom the woman, vexed twelve years with a bloody issue, spent all that she had, and found no help, but was still worse and worse; till at last she came to *Christ*, and was healed by Him:—
 “ O (said he) the mighty power of the Most High! which
 “ I also, a miserable sinner, have often tasted and felt;
 “ whereas before, I spent all I had upon those ignorant
 “ physicians, insomuch that I had little strength left in
 “ me. But, at last, I heard of *JESUS*; and that was
 “ when the New Testament was translated by *Erasmus*;
 “ for at that time I knew not what it meant. But look-
 “ ing into the New Testament, by God's special provi-
 “ dence, I met with those words of the apostle *St. Paul*,
 “ *This is a true saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that*
 “ *Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, whereof*
 “ *I am chief.* O most sweet and comfortable sentence
 “ to my soul! This one sentence, through God's in-
 “ struction and inward working, did so exhilarate my
 “ heart, which before was wounded with the guilt of my
 “ sins, and almost in despair, that immediately I found
 “ wonderful comfort and quietness in my soul; so that
 “ my bruised bones leaped for joy.

“ After this, the scriptures became sweeter to me than
 “ the honey and the honey-comb: For by them I learned,
 “ that all my travels, fastings, watchings, redemption of
 “ masses, and pardons, without faith in *Christ*, were but,
 “ as *St. Augustine* calls them, A hasty running out of the
 “ right way; and as fig-leaves, which could not cover
 “ *Adam's*

“ *Adam’s nakedness.*—For as *Adam* could find no rest to
 “ his guilty soul, till he believed in the promise of God,
 “ That *Christ*, the seed of the woman, should tread upon
 “ the serpent’s head; so neither could I find deliverance
 “ from the sharp stings and bitings of my sins, till I was
 “ taught of God that lesson which *Christ* spake of in the
 “ third chapter of *John*: *As Moses lifted up the serpent in*
 “ *the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up:*
 “ *That whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have*
 “ *everlasting life.*

“ As soon as, by the grace of God, I began to taste
 “ the sweets of this heavenly lesson, which no man can
 “ teach, but God alone, who revealed it to *Peter*; I beg-
 “ ged of the Lord to increase my faith: And at last I
 “ desired nothing more, than that I, being so comforted
 “ by him, might be strengthened by his holy Spirit and
 “ grace, that I might teach sinners his ways, which are
 “ mercy and truth, and that the wicked might be con-
 “ verted unto him by me, who also was once myself a
 “ sinner indeed. And it is my only comfort in these my
 “ afflictions, that this is what I laboured at before the
 “ cardinal, &c. when *Christ* was blasphemed in me, whom
 “ with my whole power I do teach and set forth, to be
 “ made of God the Father unto us wisdom, righteousness,
 “ sanctification, and redemption, and finally our satisfaction.
 “ —*Who was made sin for us* (that is to say, a sacrifice for
 “ sin) *that we through him should be made the righteousness*
 “ *of God.*—*Who became accursed for us, to redeem us from*
 “ *the curse of the law.*—*Who also came not to call the righ-*
 “ *teous, but sinners to repentance.* The righteous, I say,
 “ who falsely think themselves so to be, for ALL have sin-
 “ ned, and come short of the glory of God, all mankind was
 “ grievously wounded in him who fell among thieves
 “ between *Jerusalem* and *Jericho*; therefore we are justi-
 “ fied freely by God’s grace, through the redemption that is in
 “ Jesus Christ.

“ And therefore with all my power I teach, that all
 “ men should first acknowledge their sins, and condemn
 “ them; and that they should then hunger and thirst after
 “ that righteousness, of which *St. Paul* speaks; *the righ-*
 “ *teousness of God by faith of Jesus Christ is unto all, and*
 “ *upon all them that believe; for there is no difference: For*
 “ *all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; and*
 “ *are justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that*
 “ *is in Jesus Christ.* For which whosoever doth hunger

“ and thirst, without doubt, they shall be so satisfied that
 “ they shall not hunger and thirst for ever.

“ But as this hunger and thirst used to be quenched
 “ with the fulness of man’s righteousness, which is
 “ wrought through the faith of our own elect and chosen
 “ works, as pilgrimages, buying of pardons, offering of
 “ candles, elect and chosen fasts, and often superstitious,
 “ and indeed all kind of voluntary devotions (as they call
 “ them) against the express word of God, (*Deut. iv. 2.*)
 “ which says, *Ye shall not add unto the word which I com-*
 “ *mand you, neither shall you diminish ought from it.* There-
 “ fore, I say, often have I spoke of these works; not
 “ condemning them (as God is my witness) but reprov-
 “ ing their abuse; shewing, even unto children, how far
 “ they might be used lawfully; but exhorting all men
 “ not so to use them, as to be satisfied in them, lest they
 “ should loath or grow weary of *Christ*, as many do.”

In another letter to the same bishop he thus writes,
 “ What shall we then say of that learning, which hath
 “ now so long time reigned and triumphed, so that no
 “ man hath once opened his mouth against it? Shall we
 “ think it sound doctrine? Truly iniquity did never
 “ more abound, nor charity was never so cold. And
 “ what shall we say is the cause? Has it been for want
 “ of preaching against the vices of men, and exhorting
 “ to charity? That cannot be, for many learned and
 “ great clerks sufficiently can witness to the contrary.
 “ And yet, notwithstanding, we see the life and manners
 “ of men do greatly degenerate from true Christianity,
 “ and seem indeed to proclaim, that it is fulfilled in us,
 “ which God in times past threatened by his prophet
 “ *Amos*, saying, *Behold, the days come, saith the Lord GOD,*
 “ *that I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread,*
 “ *nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the*
 “ *LORD.* *And they shall wander from sea to sea, and from*
 “ *the north even to the east, they shall run to and fro to seek*
 “ *the word of the LORD, and shall not find it.* *In that day*
 “ *shall the fair virgins and young men faint for thirst, &c.*
 “ But now to pass over many things, on account of
 “ which I am afraid the word of God hath not been
 “ purely preached, one (and that not the least) is, that
 “ they who come and are sent, and labour to preach
 “ *Christ* truly, are evil spoken of for his name, who is
 “ the rock of offence, and stumbling block unto them
 “ which stumble upon his word, and do not believe on
 “ him on whom they [say they] are built.

“ But

“ But you will ask, Who are those men, and what is
 “ their doctrine? Truly I say, whosoever entereth in by
 “ the door into the sheepfold, which all shall do, who
 “ seek nothing but the glory of God, and the salvation
 “ of souls; and it may be truly said of all such, as the
 “ Lord sends, that they speak the word of God. And
 “ why so? Because he representeth the angel of the
 “ church of *Philadelphia*, unto whom St. *John* writeth,
 “ saying; *This, saith he, who is holy and true, who hath*
 “ *the keys of David, who openeth and no man shutteth, shut-*
 “ *teth and no man openeth. Behold, saith he, speaking in*
 “ *the name of Christ, (who is the Door and Door-keeper)*
 “ *I have set before thee an open Door; that is to say, of*
 “ *the scriptures; opening thy understanding, that thou*
 “ *shouldest understand the scriptures, and that because*
 “ *thou hast entered in by Me who am the Door: I am*
 “ *the Door: By Me if any man enter in, he shall be saved,*
 “ *and shall go in and out and find pasture: For the Door-*
 “ *keeper openeth the Door unto him, and the sheep hear*
 “ *his voice. But, on the other hand, they who have*
 “ *not entered in by the Door, but have climbed in some*
 “ *other way, by ambition, avarice, or desire of rule, they*
 “ *shall, even in a moment, go down into hell, except they*
 “ *repent. And in them is verified the saying of Jerem-*
 “ *miah, All beauty is gone away from the daughter of Zion,*
 “ *because her princes are become like rams, not finding pasture.*
 “ And why so? Because, like thieves and robbers, they
 “ have climbed up another way, not being called nor
 “ sent.

“ And what wonder is it, if they do not preach, when
 “ they are not sent, but run for lucre, seeking their own
 “ glory, and not the glory of God and the salvation of
 “ souls? And this is the root of all mischief in the
 “ church, that they are not sent inwardly of God. For
 “ without this inward calling of God, it helpeth no-
 “ thing to be a hundred times consecrated by a thousand
 “ bulls, either of pope, king, or emperor. God be-
 “ holdeth the heart, whose judgements are according to
 “ truth, howsoever we deceive the judgement of men for
 “ a time; who also at last shall see their abomination.
 “ This, I say, is the original of all mischief in the church,
 “ that we thrust in ourselves into the charge of souls,
 “ whose salvation and the glory of God (which is to
 “ enter in by the Door) we do not thirst nor seek for, but
 “ altogether our own lucre and profit.”

Bilney

Bilney now counted godliness his greatest gain; and as his own heart was enflamed with a sincere love to *Christ* and his gospel, so his great desire was to bring others to embrace the same: Nor were his labors in vain, for he was instrumental in the conversion of many of the gownsmen, among whom was the afterwards celebrated Mr. *Hugh Latimer*, at that time cross-keeper in *Cambridge*, (whose office it was to bring it forth on procession-days) and who afterwards (as will be shewn in his life) sealed the truth of *Christ* with his blood. *Bilney* was not satisfied with a narrow limit, but extended his labors beyond the university, and went to several parts of the country preaching the gospel where ever he came; sharply reproving the pride and pomp of the clergy, and striving to overthrow the authority of the bishop of *Rome*. He had for an associate, Mr. *Thomas Arthur*, a fellow collegian, whom he had been instrumental in converting from popery. Cardinal *Wolsey*, at that time high in power, apprehensive of the most fatal consequences to the see of *Rome* and his own grandeur, if once the light of the gospel should shine openly, caused *Bilney* to be apprehended. Accordingly, on the 25th day of *November*, in 1527, Mr. *Bilney* was brought before the said cardinal and many others, both bishops and lawyers, sitting in the chapter-house of *Westminster*, and there examined; ‘Whether he had not publicly and privately taught the opinions of *Luther*, or of any other, condemned by the church?’ To which Mr. *Bilney* answered, “That wittingly he had not preached or taught any of *Luther*’s opinions, or any other, contrary to the catholic church.” After many interrogatories and answers, the cardinal caused him to swear, that he would answer plainly to the articles and errors preached and set forth by him in different places, against a certain time; and then delivered him over to the bishop of *London* for further examination.

On the third of *December* following, the bishop of *London*, and other bishops his assistants, assembled again in the same place, and, after some examination, repeatedly exhorted *Bilney* to abjure and recant. But he answered, That he would stand to his conscience; saying, “*Fiat justitia & judicium in nomine Domini.*” i. e. Let justice and judgement be done in the name of the Lord. Then the bishop, putting off his cap, said, ‘*In nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritus sancti, Amen. Exurgat Deus & dissipentur inimici ejus.*’ [i. e. in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. Let God arise, and let

let his enemies be scattered] And making a cross on his forehead and breast, he then, by the counsel of the other bishops, read part of the sentence against Mr. *Bilney*, withholding the rest till the next day, to see if he would recant; but he then likewise refused for some time to abjure: But at the last, after four several appearances before his judges, through infirmity and the persuasion of his friends, rather than from conviction, he recanted on the seventh day of *December*, in 1529. By way of penance for his heretical lapse (as it was termed) he was remanded to prison, there to remain till cardinal *Wolsey* should be pleased to release him, and that he should lead the procession, on the next day, bareheaded to *St. Paul's*, with a faggot upon his shoulder, and stand before the preacher at *St. Paul's-Cross* [the then famous place for public preaching] during the sermon.

After this abjuration, *Bilney* went to *Cambridge*, but had such conflicts within himself upon the consideration of what he had done, that he was overwhelmed with sorrow, and brought to the very brink of despair. *Latimer*, in a sermon preached in *Lincolnshire*, says, ‘ When Mr. *Bilney* came again to *Cambridge*, for a whole year after, he was in such an anguish and agony, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor any other communication of God’s word; for he thought that all the whole scriptures were against him, and sounded to his condemnation. So that I many a time communed with him, (for I was familiarly acquainted with him) but all things, whatsoever any man could alledge to his comfort, seemed to him to make against him. Yet, for all that, afterward he came again; God indued him with such strength and perfectness of faith, that he not only confessed his faith in the gospel of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, but also suffered his body to be burned for that same gospel’s sake, which we now preach in *England*.’

Again; *Latimer* in his first sermon before the duchess of *Suffolk*, speaking of *Bilney*, says, ‘ Here I have occasion to tell you a story which happened at *Cambridge*. Master *Bilney*, or rather *St. Bilney*, who suffered death for God’s word’s sake, the same *Bilney* was the instrument by whom God called me to his knowledge. For I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God: For I was as obstinate a papist as any was in *England*; insomuch that when I should be made bachelor of divinity, my whole oration was against *Philip Melancthon*, and against his opinions.

‘ *Bilney*.

‘ *Bilney* heard me at that time, and perceived that I was
 ‘ zealous without knowledge, and came to me afterward
 ‘ in my study, and desired me for God’s sake to hear his
 ‘ confession. I did so: And (to say the truth) by his
 ‘ confession I learned more than afore in many years. So
 ‘ from that time forward I began to taste the word of
 ‘ God, and forsake the school-doctors and such fooleries,
 ‘ &c.’ Being by the grace of God, and conferences with
 good men, again restored to peace in his conscience, after
 almost two years’ [from 1529 to 1531] deep sorrow and
 remorse, *Bilney* resolved to give up his life in the service
 and defence of that truth which before he had renounced,
 rather than renounce it again. Accordingly, he took his
 leave, one evening, of his friends at *Trinity-hall*, saying,
 “ That he would go up to *Jerusalem*, and so should see
 “ them no more;” alluding to *Christ’s* going up to *Je-*
rusalem before his passion. He went immediately into
Norfolk, and there preached, first privately in houses,
 strengthening the faithful, and afterwards openly in the
 fields; bewailing his former subscription, and begging of
 all men to take warning by him, and never to trust to
 the counsel of friends, so called, when their purpose is to
 draw them from the true religion. Soon after his arrival
 at *Norwich*, upon his giving away a *New Testament* of
Tindal’s translation, and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*,
 he was apprehended and put in prison, and Dr. *Call* and
 Dr. *Stokes*, and many others, were sent both to persuade
 him to recant, and to dispute with him; the former of
 these, by *Bilney’s* doctrine and conduct, was in a great
 measure drawn over to side with the gospel. After many
 tedious disputes, seeing they could by no means draw Mr.
Bilney from the truth, they condemned him to be burned.

The night before he suffered, he was visited by many
 of his friends, who rejoiced to see him very chearful and
 to eat his food with a glad heart, seeing he was shortly
 to suffer such painful torments. “ O,” said he, “ I
 “ imitate those, who, having a ruinous house to dwell in,
 “ hold it up by props as long as they can.” In the course
 of their conversation, one of them observed to him, “ That
 ‘ though the fire, which he was to suffer the next day,
 ‘ would be of great heat to his body, yet it would be but
 ‘ for a moment, and that the Spirit of God would refresh
 ‘ and cool his soul with everlasting comfort:’ *Bilney* in-
 stantly put his finger into the flame of a candle, as he had
 often done before, and answered,—“ I feel, by experi-
 “ ence, that the fire is hot; yet I am persuaded by God’s
 “ holy

“ holy word, and by the experience of some spoken of
 “ in it, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the
 “ fire no consumption : And I believe, that though the
 “ stubble of my body shall be wasted, yet my soul shall
 “ thereby be purged; and that, after short pain, joy
 “ unspeakable will follow.” At the same time having
 turned to *Isaiah* xliii. 1, 2. he descanted so powerfully,
 and with so much of comfort and edification, both with
 respect to his own case, and to that of his friends, that,
 it is said, many of his friends retained a comfortable re-
 membrance of it to their dying-day.

As he was led forth to the place of execution, one of
 his friends spake to him, praying to God to strengthen
 him, and to enable him patiently to endure his torments :
 To whom Mr. *Bilney* answered, with a quiet and pleasant
 countenance; “ When the mariner undertakes a voyage,
 “ he is tossed on the billows of the troubled seas, yet, in
 “ the midst of all, he beareth up his spirits with this
 “ consideration, that e’er long he shall come into his quiet
 “ harbour; so, (added he) I am now sailing upon the
 “ troubled sea, but e’er long my *ship* shall be in a quiet
 “ harbour; and I doubt not, but, through the grace of
 “ God, I shall endure the *storm*; only I would entreat
 “ you to help me with your prayers.”

As he went along the streets of *Norwich*, he gave his
 money in alms to the poor, by the hands of one of his
 friends. Being come to the stake, erected in a place cal-
 led the *Lollard’s-Pit*, a little way out of the *Bishops-Gate*,
 he there openly made a long confession of his faith, in a
 most excellent manner; and gave many sweet exhortations
 to the people : And then earnestly called upon God by
 prayer, and ended with rehearsing the 143d *Psalms*. When
 he had ended his devotions, he addressed himself to the
 officers, and asked them, if they were ready. Upon being
 answered in the affirmative, he put off his jacket and
 doublet, (the layman’s principal apparel of that time, for
 the ecclesiastics had degraded him) and in his hose and
 shirt, went to the stake, and stood upon a ledge that was
 prepared for him, that, as he was but a little man, he
 might be seen of all the people. His friend, Dr. *Warner*,
 who had accompanied him in prison and to the stake, now
 came to take his last leave of his beloved friend; but was
 so much affected at this awful parting, that he could say
 but little for his tears. *Bilney* accosted him with a hea-
 venly smile, thanked him kindly for all his friendly atten-
 tions, and, inclining his body towards him, with a low
 R voice

voice concluded his farewell in the following words, of which it is hard to say, whether they convey more of love to his friend or faithfulness to his Master: “*Pasce* (says he) *gregem tuum, pasce gregem tuum; ut cum venerit Dominus, inveniatur te sic facientem*”: i. e. Feed your flock, feed your flock; that the Lord, when he cometh, may find you so doing. “Farewell, dear doctor, farewell; and pray for me.” His afflicted friend could make no answer, but went away overwhelmed with tears and sorrow.

Immediately afterwards, some mendicant friars, who had been present at his condemnation and degradation, and were therefore accused of promoting his death, desired him to assure the people to the contrary, ‘As (said these pious beggars) they will otherwise withdraw their charitable alms from us all.’ *Bilney* instantly complied with their request, and assured the people of their innocence in that behalf.

The officers then placed the faggots about him, and set fire to the reeds, which presently flamed up very high; the holy martyr, all the while, lifting up his hands towards heaven, sometimes calling upon *Jesus*, and sometimes saying “*Credo*,” i. e. I believe. The wind being high, and blowing away the flame, he suffered a lingering death. At last, one of the officers beat out the staple, to which the chain was fastened that supported his body, and so let it fall into the fire, where it was presently consumed. He suffered in the year 1531, in the time of king *Henry* the eighth.

The papists, and the famous Sir *Thomas More* at their head, who was lord chancellor, spread reports that *Bilney* again recanted, which aspersions Mr. *Fox*, by the testimony of bishop *Latimer* his most intimate friend, and of Mr. *Parker* (afterwards archbishop *Parker*) and several others, who were present at his suffering, has abundantly refuted. The Lord kept the feet of this saint, till He lifted up his soul, though in a fiery chariot, to his kingdom of glory.

Bilney appears to have been a man of learning, as well as piety; and is spoken of, by all his contemporary Reformers, with every demonstration of respect and regard.

JOHN FRITH,

JOHN FRITH, a holy martyr, and learned preacher, was born at *Sevenoak* in *Kent*, and was the first in *England* that professedly wrote against *Christ's* corporal presence in the sacrament, in which doctrine he closely followed *Zuinglius*. He was educated at *King's-College* in *Cambridge*, and took a bachelor of arts degree there; but afterwards went to *Oxford*, and for his bright talents was chosen one of the junior canons of cardinal *Wolsey's* new college, now called *Christ-Church*. Some time before the year 1525, he became acquainted with the famous *William Tindale*, who, conferring with him about the abuses of religion, was made the happy instrument under God of sowing the pure seed of the gospel in his heart. *Frith*, shortly after, professing the true religion, was seized and examined by the commissary of the university, and then imprisoned within the limits of his own college, with several others, some of whom died with the severe usage they received. Being released in 1528, he went beyond sea; where being greatly confirmed in the faith, he returned to *England* about two years after, leaving his wife and children behind him. It is supposed he had in view an exhibition of the prior of *Reading* in *Berkshire*, and to have had the prior over with him; but coming to *Reading*, he was taken up for a vagabond, and set in the stocks: Where after sitting a long time, and ready to die with hunger, he at last desired that the school-master of the town might come to him, who at that time was Mr. *Leonard Cox*, a learned man. *Cox*, discovering his merit and great abilities, by discoursing with him on the *Latin* and *Greek* classics, procured his release, and supplied him with victuals and money. Afterwards *Frith* went to *London*; where, though he often changed both his cloaths and place, he dwelt not long in safety, for so great a persecutor was Sir *Thomas More*, then lord chancellor, that he had his spies at every port and on the roads leading to them, and offered great rewards to any one that would give information of this excellent man.

It is probable, that Sir *Thomas More* was the more hastily led to this persecution, in consequence of a book, which *Frith* had written against him. The case was this, *The supplication of the beggars*, a book, published by a Mr. *Fish*, of *Gray's-Inn*, inveighing against the imposing arts of the *begging friars* [an order, which professed poverty] and taxing the pope with extortion and cruelty, as he granted his indulgences and remissions from purgatory to none but those who could pay for them; was received with great attention by the public, and even approved by king *Henry* the eighth himself, whose quarrel with the pope it highly favored. *More* answered this publication by another, entitled, *The supplication of the souls in purgatory*, expressing their miseries and the relief they received by the masses, which were said for them; and therefore they called upon their friends to support the religious orders, which were now beset with so many inveterate enemies. Though Sir *Thomas* had exerted his usual wit and elegance in this composition; whether it proceeded from the badness of his cause, or the great insight which the world at large had then obtained in these matters, his apology did not meet with any encouraging reception.

However, *Frith* answered this book of *More's* in a very grave manner, and shewed that the doctrine of purgatory was not founded on scripture, that it was inconsistent with the merits of *Christ*, and his pardon of sin, and that it directly opposed the great plan of his salvation. He also asserted, that the fire, which was spoken of by the apostle, as that which would consume the *wood, hay, and stubble*, could only be meant of the fire of persecution. He urged, that the primitive church held no such doctrine; and that, as it was not in the scripture, so neither was it in *Ambrose, Jerom, and Augustine*, those great fathers of the church. He insisted, that it was introduced by the monks, with innumerable fables, on purpose to delude the world and to amass great riches by it. In short, this book provoked the *Romish* clergy to the highest degree; and they resolved, as they could not convince with other reasoning, to use the irresistible arguments of fire and faggot upon those, who thus contemned the pope's authority, lowered their own consequence, and endangered their revenues.

Mr. *Frith* not long afterwards, conversing with a familiar friend upon the nature of the body and blood of *Christ* in the sacrament, was desired by his friend to commit the substance of his arguments to writing, for the
help

help of his memory. Mr. *Frith* at first was unwilling, knowing what great danger he was in; but at length he complied, and wrote down the four following arguments:

“ First, That the matter of the sacrament is no necessary article of faith under pain of damnation.

“ Secondly, That forasmuch as *Christ*’s natural body in like condition hath all properties of our body, sin only excepted; it cannot be, neither is it agreeable unto reason, that he should be in two places or more at once, contrary to the nature of our body.

“ Thirdly, That we should not in this place (*Matth.* xxvi. 26, 27, 28.) understand *Christ*’s words according to the literal sense, but rather according to the order and phrase of speech, comparing phrase with phrase, according to the analogy of scripture.

“ Lastly, That it ought to be received according to the true and right institution of *Christ*, notwithstanding that the order which at this time is crept into the church, and is used now a days by the priests, do never so much differ from it.”

At this time one *William Holt*, a taylor, professed great friendship towards the religious party, and by that means had an opportunity, like another *Judas*, to betray them, which he did, by desiring to see Mr. *Frith*’s arguments, and carrying them immediately to Sir *Thomas More*, who by his means found out and seized Mr. *Frith*, and sent him prisoner to the tower. He had several conferences there with Sir *Thomas* and others. At length, being taken to *Lambeth*, before the archbishop, and afterwards to *Croydon*, before the bishop of *Winchester*, he was at length (on the 20th of *June*, 1533) examined before an assembly of bishops sitting in *St. Paul*’s cathedral; who, after interrogating him respecting the sacrament and purgatory, urged him to recant; but Mr. *Frith* fully confuted all their arguments, and, instead of recanting, subscribed his answers, with his own hand, in the following manner:

“ *Ego FRITHUS ita sentio, & quemadmodum sentio, ita dixi, scripsi, asserui, & affirmavi.*” That is, I *Frith* thus do think, and as I think, so I have said, written, taught, and affirmed, and in my books have published. From the works of *Frith*, Mr. *Fox* assures us, that the great archbishop *Cranmer* collected many of his arguments in his famous book of the sacrament, and that he gave more credit to *Frith* as an author, than to any other writer. However, *Frith* was, upon the score of his writings and verbal answers to the bishops, deemed incorrigible,
and

and condemned to be burnt; and accordingly was carried to *Smithfield*, with a young man, named *Andrew Hewet*, a martyr in the same glorious cause, upon the 4th of *July*, 1533. When Mr. *Frith* was tied to the stake, he shewed amazing constancy and courage; and, embracing the faggots and fire when put around him, evidenced how cheerfully he suffered death for the sake of *Christ* and his blessed truths. One Dr. *Cook*, a priest, standing by, loudly admonished the people not to pray for them, any more than if they were dogs. At which Mr. *Frith*, smiling, prayed the Lord to forgive him. The wind blew away the flames to his fellow martyr, *Hewet*, which occasioned to *Frith* a very lingering and painful death; but his mind seemed so established, and his patience to have so much of its perfect work, that it was observed, he seemed more to rejoice for his fellow-sufferer, than to be careful about himself; and at last cheerfully committed his soul into the hands of God. He suffered in the prime of his life: But it is never too early to follow the will of God or to enter into heaven.

There is a circumstance respecting this constant martyr, *John Frith*, that may be thought not unworthy the reading. It was as follows: The archbishop of *Canterbury* sent two of his servants to bring Mr. *Frith* safe to *Croydon*, to be examined there; but in the way, they were so convinced by his judicious and pious conversation, his humble and amiable deportment, that they concerted a plan, between themselves, how to let him escape. And then one of them thus addressed him; ‘Mr. *Frith*, the journey I have taken in hand to bring you to *Croydon*, as a sheep to the slaughter, so grieveth me, that I am overwhelmed with care and sorrow; nor do I regard what hazard I undergo, so that I may but deliver you out of the lion’s mouth.’ And then made known to him, how they had contrived to facilitate his escape. To all this Mr. *Frith* answered with a smiling countenance; “Do you think that I am afraid to deliver my opinion before the bishops of *England*, being a manifest truth?” The gentleman replied, ‘I wonder that you was so willing to quit the kingdom before you was taken, and now so unwilling to save yourself.’ Mr. *Frith* answered, “Before I was seized, I would fain have enjoyed my liberty for the benefit of the church of God; but now being taken by the higher power, and by the providence of God, delivered into the hands of the bishops, to give testimony to that religion and doctrine

“ trine, which under pain of damnation I am bound to
 “ maintain and defend ; if, therefore, I should now start
 “ aside and run away, I should run away from my God,
 “ and from the testimony of his word, and should be
 “ worthy of a thousand hells ; therefore, added he, I be-
 “ seech you to bring me to the place appointed for me to
 “ be brought, or else I will go thither alone.”—Perhaps,
 in this instance, he is more to be admired than justified.
 GOD’s people are no where commanded to give them-
 selves up to their persecutors, but to avoid them, as far
 as is consistent with a faithful conscience. Mr. *Frith*
 imitated, in this particular, many of the primitive Chris-
 tians, who rather coveted than shunned the crown of
 martyrdom ; which seems the more extraordinary in him,
 as he was eminently of a meek and quiet spirit, and not
 of that lion-hearted temper, which appeared in *Luther* and
 some other of the Reformers.

Frith’s great opponents were *Fisher*, bishop of *Rocheſter*,
Sir Thomas More, and *Raſtal*, *More*’s ſon-in-law. Theſe
 he ſolidly confuted in his writings, and, for the vigor of
 that confutation, moſt probably became a particular ob-
 ject of their reſentment. So much learning, in conjunc-
 tion with ſo much grace, were certainly an overmatch
 for mere human nature, inveſted only with its natural
 attainments. ‘ He was (ſays biſhop *Bale*) a poliſhed ſcho-
 ‘ lar, as well as maſter of the learned languages.’ And
 he applied all his faculties to the illuſtration and glory of
 that truth, which the goodneſs of God had imparted to
 him.

His works are theſe : 1. Treatiſe of purgatory. 2. An-
 titheſis between *Chriſt* and the pope. 3. Letter to the
 faithful followers of *Chriſt*’s goſpel, written in the tower,
 1532. 4. The mirror, or glaſs to know thyſelf, written
 in the tower, 1532. 5. Mirror, or looking-glaſs, wherein
 you may behold the ſacrament of baptiſm. 6. Articles
 [for which he died] written in *Newgate*, 23d of *June*,
 1533. 7. Answer to *Sir Thomas More*’s dialogues con-
 cerning hereſies. 8. Answer to *John Fiſher*, biſhop of
Rocheſter, &c. All theſe treatiſes were reprinted at *Lon-*
don in 1573, in folio.

WILLIAM TINDALE.

WILLIAM TINDALE, a learned and zealous *English* Reformer, and memorable for having made the first version of the bible in modern *English*, was born on the borders of *Wales*, sometime before the year 1500. He was of *Magdalen-hall* in *Oxford*, where he distinguished himself, not only by his literary abilities, but also by imbibing early the doctrines of the Reformation, which were begun to be spread in many parts of *England*. He applied himself with great diligence to the study of the scriptures, which he did not peruse as a mere scholar or self-sufficient speculatist, but in the way, which divine grace alone induces and makes profitable, namely, with a meek and humble spirit; craving for heavenly wisdom in a sense of the want of it, and not bringing human wit or reason in order to measure the divine. Nor was he satisfied to *hide his candle under a bushel*, and to keep what he learned by grace to himself. He took great pains, privately, to read divinity to several students and fellows of the *Hall*, and to instruct them in the knowledge and truth of the scriptures; on account of which and his upright life and conversation, he was held in the highest estimation.

Having taken his degrees, he afterwards removed to *Cambridge*, and from thence, after some time, he went to live with a gentleman (Mr. *Welch*) in *Gloucestershire*, in the capacity of tutor to his children. While he continued there, he had frequent disputes with abbots and doctors, who visited the family, both about learned men, divinity, and the scriptures. One day Mr. and Mrs. *Welch* went to return a visit, where several of those dignitaries conversed with all freedom, Mr. *Tindale* not being present: And in the evening, they returned full of arguments against Mr. *Tindale*, all which he answered by scripture, maintaining the truth and reproving their false opinions.

opinions. Upon which Mrs. *Welch* (who was, says *Tindale*, a sensible woman) brake out in the following exclamation; ‘ Well, there was doctor ****, who can spend a hundred pounds; there was doctor ****, who can spend two hundred pounds; and doctor ****, who can spend three hundred pounds; and, what, is it reason, think you, that we should believe you before them?’ Mr. *Tindale* made no reply, and in future spake less of those matters.

At this time he was translating a book of *Erasmus*, entitled *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, which, when finished, he gave to Mr. and Mrs. *Welch*, who carefully perused it; and, it seems, were so far convinced of the truth, in opposition to the popish doctrines of the abbots and priests, that these gentlemen afterwards met with a very cool reception at their house, and soon declined their visits altogether. This, as it was natural to suppose, brought upon Mr. *Tindale* the wrath of all the popish clergy in the neighbourhood, who soon had him accused of many heresies to the bishop’s chancellor, before whom he had been cited to appear; but nothing being proved, after railing at him and abusing him, they dismissed him. In his way home he called upon a certain doctor, who had been an old chancellor to a bishop, and his very good friend; to him he opened his heart, and consulted him upon many passages of scripture. Before they parted the doctor said to him, ‘ Do you not know, that the pope is very anti-christ, whom the scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if it should be known you are of that opinion, it will cost you your life:’ And added, ‘ I have been an officer of his; but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works.’

Not long after this affair, Mr. *Tindale* fell in company with a certain divine, remarkable for his learning, with whom he disputed, and drave him so close, that at length the divine blasphemously cried out; ‘ We had better be without God’s laws than the pope’s.’ *Tindale*, fired at this expression, and filled with zeal, replied, ‘ I defy the pope and all his laws;’ and added, ‘ That if God spared his life, e’er many years, he would cause a boy that drives the plough to know more of the scriptures than he did.’ After this, the hatred of the priests was so great, that he was obliged to leave the country, which he did, with the consent and hearty wishes of Mr. *Welch* for his welfare. Mr. *Tindale*, remembering the high commendations *Erasmus* had given of *Tonstal*’s learning, then bishop of *London*, hoped he should find favor and
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protection

protection with him; but, as this was not the way God, in his providence, had marked out for him, the bishop excused himself, saying, ‘ That his house was full, that he had already more than he could accommodate, but that he advised him to seek about in *London*, where he could not fail to obtain employment.’

Mr. *Tindale* remained in *London* about a year, when being desirous to translate the New Testament into *English*, as the most effectual means (in his own opinion and in that of his dear friend *John Frith*) to remedy the great darkness and ignorance of the land, but judging it could not safely be done in *England*; he, by the kind assistance of Mr. *Humphry Monmouth* and others, went into *Germany*, where he labored upon the work, and finished it in the year 1527. In a letter to *Frith*, he says of it; “ I call GOD to recorde agaynst the daye we shall appeare before our Lord *Jesus*, to geve a reckenyng of our doynge, that I never altered one syllable of God’s word agaynst my conscience, nor would this daye, if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be geven me.” It was the *first* translation of the scripture into modern *English*. He then began with the Old Testament, and finished the five books of *Moses*, prefixing excellent discourses to each book, as he had done to those of the New Testament. *Cranmer’s Bible*, or (as it was called) the GREAT BIBLE, was no other than *Tindale’s* revised and corrected, omitting the prologues and tables, and adding scripture references and a summary of contents. At his first going over into *Germany*, he went into *Saxony*, and had much conference with *Luther* and other learned men; and then returning to the *Netherlands*, made his abode at *Antwerp*, at that time a very populous and flourishing city.

About the time he had finished his translation of the book of *Deuteronomy*, he had also prepared for the press a work concerning the nature of the sacrament, or (as it was then called) the altar; but wisely considering, that the people were not yet fully convinced of the absurdity of many superstitious ceremonies and gross idolatries, and that the mass was every where held in the same estimation, as the great goddess *Diana* had been amongst the *Ephesians*, which they thought came down from heaven; he therefore judged it might be more seasonable, and would answer the end more fully, at some future period. And he also wrote a very valuable tract upon the obedience of a *Christian man*, and likewise his expositions of scripture, &c.

He

He set sail in the mean time to *Hamburgh*, with a view to print his last finished translation of the scriptures; but being shipwrecked on the coast of *Holland*, he lost all his books and papers. However, going in another ship to *Hamburgh*, he met with Mr. *Coverdale*, who assisted him in translating again the five books of *Moses*, both of them being entertained in the house of a widow gentlewoman, Mrs. *Margaret Van Emerson*. This was in the year 1529, when the sweating-sickness very much prevailed in that place.

Having finished the printing of these books, he returned again to *Antwerp*; and his translation of the scriptures, being in the mean time sent to *England*, made a great noise there as well as in *Germany*; and, in the opinion of the bishops and clergy, did so much mischief (as they were pleased to call it) that they railed against and condemned them for containing a thousand heresies, and urged—that it was impossible for the scriptures to be translated into *English*—and that it was neither lawful nor expedient for the laity to have the scriptures in their mother-tongue. Nor could they rest, till, by their interest, they had procured a royal proclamation to be issued out, prohibiting the buying or reading such translation or translations. This proclamation was published in 1527, soon after the publication of *Tindale's* New Testament, which gave the loudest alarm; and in the same edict, as well as by the public prohibitions of the bishops, several other treatises were cried down, written by *Luther*, and other Reformers. But all this only served, as is usual in such cases, to increase the public curiosity, and to occasion a more careful reading of what was deemed so extremely obnoxious. One step taken by the bishop of *London* afforded some merriment to the protestants. His lordship thought, that the best way to prevent these *English* New Testaments from circulation, would be to buy up the whole impression, and therefore employed a Mr. *Packington*, who secretly favored the Reformation, then at *Antwerp*, for this purpose, assuring him at the same time, that, cost what they would, he would have them, and burn them all at *Paul's Cross*. Upon this, *Packington* applied himself to *Tindale*, and, upon agreement, the bishop had the books, *Packington* great thanks, and *Tindale* all the money. This enabled our Reformer instantly to publish a new and more correct edition, so ‘that they came over (says Mr. *Fox*) thick and threefold into *England*.’ This occasioned extreme rage in the disappointed bishop

and his popish friends. One *Constantine* being soon after apprehended by Sir *Thomas More*, and being asked how *Tindale* and others subsisted abroad, readily answered, That it was the bishop of *London* who had been their chief supporter, for he bestowed a great deal of money upon them in the purchase of New Testaments to burn them, and that upon that cash they had subsisted, till the sale of the second edition was received.

However, *Tindale's* persecutors, concerned for all that was dear to them, namely, their *purse* and their *belly*, did not rest here; for, as they perceived him to be a very able man, and if suffered to live, capable of doing immense harm to their craft; they sent over to *Antwerp* one *Philips*, who insinuated himself into his company, and under the pretext of friendship betrayed him into custody. He was sent prisoner to the castle of *Filford*, about eighteen miles from *Antwerp*; and though the *English* merchants at *Antwerp* did what they could to procure his release, and letters were sent from lord *Cromwell* and others out of *England*, yet *Philips* bestirred himself so heartily, that *Tindale* was tried and condemned to die. He was brought to the place of execution, and while he was tying to the stake he cried with a fervent and loud voice, "Lord, open the king of *England's* eyes." He was first strangled by the hands of the common hangman, and then burned near *Filford-castle*, in the year 1536. And thus he, whom *Fox*, with the utmost propriety, styles '*England's* Apostle,' rested from his labors and troubles, and entered into the joy of his Lord.

He was a person of seraphic piety, indefatigable study, and extraordinary learning. His modesty, zeal, and disinterestedness, were so great, that he declared, before he went to *Germany*, that he should be content "to live in any county of *England*, on an allowance of ten pounds *per annum*, and bind himself to receive no more, if he might only have authority to instruct children and preach the gospel." His uncommon abilities and learning, which, joined to great warmth and firmness of nature, and to true faith and gospel-zeal, qualified him exceedingly well for the office of a Reformer. Such was GOD's blessing upon his true and faithful preaching, that, during the time of his imprisonment (which lasted a year and a half) he converted his gaoler, his daughter, and many of his household. Nay, the procurer general, or emperor's attorney, publickly said of him, that he was *homo doctus, pius, et bonus*, a learned,

learned, pious, and good man. The good bishop *Bale* also says of him, that for knowledge, purity of doctrine, and holiness of life, he ought to be esteemed the next *English* Reformer after *Wickliffe*, and that he was born for the conversion and edification of many souls. His picture represents him with a bible in his hand, and this distich;

*Hæc ut luce tuas dispergam, Roma, tenebras,
Sponte extorris ero, sponte sacrificium.*

That light o'er all thy darkness, *Rome*,
With triumph might arise;
An exile freely I become,
Freely a sacrifice.

The works which he wrote, besides the translation of the scriptures, are the following; which were published in one general volume:

1. A Christian's obedience. 2. The unrighteous mammon. 3. The practice of the papists. 4. Commentaries on the seventh chapter of *St. Matthew*. 5. A discourse of the last will and testament of *Tracii*. 6. An answer to *Sir Thomas More's* dialogues. 7. The doctrine of the Lord's Supper against *More*. 8. Of the sacrament of the altar. 9. Of the sacramental signs. 10. A footpath leading to the scriptures. 11. Three letters to *John Frith*.

The remains of such men, when they are but few, are the more desirable and precious. We will, therefore, insert (as they discover the spirit and temper of this good man) the three letters abovementioned, preserved by Mr. Fox; and especially as his voluminous writings are not in the possession, or within the purchase, of many serious persons.

I.

“THE grace and peace of God our Father, and of
“ *Jesus Christ* our Lord, be with you, *Amen*.
“ Dearly beloved brother *John*, I have heard say, how
“ the hypocrites, now that they have overcome that great
“ business which letted them, or at the least way have
“ brought it to a stay, return to their old nature again.
“ The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he hath
“ ordained to be ere the world was made, that come,
“ and his glory reign over all.

“ Dearly beloved, however the matter be, commit your-
“ self wholly and only unto your most loving Father, and
“ most kind Lord; fear not men that threat, nor trust
“ men that speak fair: But trust him that is true of pro-
“ mise,

“ mife, and able to make his word good. Your caufe is
 “ *Chrift’s* gospel, a light that must be fed with the blood
 “ of faith. The lamp must be dressed and snuffed daily,
 “ and that oil poured in every evening and morning,
 “ that the light go not out. Though we be sinners, yet
 “ is the caufe right. If when we be buffeted for well
 “ doing, we suffer patiently and endure, that is accepta-
 “ ble with God. For to that end we are called. For
 “ *Chrift* also suffered for us, leaving us an example that
 “ we should follow his steps, who did no sin. Hereby
 “ have we perceived love, that he laid down his life for
 “ us; therefore we ought also to lay down our lives for
 “ the brethren. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your
 “ reward in heaven. For we suffer with him, that we
 “ may also be glorified with him: Who shall change
 “ our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his
 “ glorious body, according to the working whereby he
 “ is able even to subdue all things unto himself.

“ Dearly beloved, be of good courage, and comfort
 “ your soul with the hope of this high reward, and bear
 “ the image of *Chrift* in your mortal body, that it may at
 “ his coming be made like to his immortal body; and fol-
 “ low the example of all your other dear brethren, which
 “ chose to suffer in hope of a better resurrection. Keep
 “ your conscience pure and undefiled, and say against
 “ that nothing. Stick at necessary things, and re-
 “ member the blasphemies of the enemies of *Chrift*,
 “ saying, they find none but who will abjure rather than
 “ suffer the extremity. Moreover, the death of them
 “ that come again after they have once denied, though
 “ it be accepted with God, and all that believe, yet it is
 “ not glorious: For the hypocrites say, he must needs
 “ die, denying helpeth not. But might it have holpen,
 “ they would have denied five hundred times, but seeing
 “ it would not help them, therefore of pure pride and
 “ meer malice together, they spake with their mouths
 “ what their conscience knoweth false. If you give your-
 “ self, cast yourself, yield yourself, commit yourself
 “ wholly and only to your loving Father, then shall his
 “ power be in you and make you strong, and that so
 “ strong, that you shall feel no pain, which should be to
 “ another present death: And his Spirit shall speak in you,
 “ and teach you what to answer, according to his pro-
 “ mise: He shall set out his truth by you wonderfully, and
 “ work for you above all that your heart can imagine;
 “ yea and you are not yet dead, though the hypocrites
 “ all,

“ all, with all that they can make, have sworn your
 “ death. *Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem*; To
 “ look for no man’s help, bringeth the help of God to
 “ them that seem to be overcome in the eyes of the hy-
 “ pocrites: Yea, it shall make God to carry you thorow
 “ thick and thin for his truth’s sake, in spite of all the
 “ enemies of his truth. There falleth not a hair till his
 “ hour be come; and when his hour is come, necessity
 “ carrieth us hence though we be not willing. But if
 “ we be willing, then have we a reward and thank.

“ Fear not the threatning therefore, neither be over-
 “ come of sweet words; with which twain the hypocrites
 “ shall assail you. Neither let the perswasions of worldly
 “ wisdom bear rule in your heart, no, though they be
 “ your friends that counsel you. Let *Bilney* be a warn-
 “ ing to you, let not their vizor beguile your eyes. Let
 “ not your body faint. He that endureth to the end
 “ shall be saved. If the pain be above your strength,
 “ remember, *Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, I will*
 “ *give it you.* And pray to your Father in that name,
 “ and he shall cease your pain, or shorten it. The Lord
 “ of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you, *Amen.*

“ WILLIAM TINDALE.”

II.

“ TWO have suffered in *Antwerp, in die sanctæ crucis*,
 “ unto the great glory of the gospel; four at
 “ *Rysels in Flanders*; and at *Luke* hath there one at
 “ least suffered, and all the same day. At *Roan in France*
 “ they persecute. And at *Paris* are five doctors taken
 “ for the gospel. See, you are not alone; be cheerful
 “ and remember that among the hard-hearted in *England*,
 “ there is a number reserved by grace: For whose sakes,
 “ if need be, you must be ready to suffer. Sir, if you
 “ may write, how short soever it be, forget it not, that
 “ we may know how it goeth with you, for our heart’s
 “ ease. The Lord be yet again with you, with all his
 “ plenteousness, and fill you that you flow over, *Amen.*

“ If when you have read this, you can send it to
 “ *Adrian*; do I pray you, that he may know how that
 “ our heart is with you.

“ *George Joy* at *Candlemas* being at *Barrow* printed
 “ two leaves of *Genesis* in a great form, and sent one
 “ copy to the king, and another to the new queen, with a
 “ letter to *N.* to deliver them; and to purchase license,
 “ that

“ that he might so go through all the bible. Out of
 “ this is sprung the noise of the new bible; and out of
 “ that is the great seeking for *English* books at all printers
 “ and book-binders in *Antwerp*, and for an *English* priest
 “ that should print.

“ This chanced the ninth day of *May*.

“ Sir, your wife is well content with the will of God,
 “ and would not for her sake have the glory of God
 “ hindered.

“ WILLIAM TINDALE.”

III.

“ The grace of our Saviour *Jesus*, his patience, meek-
 “ ness, humbleness, circumspection, and wisdom, be
 “ with your heart, *Amen*.

“ **D**EARLY beloved brother, mine hearts desire
 “ in our Saviour *Jesus*, is that you arm your-
 “ self with patience, and be cool, sober, wise and cir-
 “ cumspect, and that you keep you a low by the ground,
 “ avoiding high questions, that pass the common capa-
 “ city. But expound the law truly, and open the vail
 “ of *Moses* to condemn all flesh, and prove all men sin-
 “ ners, and all deeds under the law, before mercy have
 “ taken away the condemnation thereof, to be sin and
 “ damnable, and then, as a faithful minister, set abroad
 “ the mercy of our Lord *Jesus*, and let the wounded
 “ consciences drink of the water of Him. And then shall
 “ your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine
 “ of the hypocrites; and the Spirit of God shall work
 “ with you, and all consciences shall bear record unto
 “ you, and feel that it is so. And all doctrine that
 “ casteth a mist on those two, to shadow and hide them,
 “ I mean the law of God, and mercy of *Christ*, that resist
 “ you with all your power. Sacraments without signi-
 “ fication refuse. If they put significations to them,
 “ receive them, if you see it may help, though it be not
 “ necessary.

“ Of the presence of *Christ*'s body in the sacrament,
 “ meddle as little as you can, that there appear no di-
 “ vision among us. *Barnes* will be hot against you.
 “ The *Saxons* be sore on the affirmative; whether con-
 “ stant or obstinate, I remit it to God. *Philip Melanc-*
 “ *thon* is said to be with the *French* king. There be
 “ in *Antwerp* that say, they saw him come into *Paris*
 “ with an hundred and fifty horses, and that they spake
 “ with

“ with him. If the *French* men receive the word of
 “ God, he will plant the affirmative in them. *George*
 “ *Joy* would have put forth a treatise of that matter, but
 “ I have stopt him as yet: What he will do if he get
 “ money, I wot not. I believe he would make many
 “ reasons little serving to that purpose: My mind is,
 “ that nothing be put forth till we hear how you shall
 “ have sped. I would have the right use preached, and
 “ the presence to be an indifferent thing, till the matter
 “ might be reasoned in peace at leisure of both parties.
 “ If you be required, shew the phrases of the scripture,
 “ and let them talk what they will. For as to believe
 “ that God is every where, hurteth no man that worship-
 “ peth him no where but within the heart, in spirit and
 “ verity: Even so to believe, that the body of *Christ* is
 “ every where (though it cannot be proved) hurteth no
 “ man, that worshippeth him no where save in the faith
 “ of his gospel. You perceive my mind: Howbeit, if
 “ God shew you otherwise, it is free for you to do as he
 “ moveth you.

“ I guessed long ago, that God would send a dazing
 “ into the head of the spirituality, to catch themselves in
 “ their own subtilty, and trust it is come to pass. And
 “ now me thinketh I smell a counsel to be taken, little
 “ for their profits in time to come. But you must un-
 “ derstand, that it is not of a pure heart and for love of
 “ the truth, but to avenge themselves, and to eat the
 “ whore’s flesh, and to suck the marrow of her bones.
 “ Wherefore cleave fast to the rock of the help of God,
 “ and commit the end of all things unto him: And if
 “ God shall call you, that you may then use the wisdom
 “ of the worldly, as far as you perceive the glory of God
 “ may come thereof, refuse it not; and ever among
 “ thrust in, that the scripture may be in the mother-
 “ tongue, and learning set up in the universities. But
 “ if ought be required contrary to the glory of God, and
 “ his *Christ*, then stand fast, and commit yourself to
 “ God, and be not overcome of men’s persuasions;
 “ which haply shall say, We see no other way to bring
 “ in the truth.

“ Brother, beloved in my heart, there liveth not in
 “ whom I have so good hope and trust, and in whom
 “ my heart rejoiceth, and my soul comforteth herself, as
 “ in you; not the thousand part so much for your learn-
 “ ing, and what other gifts else you have, as because you
 “ will creep alow by the ground, and walk in those
 “ things

“ things that the conscience may feel, and not in the
 “ imaginations of the brain: In fear, and not in bold-
 “ nefs: In open necessary things, and not to pronounce
 “ or define of hid secrets, or things that neither help nor
 “ hinder, whether it be so or no; in unity, and not in
 “ seditious opinions: Insomuch that if you be sure you
 “ know, yet in things that may abide leisure you will
 “ defer, or say (till other agree with you) Methinks
 “ the text requireth the sense or understanding. Yea,
 “ and if you be sure that your part be good, and another
 “ hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no
 “ matter, you will laugh and let it pass, and refer the
 “ thing to other men, and stick you stiffly and stubbornly
 “ in earnest and necessary things. And I trust you be
 “ persuaded even so of me: For I call God to record
 “ against the day we shall appear before our Lord *Jesus*,
 “ to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered
 “ one syllable of God’s word against my conscience, nor
 “ would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it
 “ be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me.
 “ Moreover, I take God to record to my conscience,
 “ that I desire of God to myself in this world, no more
 “ than that without which I cannot keep his laws.

“ Finally, if there were in me any gift that could help
 “ at hand, and aid you if need required, I promise you
 “ I would not be far off, and commit the end to God.
 “ My soul is not faint, though my body be weary. But
 “ God hath made me evil favoured in this world, and
 “ without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude,
 “ dull and slow witted; your part shall be to supply
 “ what lacketh in me: Remembring, that as lowliness
 “ of heart shall make you high with God, even so meek-
 “ ness of words shall make you sink into the hearts of
 “ men. Nature giveth age authority, but meekness is
 “ the glory of youth, and giveth them honour. Abun-
 “ dance of love maketh me exceed in babling.

“ Sir, as concerning purgatory and many other things,
 “ if you be demanded, you may say, if you err, the
 “ spirituality hath so led you, and that they have taught
 “ you to believe as you do. For they preached you all
 “ such things out of God’s word, and alledged a thou-
 “ sand texts, by reason of which texts you believed as
 “ they taught you, but now you find them lyers, and
 “ that the texts mean no such things, and therefore you
 “ can believe them no longer, but are as ye were before
 “ they taught you, and believe no such thing: Howbeit
 “ you

“ you are ready to believe, if they have any other way
 “ to prove it; for without proof you cannot believe them,
 “ when you have found them with so many lyes, &c.
 “ If you perceive wherein we may help, either in being
 “ still or doing somewhat, let us have word, and I will
 “ do mine uttermost.

“ My lord of *London* hath a servant called *John Tisen*,
 “ with a red beard, and a black-reddish head, and was
 “ once my scholar; he was seen in *Antwerp*, but came
 “ not among the *Englishmen*: Whither he is gone am-
 “ bassador secret, I wot not.

“ The mighty God of *Jacob* be with you, to supplant
 “ his enemies, and give you the favour of *Joseph*, and
 “ the wisdom and the spirit of *Stephen*; be with your
 “ heart, and with your mouth, and teach your lips what
 “ they shall say, and how to answer to all things. He
 “ is our God, if we despair in ourselves, and trust in
 “ him: And his is the glory. *Amen.*

“ *January*, 1533.

WILLIAM TINDALE.”

JOHN LAMBERT.

THE true name of this admirable man was *Nicholson*; but, in order to avoid the dangers which threatened him in the latter part of his life on a religious account, he assumed the surname of *Lambert*. It does not appear when he was born, though it may be presumed to have been about the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, as he suffered for the cause of truth in the year 1538. We have not likewise the precise place of his birth: Only it is affirmed, that he was born, and brought up for the most part, in the county of *Norfolk*. His academical education he received at *Cambridge*, where he acquired the learned languages, and (what was better than them) his conversion to GOD from popish superstition and the love of this evil world. The blessed instrument of this happy change was the memorable and
 blessed

bleſſed *Bilney*, who was likewise the inſtrument of converting many others to the knowledge of GOD and their own hearts.

The fury of king *Henry* the Eighth againſt Lutheraniſm (or Proteſtantiſm, as it was afterwards more juſtly called) compelled poor *Lambert*, who began to be diſtinguiſhed for his learning and piety, to ſeek a refuge upon the continent. Accordingly, he repaired to *Antwerp*, then the reſidence of *Tindale* and *Frith*, who appear to have been his choſen friends, and officiated as preacher and chaplain to the *Engliſh* factory in that city, (which at that time had great correſpondence with *England* on account of the woollen manufacture) for the greater part of two years. But the tenor of his preaching was of ſuch a kind, as rendered it by no means ſurprizing, that he ſhould procure himſelf enemies among the ſons of *Rome*. One *Barlow*, glad, no doubt, of ſhewing his zeal, accused him to Sir *Thomas More*, then lord chancellor of *England*, by whoſe means he was brought from *Antwerp* to *London*, as an innocent lamb to ſatiate the cruelty of the *Romiſh* wolves, who thirſted for his blood. This event occurred in the year 1532. He was firſt examined at *Lambeth* by *Warham*, then archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and afterwards at the biſhop's houſe at *Oxford*, before a multitude of his adverſaries. He was queſtioned upon forty-five articles, to all of which he gave a very long, full, and learned answer, which does him and the cauſe he profeſſed exceeding great honor. A more ſolid and comprehensive apology for Proteſtantiſm is rarely to be found; and we ſhould be happy to lay it before our readers, did not its very great length exceed the limits of our plan. The curious Reader may ſee it at large in *Fox's Acts and Monuments*, for the reign of *Henry* the Eighth. We will, however, ſubjoin an extract or two at the end of his life, as a ſpecimen of his faith and doctrine.

Lambert continued in cuſtody at *Oxford* till the next year, 1533, in which archbiſhop *Warham* died, and was ſucceeded by *Cranmer*, who was (at the time of *Warham's* death) in *Germany*, debating the affair of the king's divorce. The death of the archbiſhop, and the riſe of queen *Anne* of *Boleyn*, ſeem to have been the immediate cauſes of *Lambert's* releaſe, which he had no ſooner obtained than he repaired to *London*, and engaged himſelf in teaching the Greek and Latin tongues. He preferred this ſecular buſineſs to the prieſthood, as times went; and as he meant to marry and ſettle, he purpoſed to take up the freedom

freedom of the city in the grocer's company. But GOD, who appoints and disappoints the inclinations and purposes of men after his own will and wisdom, called this blessed man to a higher vocation, and to give up his life as a martyr for the testimony of *Jesus*.

Sometime in the year 1538, *Lambert* was present at a sermon, preached by a Dr. *Taylor*, who, it seems, was then rather a friend to the gospel, and was afterwards made bishop of *Lincoln* in the reign of king *Edward*, and finally deprived by queen *Mary*. *Lambert*, whether he was dissatisfied with the sermon, or had a good opinion of the preacher, desired to have a friendly conference with him, and proposed, in the course of conversation, several theological points, on which he desired to be satisfied, the chief of which was the question concerning the corporal presence of *Christ* in the sacrament. *Taylor*, pressed perhaps too close, desired *Lambert* to excuse him for the present, on account of other business, and to write his mind upon the matter, which they would talk over again at their leisure.

Lambert accordingly proposed ten arguments in writing for support of his opinion, which are mostly lost except the first, which was founded upon these words; *This cup is the New Testament*, &c. "Now, says he, if these words do neither change the cup nor the wine therein substantially into the New Testament, which nobody asserts; then, by parity of reason, the words, spoken of the bread, do not turn the bread corporally into the person of *Christ*." The other reasons are said to have been equally acute, and supported by the scriptures and by testimonies from the primitive fathers.

Taylor, out of a real wish to satisfy *Lambert*, and feeling himself unable to answer him, applied among others to Dr. *Barnes*, a good man, but as yet (like many good men at the dawning of the Reformation) not sufficiently clear in the matter of the sacrament. *Barnes* advised *Taylor* to lay the matter before *Cranmer*, the archbishop, who then was an advocate for transubstantiation; and *Lambert* was obliged to defend his doctrine in open court before him and some other bishops. This published *Lambert* and his opinions to the whole court and city.

Gardiner, bishop of *Winchester*, glad of every opportunity of insinuating himself into the king's good graces, suggested to his majesty, That now an opportunity occurred to shew to all the world, that though he had renounced the supreme authority of the bishop of *Rome*, he had

had not renounced the catholic faith (which the king had professed not to do), and that therefore he would prosecute and punish all heretics and others, who should presume to set forth doctrines contrary to it: That this *Lambert* might be made a proper example, and that by his punishment he might quiet the apprehensions of the people, with respect to further innovations.

The king eagerly caught the bait, and immediately issued a general ordinance, commanding all the nobility and bishops of the realm forthwith to repair to *London*, in order to assist the king against heretics and heresies, as he purposed to sit *personally* in judgement upon them.

Vast was the concourse of people assembled to see this solemn business; and the apparatus for the trial was no less extraordinary. The king himself came as judge, with a great guard, and sat upon the throne prepared for him, arrayed in white: On his right-hand were the bishops, and behind them the judges and crown lawyers, cloathed all in purple; and, on his left, the peers of the realm and other officers of the crown, according to precedence. Such an appearance, with the king's severe looks, words, and manner, would have sufficed to daunt any man, who could not rely upon the promise, That *GOD's* people should *speak* in his cause *before kings, and not be ashamed*.

It would be long to enter upon the cruel and unfair proceedings of this memorable day. The imperious frowns and threats of the king, and the meek and humble deportment of *Lambert*, can only be paralleled by the history of *Caiaphas* the high-priest, or *Pontius Pilate*, and *Lambert's* Saviour. *Cranmer*, it is to be regretted, opposed a cause on that day, for which *Cranmer* himself not many years afterwards suffered and bled. *Lambert* defended himself with the firmness of a man, the learning of a scholar, and the humility of a Christian. The issue was predetermined in the king's mind; and all the eloquence and truth in the world would have been of no avail. The king commanded *Cromwell* (the famous lord *Cromwell*, who so much supported the Reformation) to read the doleful sentence of condemnation. It was *Lambert's* peculiar case, not only to be a martyr, but to suffer by those who, in their turn and for the same identical cause, were not long afterwards martyrs themselves.

It appears, that, upon this judgement, he was confined to lord *Cromwell's* house, and that *Cromwell* besought his forgiveness for what he had been compelled to do (it is said, by *Gardiner's* particular management) against him.

Upon the day of his death, he breakfasted with great chearfulness among *Cromwell's* gentlemen, saluted them with great ease and respect upon his departure, and was led out as a lamb for a burnt-sacrifice.

No man was used at the stake with more cruelty than this holy martyr. They burned him with a slow fire by inches; for if it kindled higher and stronger than they chose, they removed it away. When his legs were burnt off, and his thighs were mere stumps in the fire, they pitched his poor body upon pikes, and lacerated his broiling flesh with their halberts. But GOD was with him in the midst of the flame, and supported him in all the anguish of nature. Just before he expired, he lifted up such hands as he had, all flaming with fire, and cried out to the people with his dying voice in these glorious words; NONE BUT CHRIST; NONE BUT CHRIST. Spoken in this manner, and at such a time, there was more energy in them than could have been expressed in a volume. He was at last beat down into the fire, and flew, in a chariot of flame, to heaven.

During his confinement, he wrote a long treatise to the king, in which he apologized for his faith and doctrine; a part of which treatise is preserved by *Fox* in his *Acts and Monuments*, to which we must refer the Reader.

We promised just to extract a few words from his first examination, that the Reader may see something of the evangelical doctrines of this good man. In the course of his defence before archbishop *Warham*, he was asked, ‘*Dost thou believe, that whatsoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of NECESSITY?*’ Mr. *Lambert* easily perceived, that his being so closely questioned on the article of *predestination*, was no other than a trap laid for his life. His reply did equal honor to his prudence and faithfulness: “Unto the *first* part of your riddle, I neither can nor will give any definitive answer.—Concerning the *second* part, *Whether man hath free-will, or no, to deserve joy or pain?* As for our *deserving* of joy, in particular, I think it very little or none; even when we do the very commandments and law of God. *When ye have done all that are commanded you, saith our Saviour, say that ye be unprofitable servants.* When we have done his bidding, we ought not so to magnify neither our *self*, nor our own *free-will*: But laud HIM, with a meek heart, through whose benefit we have done (if at any time we do it) his liking and pleasure. Hence *Austin* prayeth, *Domine, da quod jubes, et jube quod vis:*” Lord, give what thou commandest, and command what thou wilt.

“Concerning

“ Concerning FREE-WILL, I mean altogether as doth St.
 “ *Austin*: That, of ourselves, we have NO *liberty* nor abi-
 “ lity to do the will of God; but are *shut up* and *sold*
 “ under *sin*, as both *Isaiah* and *Paul* bear witness: But
 “ by the GRACE of God we are rid and set at liberty,
 “ according to the portion which every man” [i. e. every
regenerate man] “ hath received of the same; some more,
 “ some less.”

Lambert was also asked, ‘ *Whether faith alone, without*
 ‘ *good works, may suffice to the salvation and justification of*
 ‘ *a man, who has fallen into sin after baptism?*’ The mar-
 tyr answered, in the words of St. *Austin*, “ *Opera bona*
 “ *non faciunt justum, sed justificatus facit bona opera*: The
 “ PERFORMANCE of GOOD WORKS does not *justify* a
 “ man, but the man who IS JUSTIFIED performs GOOD
 “ WORKS.”

U R B A N U S R E G I U S.

U R B A N U S R E G I U S was born in *Arga Longa*,
 in the territories of the counts *de Montfort*. His
 family name was *Rex*, or *King*, which was changed by the
 family, as it was often applied in ridicule. Having given
 early proofs of his genius, he received a liberal education,
 first at the school of *Lindau*, and afterwards at *Friburg*,
 where he lived with *Zasius*, an excellent civilian, who had
 the greatest regard for him on account of his diligence and
 industry. Indeed, his application was very extraordinary;
 for he buried himself in the library of his learned friend,
 and frequently sat up whole nights in reading authors and
 transcribing the remarks, which *Zasius* and other scholars
 had made upon them, insomuch that his kind host jocu-
 larly told him, ‘ that he certainly meant to rob him of
 ‘ his profession and knowledge.’ ’Tis said, that *Zasius*
 loved him as a son, both for his delight in learning and
 sweetness of manners: And *Urban* did not fail to answer
 all the expectations, which had been conceived of him.

From

From *Friburg* he went to *Basil* for further improvement; and from *Basil* to *Ingolstadt*, which university was under the direction of the famous *John Eckius*. Here, after a while, he read privately to several noblemen's sons, whose parents desired him to furnish their children with books and other necessaries, for which they would take care to remit him the money quarterly; but neglecting to fulfil their promise, he was obliged to give up his books and furniture to be divided amongst his creditors, and in despair went to a captain, who was recruiting for the war against the *Turks*, and listed himself for a soldier. It soon happened, that his friend *Eckius*, walking abroad to see the soldiers, spied poor *Urban* amongst them. *Eckius* with astonishment enquired the cause of this sudden change. *Urban* presently told him the behavior of those noblemen, whose children he had tutored: And *Eckius* soon took the means of procuring his discharge from the captain, as well as the money due to him from the noblemen.

Urban then returned to his studies, and growing famous for his great erudition and ingenuity, the emperor *Maximilian*, passing through *Ingolstadt*, made him his poet-laureat and orator: Afterwards, he was made professor of poetry and oratory in that university. He then applied himself closely to the study of divinity; and, a while after, the controversy growing hot between *Luther* and *Eckius*; *Urban* favoring *Luther's* doctrine, yet unwilling to offend *Eckius*, who had been his very good friend in many instances, he left *Ingolstadt* and went to *Augsburgh*; where, at the importunity of the magistrates and citizens, he undertook the government of the church. As he began to see more and more of the purity of the gospel, he could not but be offended at the gross idolatry and corruptions of the papists, and soon joined with *Luther* in preaching against them. He also wrote to *Zuinglius* to know his judgement about the sacrament and original-sin, from whom he received so much satisfaction, that he agreed with him entirely in these particulars. 'Wherever (says *Melchior Adam*) he saw the truth, he openly embraced and boldly confessed it.' At that time, the enthusiastic Anabaptists (who followed *John of Leyden*, *David George*, and the other ranting cut-throats) crept into *Augsburgh*, and held private conventicles to the disturbance of the public peace; but the magistrates imprisoning the chief of them, and punishing the incorrigible, put an end to their disturbance in that city.

He went on preaching against purgatory, indulgences, and the other corruptions, till the papists were so enraged, that they drove him out of the city: But, after a while, through the entreaties of some principal citizens, he was called back again to his charge. He then married a citizen's daughter, by whom he had thirteen children. His friend *Eckius* wrote to him, on his return, a severe letter, dated *March* 21st, 1527, which *Urban* answered with equal meekness and faithfulness, recapitulating his great obligations to him on the account of his learning and friendship, and assuring him that nothing but the truth had led him to his present profession, which by no means tended to promote his worldly interest or glory. *Eckius* could not rest here, but endeavored by all means, though in vain, to turn him away from the truth; and sent *Faber* and *Cochlæus* with flatteries and large promises, who prevailed as little as himself.

There was a diet held at *Augsburgh*, in the year 1530, for quieting the controversies about religion, at which was present the duke of *Brunswick*, who much importuned and at last prevailed with *Urban* to go to *Lunenburg* in his dominions, to take care of the church there. *Urban* in his way thither, visited *Luther* at *Coburg*, and spent a whole day with him in familiar conferences about the principal doctrines; and in his writings mentions this as one of the most comfortable days of his life. "Such and so great a divine is *Luther* (says he) that I think no age has seen his equal. I always thought him a great man; but he now appears to me the greatest of all. I saw him and heard him, the manner of which cannot be described by the pen." *Ernest*, duke of *Brunswick*, loved him dearly, and esteemed him as a father; and when the city of *Augsburgh* sent to the duke in the year 1531, desiring him to permit *Urban*'s return to them; the duke gave for answer, 'That he would as soon part with his eyes as with him;' and presently after made him chief pastor of all the churches in his dominions, with an ample salary for his support.

Here he spent the rest of his most useful life, in preaching, writing, and religious conferences; confuting gainfayers and confirming the faithful. Some years afterwards going with his prince to *Haguenau*, he fell sick by the way, and in a few days, with much cheerfulness, yielded up his soul into the hands of God, on the 23d of *May*, in 1541. He often desired of the Lord, if it were his will, that he might die a sudden and easy death; which

which request the Lord was pleased to grant him. He was a man of an excellent understanding, of uncommon learning, holy and upright in his life and conversation, and most indefatigable in the labors of his sacred function,

Sleidan mentions his writings against the Anabaptists, in conjunction or at the same time with *Melancthon* and *Justus Menius*. His son *Ernest* collected and published his works, after his decease, by the desire of his affectionate patron the duke of *Brunswick*. His common-places of the fathers, &c. were printed afterwards in a separate volume by *John Freder.* Our excellent martyrologist, Mr. *Fox*, is said to have translated one of *Regius's* treatises, upon faith and hope (if not more) from the original *Latin* into *English*.

WOLFGANG FABR. CAPITO.

WOLFGANG FABRICIUS CAPITO was born at *Haguenau* in *Alsace*, in the year 1478. His father was of the senatorian rank, who gave him a good education, and sent him to *Basil*; where he studied physic till he had taken his doctor's degree, and likewise attained a very great proficiency in the other liberal sciences. At his father's death, in 1504, he studied divinity, and entered into the logic of those times, with all the idle subtilities and metaphysical jargon of the schools. After this course of study, he read the civil law under *Zasius*, an eminent civilian, for four years, and finally took his doctor's degree in that line. He was a great admirer and supporter of godly ministers. At *Heidelberg* he became acquainted with *Oecolampadius*; with whom there ever afterwards subsisted the strongest tie of friendship and mutual communication. He studied *Hebrew* with his friend *Oecolampadius* under the tuition of one *Matthew Adrian*, a converted *Jew*, and then became a preacher, first in *Spire*, and afterwards at *Basil*, where he continued for some years.

From thence he was sent for by the *Elektor Palatine*, who made him his counsellor, and sent him on several embassies;

fies: And *Charles* the fifth conferred upon him the order of knighthood. From *Mentz* he followed *Bucer* to *Strasburgh*, where he astonished the world by preaching the reformed religion, at *St. Thomas's Church* in that city, beginning his ministry by expounding *St. Paul's* epistle to the *Colossians*. The fame of *Capito* and *Bucer* spread so wide, that *James Faber* and *Gerard Rufus* were sent privately from *France* to hear him, by *Margaret* queen of *Navarre*, sister to the *French* king; and thus the protestant doctrine was introduced into *France*. *Capito* was a very prudent and eloquent man, a great critic in the *Hebrew* tongue, and master of the whole circle of human knowledge. This, with the endowment of the highest wisdom—the knowledge of God and his truth, furnished him in the most eminent manner for the sacred function: And God blessed him accordingly. Next to his love of the purity of the gospel, he was very earnest that the gospel should be received in mutual love and peace among its professors.

His opinion (following that of *Oecolampadius*) concerning the sacrament was, *Mittendas esse contentiones, & cogitandum de usu ipsius cœnæ: Viz. fidem nostram pane, & vino Domini, per memoriam carnis, & sanguinis illius, pascendam.* i. e. Disputes about the Lord's Supper should, as much as possible, be avoided; and the chief point to be desired was its use and benefit; namely, that our faith may be strengthened and nourished by the Lord's bread and wine, in memory of his flesh and blood.

In the year 1525, he received a call to return to his own country, where he preached the gospel in purity, and administered the Lord's Supper, according to *Christ's* institution, to his fellow citizens, and baptized without the popish ceremonies. He frequently made excursions into the neighboring parts of *Switzerland*, and confirmed the souls of the faithful by his doctrine. He was also present and disputed at *Bern*, in 1528, against the popish mass, &c. He was, with several others, chosen by the protestants to go to the diet at *Ratisbon*, in the year 1541, for the settling of religion, and was much distinguished in that controversy. Returning home, in a great and general infection, he died of the plague, about the end of the year 1541, in the sixty-third year of his age.

Capito was a very great scholar himself, and a great promoter of learning in others. He was convinced, that true knowledge and true grace conjoined would give the severest shock to the devil's kingdom. And for the honor of the protestant religion it may be said, that it not only introduced

introduced the revival of science throughout *Europe*, but has cherished it ever since in the most remarkable manner.

Capito was ever importunate with *Erasmus*, to throw off his Nicodemean disguise, and to embrace the protestant religion openly; but *Erasmus* had neither the grace nor the zeal of *Capito*. *Oecolampadius* was his principal and dearest friend, though he corresponded with all the other great divines of his time.

He married the widow of his friend *Oecolampadius*, and by her had several children. He had before married another lady, a literary woman, who lived but a short time, as it seems, with him before her death.

Among other works, he left behind him; two books upon the *Jewish* œconomy; expositions upon the prophets *Habakkuk* and *Hosea*; the life of *John Oecolampadius*; a tract upon the best mode of education for a divine; &c. &c.

S I M O N G R Y N Æ U S.

SIMON GRYNÆUS, a most able and learned man, was the son of a peasant of *Swabia*, and born at *Veringen*, in the county of *Hokenzollern*, in the year 1493. He pursued his studies in *Pfortsheim* at the same time with *Melancthon*, which gave rise to a friendship between them of long continuance. He pursued them at *Vienna*, and there taking the degree of master in philosophy, was appointed Greek professor. Having embraced the protestant religion, he was thereby exposed to many dangers; and particularly in *Baden*, where he was some years rector of the school. He was thrown into prison at the instigation of the monks; but, at the solicitation of the nobles of *Hungary*, he was set at liberty, and retired to *Wittenberg*, where he had a conference with *Luther* and *Melancthon*. Being returned to his native country, he was invited to *Heidelberg*, to be Greek professor in that city in 1523. He exercised this employment till the year 1529, when he was invited to *Basil* to teach publicly in

in that city. In 1531, he took a journey into *England*, and carried with him a recommendatory letter from *Erasmus* to *William Montjoy*, dated *Friburg*, *March* the 18th, 1531. After desiring *Montjoy* to assist *Grynæus* as much as he could, in shewing him libraries, and introducing him to learned men, *Erasmus* adds: ‘*Est homo Latinè Græcèque ad unguem doctus, in philosophia et mathematicis disciplinis diligenter versatus, nullo supercilio, pudore penè immodico. Pertraxit hominem isthuc Brittanniæ visendæ cupiditas, sed præcipuè Bibliothecarum vestrarum amor. Rediturus est ad nos, &c.*’ That is, He is a man perfectly skilled in the Latin and Greek tongues, a good philosopher, and mathematician, without the least affectation, and modest almost to excess. The desire of seeing *England*, and especially the love of your libraries, has drawn him over. But he must return to us again, &c. *Bibliander* also called him ‘an incomparable man, in whom every Christian grace and virtue, with all learning and politeness, seemed to have taken up their habitation.’ *Erasmus* recommended him also to the lord chancellor *Sir Thomas More*, from whom he received great civilities. This appears by an epistle of *Grynæus*, prefixed to his Greek edition of *Plato*, in 1534. In the year 1534, he was employed, in conjunction with other persons, to reform the church and school of *Tubingen*. He returned to *Basil* in 1536, and in 1540 was appointed to go to the conferences at *Worms* with *Melancthon*, *Capito*, *Bucer*, *Calvin*, &c. He died of the plague at *Basil* on the first of *August* in 1541.

He did great service to the republic of letters, and the learned are obliged to him for the editions of several ancient authors. He was the first who published the *Almagest* of *Ptolemy* in Greek, which he did at *Basil* in 1538, and added a preface concerning the use of that author’s doctrine. He published a Greek *Euclid*, with a preface, in 1533, and *Plato*’s works, with some commentaries of *Proclus* in 1534. He corrected in some places *Marsilius Ficinus*’s Latin version of *Plato*: Yet it should seem, as if he did not excel as a translator, for *Huetius* calls him ‘verbose, and more like a paraphrast.’ He wrote a treatise upon the use of history; and a disputation upon comets. His edition of *Plato* was addressed to *John More*, the chancellor’s son, as a testimony of gratitude for favor’s received from the father; and as the following passage in the dedication shews *Sir Thomas*, as well as *Grynæus*, in a very amiable light, we think it not amiss

to insert it here. Our Readers will remember, that it is in a *dedication*, in which, we are sorry to say, that good men too often render truth itself hyperbolical, and sometimes fancy that men *are*, what indeed they *ought to be*. We do not mean, by this remark, to detract from the personal worth of Sir *Thomas More*, which was certainly very great; though we confess it not a little extraordinary, that this great man should persecute, or at least approve the persecution of, some protestants to death only for their religion, while he could at the same time pass over this terrible fault in others, merely for a literary recommendation. As to *Grynæus*, we value him as a scholar and promoter of science, which indeed is a secondary promotion of true religion; but we give him a place here chiefly because he was a good man, a lover of the Reformation, and confidentially employed by the Reformers.

“It is you know (says *Grynæus*) three years since my arriving in *England*, and being recommended most auspiciously by my friend *Erasmus* to your house, the sacred seat of the muses; I was there received with great kindness, was entertained with greater, was dismissed with the greatest of all. For that great and excellent man your father, so eminent for his high rank and noble talents, not only allowed to me, a private and obscure person, (such was his love of literature) the honor of conversing with him in the midst of many public and private affairs, but gave me a place at his table, though he was the greatest man in *England*, took me with him when he went to court or returned from it, and had me ever by his side, but also with the utmost gentleness and candour enquired, in what particulars my religious principles were different from his; and though he found them to vary greatly, yet he was so kind as to assist me in every respect, and even to defray all my expences. He likewise sent me to *Oxford* with one Mr. *Harris*, a learned young gentleman, and recommended me so powerfully to the university, that, at the sight of his letters, all the libraries were open to me, and I was admitted to the most intimate familiarity with the students.”

He had a son, *Samuel Grynæus*, born at *Basil* in 1539; who was made professor of oratory there at the age of twenty-five, and afterwards of civil law; and who died there in *April* 1599. He was uncle to *Thomas Grynæus*, the account of whose life will follow in its place.

L E O J U D Æ.

THIS great and good divine was born in *Alsace*, in 1482, was brought up in the school of *Slestadt*, and from thence was sent to *Basil*, about the year 1502, where he joined in study with the famous *Zuinglius* under the tuition of Dr. *Wittenbach*, a very learned man, by whom he received the first principles of the evangelical doctrine concerning *Christ's* satisfaction for sin and the leading truths of the gospel. In this university he made a great proficiency in letters, and in the year 1512 took his degree of master of arts and professed philosophy. There also he was made a deacon; and from this ministration was called into *Switzerland*, where he devoted himself to the study of the oriental languages, and to the reading of the fathers, particularly of *Jerom* and *Augustine*: He likewise diligently read the books of *Luther*, *Erasmus*, and *Reuchlin* the famous *Hebræan*.

By the writings of these excellent men he more plainly discovered, and afterwards utterly abhorred the idolatrous superstitions of the church of *Rome*. At length, being called to a pastoral charge at *Zurich*, he openly opposed the popish doctrine, both from the pulpit and press; and became distinguished among the great and burning lights of the Reformation. At *Zurich* he continued eighteen years, and spent much of that time in expounding the Old Testament out of the *Hebrew*, in the knowledge of which having made uncommon progress, he was solicited by his brethren in the ministry, to undertake the translation of the Old Testament; with which request he complied, and was assisted by other learned men. He diligently collated all the *Hebrew* copies, which he could command, for the interpretation of the most difficult places, and made great use of the *Greek* and *Latin* translations, without entirely depending upon them. But he prosecuted this work with such intenseness of application, that he destroyed his health, and died with all the debility of extreme age at sixty, on the 9th of *June*, in the year 1542;

1542; leaving unfinished *Job*, the forty last *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Canticles*, and the eight last chapters of *Ezekiel*, which he commended to *Theodore Bibliander* to finish, who accordingly did it: And he left all to *Conrade Pellican* to peruse, and put to the press, which he carefully performed. This translation *Robert Stephens* afterwards in a great measure pirated, without once making mention of the names of these worthies, by whose learning and labor it had been accomplished.

Four days before his death, he sent for the pastors and professors of *Zurich*, before whom he made a confession of his faith concerning God, the scriptures, the person and offices of CHRIST, and the sufficiency of his salvation; concluding with these words; “ To this, my Lord
“ and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, my hope, and my salvation,
“ I wholly offer up my soul and body. I cast myself
“ wholly upon His mercy and grace. Utterly abandon-
“ ing all that is in myself, I entirely cast myself upon
“ his promises for eternal life; and in this confidence I
“ fear not to die, firmly trusting, that I shall enjoy that
“ most blessed Saviour, whom I have now so long preached
“ to others, and whose face I have so long desired to see,
“ in that state, where is the fullness of joy for ever and
“ ever.”

Having said this, he most devoutly gave thanks to God for all the mercies he had received, desired his blessing upon the church and people of the country where he had lived, and finally commended his dear wife, now about to become a widow, with his orphan children, to the tender mercies of his heavenly Father.

Besides the translation abovementioned, *Leo Judæ* wrote annotations upon *Genesis* and *Exodus*, in which he was assisted by *Zuinglius*; likewise upon the four gospels, and upon the epistles to the *Romans*, *Corinthians*, *Philippians*, *Colossians*, *Thessalonians*, and of *James*. He also composed a larger and smaller catechism, and translated some of *Zuinglius*'s works into *Latin*.

Our Dr. *More*, in his *Exercitationes de Scripturâ sacrâ*, says of *Leo*, that he was extremely learned in the *Hebrew* tongue, and remarks likewise that his bible was printed at *Paris* by *Robert Stephens*, with the notes of *Vatablus* and others, under another name.

P E T E R B R U L I U S.

ABOUT the year 1538, a college or school was opened at *Strasburg*, a free imperial city upon the *Rhine*, chiefly by the endeavors and procurement of the celebrated *James Sturmius*, one of the principal citizens and a senator. By the care and attention of this learned and worthy man, and by the learning and abilities of the masters appointed through his recommendation, this seminary quickly arrived to the first degree of eminence, and became famous all over *Germany* and the neighbouring countries. Protestantism and true knowledge at that time flourished together. Invited by this and other favorable circumstances, great numbers of *French* and *Flemings*, driven from their native country upon the account of religion, settled at *Strasburg*, where the senate of the city assigned them a church for public worship, and allowed them the privilege of incorporating themselves into a distinct body. One of these was the famous *John Sleidan*, author of the history of the Reformation, who died there on the 31st of *October*, 1556. Of this church *Calvin* was pastor for some years, and was succeeded by *Brulius*, very much to the comfort and satisfaction of the people.

Throughout all the provinces, belonging to the emperor, in the *Netherlands*, there prevailed at this period among the people the most earnest desire to be instructed in the reformed religion; so that in places where the truth was not, or dared not to be, preached; private invitations were sent to the ministers, who resided in towns, where the pure gospel was preached openly. Some people in *Tournay*, accordingly, invited *Brulius* from *Strasburg*. Ready to every good word and work, this excellent man complied with their request; and arrived at *Tournay* in the month of *September*, 1544, and was most joyfully received by those who had invited him. After staying sometime, he made an excursion to *Lisle* in *Flanders*, upon
the

the same account, and returned to *Tournay* about the end of *October* following. But, by some means, his business and profession were divulged to the papistical governors of the city, who ordered strict search to be made for him, and the gates to be shut for the purpose. In this imminent danger, as there was no possibility of concealing him longer, his friends, on the second of *November*, in the night, let him down over the wall by a rope. When he had reached the ground, he sat down to take a little rest; but one of those, who assisted in his escape, leaning as far as he could over the wall, that he might softly bid him farewell, forced out a loose stone with his foot, which fell upon *Brulius's* leg and broke it. The pain occasioned by this wound and the severe cold of the night, extorted such loud groans from the good man, as alarmed the watch, who soon seized their prey and committed him to prison. The afflicting news was not long in reaching *Germany*, nor was the senate of *Strasburg* slow in interceding for his release by the most pressing letters. The deputies of the protestants, then assembled at *Worms*, also sued in his behalf, though unhappily too late; for before the letters, which were sent in the name of the duke of *Saxony* and the landgrave of *Hesse*, were delivered, he was on the 19th of *February*, 1545, put to death, to the great grief of all good men.

The manner of his execution was severe, his body being burnt by a slow-fire, for his greater torment. But nothing could triumph over his faith; for he stood to the truth of GOD to his last breath, and exhorted, by his letters, many of his friends to do so, who were imprisoned for the sake of the gospel. When he was examined in prison, the monks, in presence of the magistrates, asked him the question; ‘What he thought of the sacrament of the altar, of the mass, consecration, adoration of the host, of purgatory, of the worshipping of saints, free-will, good works, justification, images, vows, confession, and the like.’ To these he made answer; “That the body and blood of *Christ* were received, not by the mouth, but spiritually by faith; “and that the substance of the bread and wine was not “changed: That, when according to *Christ's* institution, the Lord's Supper is given to the church in the “vulgar tongue, so that all may understand the use and “benefit of it, that then the elements are duly consecrated, and that by the words of *Christ*; whereas the “whispers and mutterings, used by the mass-priests over “the bread and wine, better became conjurers and jugglers,

“glers, than Christian ministers: That the popish mass
 “had nothing to do with the Lord’s Supper, but was a
 “worship invented by man, to the disparagement of the
 “institution of *Christ*: That the adoration of the wafer
 “was idolatry, because a creature was there worshipped
 “instead of the Creator: That he neither knew, nor
 “cared for, any other purgatory, than the blood of *Christ*;
 “which alone remits both the guilt and punishment of
 “our sins: That, therefore, masses and prayers for the
 “dead, were not only useless, but impious, as having no
 “warrant from the word of GOD: That saints cannot
 “be more truly respected, than by imitating their faith
 “and virtues, and that, if more be done, it is impious,
 “and what they themselves, were they in the world,
 “would tremble at and abhor: That, therefore, they are
 “not to be invoked as intercessors, which would be giv-
 “ing them a glory which belongs to *Christ* alone: That,
 “by the fall of *Adam*, the nature of man is wholly cor-
 “rupted, and the freedom of his will forfeited; so that
 “he can do no good, without the grace of GOD; but
 “that a regenerated man, moved by GOD, like a good
 “tree brings forth good fruits: That nothing deserves
 “the name of faith, but what bringeth us salvation,
 “namely, when we believe the divine promises, and cer-
 “tainly conclude, that through *Christ Jesus* our sins are
 “forgiven us: That traditions, by which the minds of
 “men are enslaved, are not to be received: That it was
 “very dangerous to have statues and images in churches,
 “for fear of idolatry: That baptism is the outward sign
 “of GOD’s covenant, whereby he testifies that he will
 “pardon our sins, and likewise a sign of perpetual mor-
 “tification and a new life, which ought to accompany
 “baptism: That this sacrament is to be received by all,
 “and children not to be barred from it, seeing they also
 “are partakers of the divine promises: That no vow is
 “to be made, which either the word of GOD doth not
 “allow, or that cannot be performed by man: That
 “every one ought to confess his sins to GOD, and im-
 “plore his mercy and forgiveness: That, if the conscience
 “be disquieted, counsel is to be taken of a minister of the
 “church, for advice and comfort; but that auricular
 “confession and a particular enumeration of sins to a
 “priest, has no warrant in scripture, nor can be of any
 “possible use.”

Some days before he was brought to a tryal, he wrote of all these things to his wife and to his other friends,

who

who had earnestly requested an account of his treatment from him. His sister, who appears to have visited him constantly in his confinement, found means privately to convey this correspondence to the parties. The last letter this excellent man wrote must have been a most afflicting one indeed. It was written to his wife the day before he suffered. He gave her an account of the kind of death he was to endure on the ensuing day, and filled his letter with pious exhortations and consolations to her, concluding that she ought not to be grieved for his sake but to rejoice, since this whole dispensation was an honor that his heavenly Father conferred upon him; that *Jesus Christ* had suffered infinitely more for him, and that, however, "The servant's condition ought not to be better than his Lord's."—What a proof is here, among a multitude of others, of the omnipotent efficacy of divine grace, which can make the nature of man, always shrinking from pain, defy the power of torment, and which can give the human heart, when it is stripped of all worldly comfort, such a flood of joy, as to bear it up over death, and all the other evils which wicked men or wicked spirits can inflict upon it!

From this time for many years afterwards, the history of pious men and women, professing the protestant doctrine, who suffered in *Germany, France, Flanders*, and indeed all over *Europe*, would be too voluminous in itself, and beyond the bounds we have prescribed ourselves in this work, to be detailed. The ministers alone who preached or suffered for the truths of the gospel cannot be specified by us, without exceeding the purpose of our plan. We wish to give the Reader the most remarkable of these for life, learning, and doctrine; though it is hard to determine sometimes, not whom to insert (for, blessed be God, their number is abundantly large) but whom, on account of their excellency, to omit without seeming to slight those excellent endowments, which God had vouchsafed them. If the *martyrs* themselves make up a *noble army*; what will the other eminent servants of *Christ* compose, who only had the honor of preaching his gospel? And if *martyrs* and *preachers* would form so immense an assembly; we may well say, in the words of the scripture, of the *rest* of God's people, that they are *a great multitude, which no man can number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues. Even so, Amen: Hallelujah!*

MARTIN

MARTIN LUTHER,

THE GREAT REFORMER.

IN the order of time, we come now to treat of a most wonderful man, whom GOD raised up in these last ages of the world, to break the chain of superstition and spiritual slavery, with which the bishops of *Rome* and their dependents had, for many centuries, cast over the consciences of all men. He was an instrument truly prepared for this great work; and yet but a mean and obscure monk, to shew us, that HE, who ruleth all things, effected himself the important design, in which the greatest prince upon earth would have undoubtedly failed.

The conduct of the dignified clergy throughout all *Europe*, had long given scandal to the world. The bishops were grossly ignorant: They seldom resided in their dioceses, except to riot at high festivals: And all the effect their residence could have, was to corrupt others, by their ill example. Nay, some of them could not so much as *write*, but employed some person, or chaplain who had attained that accomplishment, to subscribe their names for them. They followed the courts of princes, and aspired to the greatest offices. The abbots and monks were wholly given up to luxury and idleness; and it appeared, by the unmarried state both of the seculars and regulars, that the restraining them from having wives of their own, made them conclude they had a right to all other men's. The inferior clergy were no better; and, not having places of retreat to conceal their vices in, as the monks had, they became more public. In sum; all ranks of churchmen were so universally despised and hated, that the world was very apt to be possessed with prejudice against their doctrines, for the sake of the men whose interest it was to support them: And the worship of God
was



*From an original Painting presented by Count Ronnof, a
Bohemian Nobleman, to the Lutheran Chapel in the Savoy.*

was so defiled with gross superstition, that, without great enquiries, all men were easily convinced, that the church stood in great need of a Reformation. This was much increased when the books of the fathers began to be read, in which the difference between the former and later ages of the church very evidently appeared. They found, that a blind superstition came first in the room of true piety; and when, by its means, the wealth and interest of the clergy were highly advanced, the popes had upon that established their tyranny; under which, not only the meaner people, but even the crowned heads, had long groaned. All these things concurred to make way for the advancement of the Reformation.

Wickliffe, Huss, Jerom of Prague, and others, had laid the seeds of the Reformation, which *Luther* nourished with great warmth. The scandalous extolling of indulgences gave the first occasion to all the contradiction that followed between *Luther* and the church of *Rome*; in which, if the corruptions and cruelty of the clergy had not been so visible and scandalous, so small a matter could not have produced such a revolution: But any crisis will put ill humours into a ferment.

As protestants, we are certainly much obliged to *Erasmus*; yet we are far more obliged, under God, to those great instruments of the Reformation, viz. *Luther, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Bucer, Melancthon, Cranmer*, and others. The greatest enemies of *Luther* cannot deny, but that he had eminent qualities; and history affords nothing more surprizing than what he had done: For a simple monk to be able to give popery so rude a shock, that there needed but such another entirely to overthrow the *Romish* church, is what we cannot sufficiently admire, and marks the hand of providence conducting the whole. It was said, with reason, that *Erasmus*, by his railleries, prepared the way for *Luther*; and *Simon Fontaine* the popish historian, complained, that *Erasmus* occasionally had done more mischief than *Luther*; because *Luther* only opened the door wider, after *Erasmus* had picked the lock, and half opened it. Notwithstanding all this, says *Bayle*, there must have been eminent gifts in *Luther* to produce such a Revolution as he has done.

Martin Luther was born at *Isleben*, a town in the county of *Mansfield*, in the circle of *Upper Saxony*, on the tenth of *November*, 1483, at nine o'clock at night, being *St. Martin's* eve, which made his parents name him *Martin*. His father was called *John Luther*, or *Luder*, because he

was

was a refiner of metals; for Luder, in the *German* language, has that signification: It is agreed that his business was about the mines; and that he was the chief magistrate of the city of *Mansfield*. His mother's name was *Margaret Lindeman*, who was remarkable for her piety.

Among the falsehoods which have been published concerning *Martin Luther*, no regard has been had to probability, or to the rules of the art of slandering. The authors of them have assumed all the confidence of those who fully believe that the public will blindly adopt all their stories, however absurd. They have dared to publish, that an *Incubus* begat him; and have even falsified the day of his birth, to frame a scheme of nativity to his disadvantage. Father *Maimbourg* has been so equitable as to reject this ridiculous story: But *Gauricus* has made himself contemptible for his astrology.

When *Martin Luther* was fourteen years of age, he was sent to the public school of *Magdeburg*, where he continued one year, and was then removed to that of *Eysenach*, where he studied four years. The circumstances of his parents were at that time so very low, and so insufficient to maintain him, that he was forced, as *Melchior Adam* relates, *mendicato vivere pane*, to live by begging his bread. When he had finished his grammar studies, he was sent to the famous school at *Eysenach* in *Thuringia*, for the sake of being among his mother's relations, where he applied himself very diligently to his books for four years, and began to discover all that force and strength of parts, that acuteness and penetration, that warm and rapid eloquence, which afterwards were attended with such amazing success. In the year 1501, he was entered at the university of *Erford* or *Erfurt*, in *Thuringia*, where he went through a course of philosophy, and was admitted master of arts, in 1503, being then twenty years old. He was soon after made professor of physic, and ethics: But he chiefly applied himself to the study of the civil law, and intended to advance himself to the bar, from which he was diverted by this uncommon accident. As he was walking in the fields with a friend, he was struck by a thunderbolt, which threw him to the ground, and killed his companion: Whereupon *Luther* resolved to withdraw from the world, and enter into the order of the hermits of St. *Augustine*. He made his profession in the monastery of *Erfurt*, where he took priest's orders, and celebrated his first mass in the year 1507.

It is reported, that there was an old man in this monastery, with whom *Luther* had several conferences upon many theological subjects, particularly concerning the article of remission of sins. This article was explained by the old monk to *Luther*, 'That it was the express commandment of God, that every man should believe his sins to be forgiven him in *Christ*.' *Luther* found this interpretation was confirmed by the testimony of *St. Bernard*, who says, 'That man is freely justified by faith.' He then perceived the meaning of *St. Paul*, when he repeats, 'We are justified by faith.' He consulted the expositions of many writers upon that apostle, and saw through the vanity of those interpretations, which he had read before of the schoolmen. He compared the sayings and examples of the prophets, and apostles: He also studied the works of *St. Augustine*: But still consulted the sententiaries, as *Gabriel* and *Camarencis*. He likewise read the books of *Occam*, whose subtilty he preferred before *Thomas Aquinas* and *Scotus*.

In 1508, the university of *Wittenberg*, in the duchy of *Saxony*, was established under the direction of *Staupitius*, whose good opinion of *Luther* occasioned him to send for him from *Erfurt* to *Wittenberg*, where he taught philosophy; and his lectures were attended by *Mellarstad*, and many other wise and learned men. He expounded the logic and philosophy of *Aristotle*, in the schools; and began to examine the old theology, in the churches.

Mellarstad usually said, that *Luther* was of such a wonderful spirit, and of such ingenious parts, as to give apparent signification, that he would introduce a more compendious, easy, and familiar manner of teaching; as also alter and abolish the order that was then used.

In the year 1512, he was sent to *Rome*, to take up some controversies which happened among his order; and he conducted himself so well as to obtain the character of a prudent man. This is represented to have happened before he came to *Wittenberg*; which is a mistake: For it was three years after he was at that university. The occasion was this: Seven convents of the *Augustines* quarrelled with their vicar-general, and *Luther* was chosen by the monks to maintain their cause at *Rome*. He was of an active spirit; a bold declaimer, was endued with a most firm and steady temper, and had a prodigious share of natural courage, which nothing could break or daunt. In short, he succeeded in his business, for which he was made doctor and professor of divinity, upon his

return to *Wittenberg*. At *Rome* he saw the pope and the court, and had an opportunity also of observing the manners of the clergy, whose hasty, superficial, and impious way of celebrating mass, he has severely noted. “ I performed mass, says he, at *Rome*; I saw it also performed by others, but in such a manner, that I never think of it without the utmost horror.” He often spoke afterwards of his journey to *Rome*, and used to say, that “ He would not but have made it for a thousand florins.” A monkish poet himself, upon the view of the barefaced iniquity of the pope’s pretended holy city, could not help singing :

*Vivere qui cupitis sanctè, discedite Româ :
Omnia cum liceant, non licet esse bonum.*

‘ If you would live righteously, keep clear of *Rome* :
‘ For though her priests can license every thing else,
‘ they allow of nothing good.’

The degree of doctor was forced upon him, against his will, by *Staupitius*, who said to him, ‘ That God had many things to bring to pass in his church by him.’ These words were carelessly spoken; yet they proved true, like many other predictions before a great change. *Luther* was graduated doctor at the expence of *Frederic* elector of *Saxony*, who ‘ had heard him preach, well understood the quietness of his spirit, diligently considered the vehemency of his words, and had in singular admiration those profound matters which in his sermons he ripely and exactly explained.’

After this, he began to expound the epistle to the *Romans*, and the *Psalms*; where he shewed the difference between the law and the gospel. He refuted the error that was then predominant in schools and sermons; that men may merit remission of sins by their own proper works. As *John Baptist* demonstrated the Lamb of God which took away the sins of the world : So *Luther*, shining in the church as a bright star after an obscure sky, expressly shewed, that sins are freely remitted for the love of the Son of God, and that we ought faithfully to embrace this bountiful gift.

His life was correspondent to his profession; and these happy beginnings of such important matters procured him great authority. However, he attempted no alteration in the ceremonies of religion, and interfered in no doubtful opinions : But contented himself with opening and declaring the doctrine of repentance, of remission of sins,

lins, of faith, and of true comfort in times of adversity. His doctrine was generally approved by the learned, who conceived high pleasure to behold *Jesus Christ*, the prophets, and apostles, to emerge into the light out of darkness, whereby they began to understand the difference between the law and the gospel, between spiritual righteousness and civil things; which certainly could not have been found in *Aquinas*, *Scotus*, and other schoolmen. *Erasmus* revived learning while *Luther* was teaching divinity at *Wittenberg*. The former brought the monk's barbarous and sophistical doctrine into contempt by his elegant work: Which induced *Luther* to study the *Greek* and *Hebrew* languages, that, by drawing the doctrine from the very fountains, he might pass his judgement with more authority.

We come now to turbulent and tempestuous times between the Reformed and the Romanists. The monks loudly complained of *Erasmus*, whose bold and free censures of their pious grimaces and superstitious devotions, had opened the way for *Luther*. *Erasmus*, as they used to say, 'Laid the egg, and *Luther* hatched it.' The ridiculous *Maimbourg* tells us, that the catholic church enjoyed a sweet peace in the sixteenth century, and held the popes in profound veneration, till *Luther* raised commotions: A story which was only fit to be told to boys and girls at *Paris*. It is hard to name two persons, who were more generally, and more deservedly abhorred, than *Alexander VI.* and *Julius II.*: And as to *Leo X.* all the world knows, that he sat very loose to religion and morality.

The year 1517, was the 356th from the Reformation of religion in *France* by the *Waldenses*: The 146th from the first confutation of popish errors in *England* by *John Wickliffe*: The 116th from the ministry of *John Huss*, who opposed the errors of popery in *Bohemia*: And the 36th year from the condemnation of *John de Wesaliâ*, who taught at *Worms*.

The papal power was re-established, and carried farther than ever: All the western world, except the *Waldenses** in *France*, and a few *Hussites* in *Bohemia*, having embraced

* The rise of the *Waldenses* was from *Waldus* or *Valdo*, a man of eminence and property at *Lyons* in *France*, about the year 1160. He was brought to seriousness by the sudden death of one of his friends; and, having some learning, he read the scriptures, probably in the vulgate translation, which he rendered into *French*, and expounded to others.

embraced the communion, and submitted to the authority of *Rome*: When all of a sudden, and from a most inconsiderable accident, as it might seem, a strange discontent arose, which ended in the revolt of great part of *Europe*; and the pope, who might, just before, have been considered in all the meridian of his glory, was in danger of losing all. The divine providence delights to accomplish the greatest purposes by the smallest means, that the hand of God might appear rather than the hand of man, and the great Governor of the universe have all the glory.

Leo X. succeeded *Julius II.* in 1513. He was of the rich and powerful family of the *Medici* of *Florence*, naturally proud and lofty. But it is also said, that he was of a courteous disposition, very generous to men of learning and integrity: And would, if he had been tolerably well skilled in divinity, or shewn any regard to piety, although but feigned, have passed for a very good pope. The magnificent church of *St. Peter* was begun by *Julius II.* and required very large sums to finish: But *Leo* was desirous of having it completed, notwithstanding he had contracted many debts before his pontificate, and the treasure of the apostolic chamber was exhausted. To bear the great expence of finishing that superb edifice, *Leo* found himself obliged to have recourse to some extraor-

others. This alarmed the clergy, who threatened him with excommunication if he persisted; but he, persuaded of the truth and utility of what he had done, regarded not men, but God. He was, therefore, driven out of the city, with his friends and followers, who were stripped of their property, for which reason they were called not only *Waldenses*, but *the poor of Lyons*, having nothing but the scanty subsistence which they could pick up on the mountains of *Savoy*, where they remained for several ages. They were joined by some men of learning, who hated the clergy, and maintained, that the bishop of *Rome*, and the priests, had corrupted the holy scriptures by their tenets and glosses. They paid no tithes, made no offerings, observed no festivals, and celebrated no fasts: They believed, that prayers for the dead were useless and superstitious; they denied the authority of priests, and despised confession. They led pure and holy lives, and asserted, that they only were the true church; and that the church of *Rome* was a prostitute, which taught an infinite number of errors. The *Romish* priests called the *Waldenses*, heretics; and their priests, who were called *Barbes*, were persecuted: But their posterity now inhabit the vallies of *Piedmont*, called the *Vaudois*. *Peter Gilles*, minister of the reformed church of *La Tour*, in the vale of *Lucerne*, composed by order of his superiors, an ecclesiastical history of the churches of the *Vaudois*, and published it at *Geneva* in 1644: And *Claudius Seyffelius*, archbishop of *Turin*, wrote a treatise against the *Vaudois*, with the hopes of converting them to popery.

dinary means for raising money; which he was advised, by cardinal *Pucci*, to do by selling indulgences; as the court of *Rome*, upon several occasions, had formerly experienced to her advantage in raising troops and money against the *Turks*. *Leo*, therefore, in 1517, published general indulgences throughout all *Europe*, in favor of those who would contribute any sum to the building of *St. Peter's*.

Some say, that these indulgences were published under the pretence of making war upon the *Turks*; and that the pope sent a Jubilee, with his pardons, through all Christian realms, whereby he collected an immense treasure.

Several persons were sent into different countries, to preach up these indulgences, and to receive money for them. The collectors persuaded the people, that those who gave to the value of about ten shillings sterling, should at their pleasure deliver one soul from the pains of purgatory: But, if the sum was less, they preached, that it would profit them nothing.

The pope employed the *Dominicans* in this dirty work in *Germany*, at which the *Augustines* were irritated, and pretended that the office of retailing indulgences belonged to them. As all the money, raised this way in *Saxony* and thereabouts, was granted to *Magdalen*, sister to the pope, she, to make the most of it, appointed *Archimbald*, a bishop, by habit and title, but as well versed in the tricking part of trade as a *Genoese*, to manage for her. But we are told, that *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, archbishop of *Mentz* and *Magdeburg*, who was soon after made a cardinal, had a commission for *Germany*: That, instead of employing the *Augustine* friars, who had labored above all the religious orders to make them pass, he gave his commission to *John Tetzelius*, a *Dominican*, and to other friars of the same order; because he had lately collected great sums for the knights of the *Teutonic* order, who were at war against the *Muscovites*, by preaching up the like indulgences, which the pope had granted to these knights. *Tetzelius*, or *Iccelius* as he is called by some, boasted that ‘He had so ample a commission from the pope, that, though a man should have deflowered the virgin *Mary*, for a proper sum of money he could pardon him;’ and assured the people, that ‘He did not only give pardon for sins past, but also for sins to come.’

John Staupitius was the vicar-general of the *Augustines* in *Saxony*; and he was greatly esteemed by the elector, who

who was one of the most opulent and potent princes in Germany. *Staupitius* informed the elector of the pernicious consequences of these indulgences. On this occasion, *Luther*, who was of the *Augustine* order, and professor of divinity at *Wittenberg*, began to examine the doctrine of indulgences; which the *Dominicans* sold in the most open, and in the most infamous manner; and having found it full of errors, he refuted it publicly in 1517. It is said, he was naturally passionate, and zealous for the interest of his order, which made him declaim against the abuses of indulgences, and maintain doctrinal theses about them contrary to the common notions of divines. But it seems not to have been any spleen against the *Dominicans* that set *Luther* to work: It was only his dislike to such practices. Some say, that *Leo X.* whose sordid traffic, to which he reduced the distribution of indulgences, gave birth to *Luther's* Reformation, spoke honorably of this Reformer in the beginning. *Silvester Prierio*, master of the sacred palace, shewed *Leo* the doctrine which *Luther* had vented in his book concerning indulgences: But pope *Leo* answered, that friar *Martin* had a fine genius, and that these surmises were monkish jealousies.

Tetzelius, or *Tecellius*, impudently sold the pope's indulgences about the country. *Luther* was greatly exasperated at the blasphemous sermons of this shameless *Dominican*; 'And having his heart earnestly bent with
' ardent desire to maintain true religion, published cer-
' tain propositions concerning indulgences, which are to
' be read in the first tome of his works, and set them
' openly on the temple that joineth to the castle of *Witten-
' berg*, the morrow after the feast of *All-saints*, in 1517.' He challenged any one to oppose them, either by writing or disputation.

John Hilten, a German franciscan, of *Eysenach*, pretended to ground some predictions upon the book of *Daniel* in 1485. *Melancthon*, who had seen the original of that work, says, the author foretold, that, in 1516, the power of the pope should begin to decay. We are informed, that *Hilten* was put into prison, for having reproved some monastical abuses; and that being very sick, he sent for the guardian, and told him, 'I have spoke no
' great matter against the monkery; but there shall come
' one, in 1516, who shall overturn it.' *Du Plessis* adds, that *Luther* began to preach that year; in which he was mistaken, for the æra of Lutheranism began not till 1517.
The

The first thesis published by *Luther* contained ninety-five propositions, in which he plainly declared his opinion about indulgences. He maintained, “that the pope could release no punishments, but what he inflicted; and so indulgences could be only a relaxation of ecclesiastical penalties; That Christians are to be instructed; that the purchase of a pardon is not to be compared to works of mercy; and that it is better to give to the poor, than to buy pardons: That no confidence should be placed in indulgences, which cannot remit the least venial sin in respect of the guilt: That those who believe they shall be saved by indulgences only, shall be damned with their masters, and that it is a matter of indifference whether men buy or not buy any indulgences.” He also condemned several propositions which he attributed to his adversaries; and reproved several abuses, of which he declared them guilty. He pronounced an anathema upon those who spoke against the truth of apostolic indulgences; but hoped for all blessing upon those, who should be vigilant in stopping the licence and zeal of the preachers up of papal indulgences.

Luther vindicated his thesis in a letter to the archbishop of *Mentz*, who promoted the sale of these indulgences, and told him, “he could not keep silence, when he saw the souls entrusted to the care of such an illustrious person so ill instructed, and for which he must one day give an account;” assuring him at the same time, that what he did in opposing this monstrous traffic, was entirely from a principle of conscience and duty, and with a faithful and submissive temper of mind.

Tetzelius assembled the monks and sophistical divines of his convent, whom he commanded to write something against *Luther*; while he cried out from the pulpit, that *Luther* was a heretic, and worthy to be prosecuted with fire. In a public dispute at *Francfort* upon the *Oder*, he laid down a thesis, in which he opposed that of *Luther*; and he also published a piece in *German* against a sermon which *Luther* had preached on indulgences. This preaching friar, who was an inquisitor in *Germany*, maintained, “that the ministers of the church may impose a punishment to be suffered after death; and that it is better to send a penitent, with a small penance into purgatory, than to send him into hell by refusing absolution: That heretics, schismatics, and wicked men are excommunicated after death; and the dead are subject to the laws of the church: That the pope,

by

‘ by granting plenary indulgences, intends to remit all
 ‘ punishments in general: And that indulgences remit
 ‘ punishment more readily than works of charity.’

Tetzelius also composed fifty other propositions about the authority of the pope, which he said was supreme, and above the universal church, and a council: That there are many catholic truths, which are not in the holy scriptures; that the truths defined by the pope are catholic; and that his judgement in matters of faith is infallible.

These famous positions of *Luther* and *Tetzelius* were like the challenge and defence of the dispute set on foot by both parties. *Luther* wrote with great moderation in the beginning of this important dispute: But *Tetzelius* treated him as an heresiarch. The former trusted to the goodness of his cause, which he defended by his parts and knowledge: The latter was so ignorant, that he could not write his own answer, which was drawn up for him by *Conradus Wimpina*, the divinity-professor at *Francfort*. *Luther* was protected by the elector of *Saxony*: But *Tetzelius* had more authority by his offices of commissioner and inquisitor; though he was a man of such very profligate morals, that he had been condemned to die for adultery at *Inspruck*, and was pardoned at the intercession of the elector of *Saxony*.

The emperor *Maximilian*, being at *Inspruck*, was so offended at the wickedness and impudence of *Tetzelius*, who had been convicted of adultery, that he intended to have him seized upon, put in a bag, and flung into the river; and would have done it, if he had not been hindered by the solicitations of *Frederic* elector of *Saxony*. *Tetzel*, or *Tezelius*, was a person too mean and worthless, to be compared on any account with *Luther*: And *Seckendorf* tells a pleasant tale of a gentleman of *Leipsic*, who bought an indulgence of *Tezelius*, only by way of absolution for robbing and cudgelling him afterwards.

Tetzelius caused the propositions of *Luther* to be burnt; which inforced *Luther* to treat more amply of the cause, and to maintain his matter. Thus arose this controversy, wherein *Luther*, (says *Fox*) neither suspecting, nor dreaming of any change that might happen in the ceremonies, did not utterly reject the indulgences, but required a moderation in them: And, therefore, they falsely accuse him, which blaze that he began with plausible matter, whereby he might get praise, to the end, that he might change the state of the common-
 ‘ weal,

‘weal, and purchase authority either for himself or others.’

As it was not expected, and perhaps *Luther* did not think at first of falling off from the pope; many divines, some cardinals, and *George* duke of *Saxony*, pleased with the justice of his cause, and his manner of defending it, sided with him; and the emperor *Maximilian* said, that he ought to be protected. Nor had *Luther* any enemies, while he confined himself to writing against the abuse of indulgences, except the monks and their agents, whose interest was at stake. These, indeed, raised a great clamour against him: But their malice, without argument, increased, instead of lessening, his party.

John Eckius, professor, and vice-chancellor, of the university of *Ingoldstadt*, also opposed *Luther*; in which he was joined by *Silvester Prierias*, professor in the university of *Padua*, vicar-general of the Dominicans, and master of the sacred palace under pope *Leo X.* *Luther* opposed the indulgences by reasons: But *Eckius* and *Prierias*, not finding themselves sufficiently strong to answer him, had recourse to common places, and laid down for a foundation, the authority of the pope, and consent of the schoolmen; concluding, that indulgences ought to be received as an article of faith, since they proceeded from the pope, who had approved the doctrine of the schoolmen, and was infallible in matters of faith. *Eckius* wrote his obelisks against *Luther's* thesis, without intending to publish it; and *Luther* published it together with his own refutation. As for *Prierias*, nothing can make us better understand the success of his writings, than to know, that he was commanded by the pope to write no more on matters of controversy. *Luther* answered *Eckius* in another thesis, about repentance; and asserted, “that the just man lives, not by the work of the law, but by faith.” He also answered, *Prierias*, who had treated him with threats, and imperious reflections. He had a fourth adversary in *Jacobus Hogostratus*, a friar-preacher, who wrote against some of his propositions, and advised the pope to condemn *Luther*, and burn him, if he would not retract. *Luther* made a kind of manifesto against this author, in which he reproached him with cruelty and ignorance.

The Christian world, at that time, was overwhelmed with ceremonies. Divinity was mere chicanery, or sophistry: New and absurd notions were every day advanced in the schools: And the clergy of all orders, by lording
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it over men's consciences, rendered themselves hated and despised. The turbulent humour, infidelity, and ambition of the two last popes were not forgotten: Bishops, in general, were without integrity, or capacity; and the inferior clergy, besides being grossly ignorant, and notoriously immoral, were become intolerable, on account of their insatiable avarice. The clergy, for a long time, had been vicious and illiterate: But these things were taken notice of, now learning began to revive in *Europe*, Priests and monks, whose actions would not bear the light, were highly incensed against the restorers of literature; and scrupled not to accuse them of heresy, when they found they had no share with them in argument. On this account, they commenced a dispute with *John Reuchlin*, commonly called *Capnio*, the great Hebræan; because he opposed the destruction of the Talmuds, the Targums, and the writings of the *Rabbins*, which some wished to annihilate because opposite to Christianity. *Reuchlin* shewed, that these weapons might be turned against the *Jews*, and that it would look but ill, if, instead of answering, we should burn the arguments of our adversaries. These ignoramuses maintained their cause so very poorly, that it was no wonder it ended in their confusion, and gave the learned *Ulric Van Hutten* a fine handle to expose them, in a book called, *Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum*. *Erasmus* also espoused the cause of *Luther*; though he afterwards, in a treatise *de libero arbitrio*, started some objections to his opinions. It was obvious, that this was done rather at the solicitation of others, than of his own inclination: But the main point was not affected by them, and they were sufficiently refuted by *Luther*.

As *Luther* opposed the scandalous sale of pardons and indulgences; so in the countries where the Reformation had got an entrance, or in the neighborhood of them, this was no more heard of; and it has been taken for granted, that such an infamous traffic was no longer practised.

Seckendorf, in his history of Lutheranism, hath confuted the falsehoods and calumnies of *Varillas*, *Maimbourg*, *Palavicini*, *Bossuet*, and others of the same stamp. But we will now select a few things, from various authors, which characterise *Luther*.

It is said, he was rough in controversy; and that his reply to *Henry VIII.* was disrespectful: But he had a very unfavorable opinion of sovereign princes; which
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is evident from the smart remark that he made on *Charles V.* snatching up spiritual livings, as a dog did meat from the shambles. He used to say, that the pope and his partizans were such incorrigible reprobates, that they ought to be treated in the severest manner; and that *Erasmus* spoiled all, by shewing them too much courtesy and respect. As he thus lashed the papists, so he did not greatly spare his own brethren of the Reformation, if they departed from his sentiments. He accounted matrimony to be not only lawful, but a duty incumbent upon all who were capable of entering into that state.

Bellarmin, and the abbè *Richard*, have accused *Luther* of Arianism. Their accusation hath no better foundation than this, that *Luther* declared his dislike of the word *consubstantial*; and said, that the Arians, though otherwise in the wrong, were in the right to reject unscriptural terms, introduced by men, who thought they could speak better upon the subject, than the Spirit of God: But it appears, from *Luther's* works, that he was not at all in the sentiments of the Arians.

Luther was an enemy to the allegorical and mystical way of expounding the scriptures, as being precarious, and dangerous, tending to fanaticism, and exposing religion to the scoffs of infidels. He also blamed those, who pretended to interpret the Apocalypse to the people. He abhorred the schoolmen, and called them sophistical locusts, caterpillars, frogs, and lice. He declared himself against persecution, compulsion, and violence, in matters of religion.

Luther said, "When my first positions concerning indulgences were brought before the pope, he said, *a drunken German wrote them*; when he hath slept out his sleep, and is sober again, he will be of another mind." But *Luther* often apologized for his roughness. "I am accused, says he, of rudeness and immodesty, particularly by adversaries, who have not a grain of candour or good manners. If, as they say, I am saucy and impudent, I am however simple, open, and sincere; without any of their guile, dissimulation, or treachery."

The pope, and the emperor, were equally concerned, that *Luther* was allowed to propagate his opinions in *Saxony*, where the great number of his followers, and the resolution with which he defended his opinions, made it evident, that it would become troublesome both to the church and empire, if a stop was not put to his proceedings.

ings. *Luther* defended his propositions by reason and scripture against *Tetzelius*, who had recourse to the authority of the pope and church. This made it necessary for *Luther* to examine upon what foundation one was founded, and in what state the other remained. In the course of this enquiry, monstrous errors and abuses were discovered; the cheats and scandalous lives of monks and priests were brought to light; and *Luther*, for securing to himself the assistance of temporal princes, took care to explain the nature and extensiveness of civil power.

Temporal government is founded on the highest reason, as well as on divine institution; for, without it, men would be constantly exposed to rapine and confusion: But it has never yet been proved, that a spiritual monarchy is either necessary or serviceable to Christianity. It is an artificial fabric, which must be supported by arts; and the views of popes will be always different from those of temporal princes. If the pope's partizans say, his authority is founded upon the positive command of God: That should be proved clearly from scripture. If they say, it is derived from *St. Peter*, it ought to be proved, not only that such an authority was invested in him, but that he was bishop of *Rome*, exercised it there, conveyed it down to his successors, and that succession has not been interrupted. Instead of proving these things, the popish doctors declined meddling with them, and filled the heads of their people with things foreign to the main point. They talked of a long succession of popes; of the great antiquity and universality of the church; and laid great stress upon the promise, that 'the gates of hell shall never prevail against it.' Fathers, councils, and miracles, were also appealed to: And if any one was still dissatisfied, he was branded with the name of heretic, without so much as hearing his reasons; and he had good luck, if he escaped burning.

The papal constitution was admirably contrived upon the foundation of a singular kind of monarchy. Princes have formerly strengthened their authority, by giving out that they were descended from the gods, or that their government was founded by their express command; and if success attended them, which was looked upon as a mark of divine favor, they were after death reckoned among the deities. But the pope calls himself the lieutenant of *Jesus Christ*; arrogates to himself, while living, all power in heaven and earth; and would have it believed, that such as refuse to acknowledge his authority cannot be saved. If these
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points are well settled, the whole business is done: For what is more proper to draw the veneration of men, than the notion that the Majesty of God resides in him? Or, what stronger motive can there be, to the most absolute submission, than the fear of damnation?

The pope does not, like other sovereigns, bind himself to any terms, on his entering upon the government: And, indeed, it would be absurd for him, who is said to be guided by the Holy Ghost, to be laid under any restrictions. The subjects of this monarchy may be divided into clergy and laity. The first, which comprehends all ecclesiastics, may be considered as his standing army. The second, which takes in all else of the *Roman* communion, are no better than slaves, on whom large contributions are raised for the support of the others. The clergy are not allowed to marry, under a pretence, that worldly cares would prevent a faithful discharge of their duty: But the true reason is, that they may be free from the ties of paternal or conjugal affection; and be ready on all occasions to promote the interest of the church.

Pope *Paul IV.* boasted of having 288,000 parishes, and 44,000 monasteries, under his jurisdiction. What a prodigious number of ecclesiastics were then under the papal power? As a blind submission of the laity to the clergy was absolutely necessary for supporting this spiritual tyranny, they were forbid to read the scriptures: For if these had been well understood, it would have been obvious, that no one was authorized to lord it over the conscience of another; and, by keeping these among the clergy, they had an opportunity of mixing something with every doctrine they taught, that might promote the interest or power of the pope and themselves. In order to make way for tradition, the holy scripture was represented as imperfect; and whatever could serve the cause of *Rome* was imposed upon the poor deluded people under that name.

As the first decay and ruin of the church began through ignorance, and want of knowledge in teachers: So, to restore the church again by doctrine and learning, it pleased God to open to man the art of printing, shortly after the burning of *John Huss* and *Jerom.* The art of printing being found, the grace of God immediately followed, which stirred up men of better parts to receive the light of knowledge and of judgement; whereby darkness began to be espied, and ignorance to be detected; truth to be discerned from error, and religion from superstition.

stitution. The first push and assault against the *Romish* church, about this period at least, was given by *Picus Mirandula*, *Valla*, *Petrarch*, *Wesalia*, *Revelinus*, *Grocin*, *Colet*, *Rhenanus*, and *Erasmus*, whose learned writings opened a window of light to the world, and made a way more ready for others to come after. Immediately, according to God's gracious appointment, followed *Martin Luther*, with others after him; by whose ministry it pleased the Lord to work a more full Reformation of his church. The Lord ordained and appointed *Luther* to be the principal organ and minister under him, to reform religion, and subvert the popish see.

Tetzelius stirred up the archbishop of *Magdeburg* and others against *Luther*, who boldly answered all their writings. The emperor *Maximilian*, on the fifth of *August*, 1518, wrote to pope *Leo X.* and required him to stop these dangerous disputes by his authority; assuring him, that he would execute in the empire, whatever his holiness should appoint. The pope ordered *Hieronimus de Genutiis*, bishop of *Ascoli*, and auditor of the apostolic chamber, to cite *Luther* to appear at *Rome* within sixty days, that he might give an account of his doctrine to the auditor, and *Prierias* master of the palace, to whom he had committed the judgement of the cause. The pope, on the twenty-third of *August*, wrote a letter to the elector of *Saxony*, desiring him to give *Luther* no protection, but to put him into the hands of cardinal *Cajetan*, his legate in *Germany*; assuring him, that if *Luther* was innocent, he would send him back absolved; and if guilty, he would pardon him upon his repentance. At the same time, the pope likewise sent a brief to cardinal *Cajetan*, in which he ordered him to bring *Luther* before him as soon as possible; and to hinder the princes from being any impediment to the execution of this order, he denounced the ordinary punishments of excommunication, interdiction, and privation of goods against those that should receive *Luther* and give him protection; and promised a plenary indulgence to those, who should assist in delivering him up.

The elector of *Saxony* was unwilling that *Luther* should appear personally at *Rome*; and the university of *Wittenberg* interceded with the pope, who consented that the matter should be tried before cardinal *Cajetan* in *Germany*. This prelate was a Dominican; yet *Luther* met him at *Augsburg* in *October*. *Cajetan* asserted the authority of the pope, and said he was above a council. *Luther* denied

denied it, and alledged the authority of the university of *Paris*. *Luther* delivered *Cajetan* a formal protestation, in the presence of four imperial counsellors and a notary, wherein he declared, “that he had only sought after truth, and would not retract, without being convinced he was wrong: That he was satisfied, he had advanced nothing contrary to the holy scripture, the doctrine of the fathers, decretals of the popes, and right reason: That he had advanced nothing but what was found, true, and catholic: And that he would submit himself to the lawful determination of the church.”

The legate threatened *Luther* with the censures of the church, if he would not retract, and bring his recantation. *Luther* knew that *Cajetan* had orders to seize him, if he would not submit: And, therefore, on the sixteenth of *October*, he made an *act of appeal*, before a notary, wherein he vindicated himself, and declared, that he was oppressed and injured, and obliged to appeal from the pope; for which purpose, he demanded letters of mission; and protested he would pursue his appeal. *Luther* told the legate, that as he had not deserved his censures, so he disregarded them; and then returned to *Wittenberg*, where he was safe under the protection of the elector of *Saxony*. *Luther* was powerfully supported by the university of *Wittenberg*, where he continued to teach the same doctrines, and sent a challenge to all the inquisitors to dispute with him there, under the sanction of a safe conduct from his prince, and the most respectable hospitality from the university.

The cardinal, mortified at *Luther's* escape, wrote to the elector on the twenty-fifth of *October*, 1518, desiring him to give him up, to send him to *Rome*, or to banish him from his dominions. To this letter the elector answered, on the eighteenth of *December* following, and told the cardinal, that ‘he hoped he would have dealt with *Luther* in another manner, and not have insisted upon his recanting, before his cause was heard and judged; that there were several able men in his own and in other universities, who did not think *Luther's* doctrine either impious or heretical; that, if he had believed it such, there would have been no need of admonishing him not to tolerate it; that *Luther* not being convicted of heresy, he could not banish him from his states, nor send him to *Rome*; and that, since *Luther* offered to submit himself to the judgement of several

‘several universities, he thought they ought to hear him, or, at least, shew him the errors which he taught in his writings.’

While these things passed in *Germany*, pope *Leo* attempted to put an end to these disputes about indulgences, by a decision of his own; and for that purpose, upon the ninth of *November*, published a brief, directed to cardinal *Cajetan*, in which he declared, that ‘the pope, the successor of *St. Peter*, and vicar of *Jesus Christ* upon earth, hath power to pardon, by virtue of the keys, the guilt and punishment of sin, the guilt by the sacrament of penance, and the temporal punishments due for actual sins by indulgences; that these indulgences are taken from the overplus of the merits of *Jesus Christ* and his saints, a treasure at the pope’s own disposal, as well by way of absolution as suffrage; and that the dead and the living, who properly and truly obtain these indulgences, are immediately freed from the punishment due to their actual sins, according to the divine justice, which allows these indulgences to be granted and obtained.’ This brief ordains, ‘that all the world shall hold and preach this doctrine, under the pain of excommunication reserved to the pope; and enjoins cardinal *Cajetan* to send it to all the archbishops and bishops of *Germany*, and cause it to be put in execution by them.’ *Luther* knew very well, that after this judgement by the pope, he could not possibly escape being proceeded against, and condemned at *Rome*; and, therefore, upon the twenty-eighth of the same month, published a new appeal from the pope to a general council, in which he asserts the superior authority of the latter over the former. The pope foreseeing, that he should not easily manage *Luther*, so long as the elector of *Saxony* continued to support and protect him, sent the elector a golden rose, such an one, as he used to bless every year, and send to several princes, as marks of his particular favor to them. *Miltitius*, his chamberlain, whom we have before observed to have been a *German*, was intrusted with this commission; by whom the pope sent also letters, dated the beginning of *January*, 1519, to the elector’s counsellor and secretary, in which he prayed those ministers to use all possible interest with their master, that he would stop the progress of *Luther’s* errors, and imitate therein the piety and religion of his ancestors. It appears by *Seckendorf’s* account of *Miltitius’s* negotiation, that *Frederick* had long solicited for this

this bauble from the pope; and that three or four years before, when his electoral highness was a bigot to the court of *Rome*, it had probably been a most welcome present. But, *post est occasio calva*: It was now too late: *Luther's* contests with the see of *Rome* had opened the elector's eyes, and enlarged his mind; and, therefore, when *Miltitius* delivered his letters, and discharged his commission, he was received but coldly by the elector, who valued not the consecrated rose, nor would receive it publicly and in form, but only privately and by his proctor.

As to *Luther*, *Miltitius* had orders to require the elector to oblige him to retract, or to deny him his protection: But, things were not now to be carried with so high a hand, *Luther's* credit being too firmly established. Besides, the emperor *Maximilian* departed this life upon the twelfth of this month, whose death greatly altered the face of affairs, and made the elector more able to determine *Luther's* fate. *Miltitius* thought it best therefore to try, what could be done by fair and gentle means, and to that end came to a conference with *Luther*. He poured forth many commendations upon him, and earnestly entreated him, that he would himself appease that tempest, which could not but be destructive to the church. He blamed, at the same time, the behavior and conduct of *Tetzelius*, and reproved him with so much sharpness, that he died of melancholy a short time after. *Luther*, amazed at all this civil treatment, which he had never experienced before, commended *Miltitius* highly, and owned, that if they had behaved to him so at first, all the troubles, occasioned by these disputes, had been avoided; and did not forget to cast the blame upon *Albert* archbishop of *Mentz*, who had increased these troubles by his severity. *Miltitius* also made some concessions; as, that the people had been seduced by false opinions about indulgences; that *Tetzelius* had given the occasion; that the archbishop had set on *Tetzelius* to get money; that *Tetzelius* had exceeded the bounds of his commission, &c. This mildness and seeming candor, on the part of *Miltitius*, gained so wonderfully upon *Luther*, that he wrote a most submissive letter to the pope, dated the thirteenth of *March*, in 1519. *Miltitius*, however taking for granted, that they would not be contented at *Rome* with this letter of *Luther's*, written, as it was, in general terms only, proposed to refer the matter to some other judgement; and it was agreed between them, that the elector of *Triers*

should be the judge, and *Coblentz* the place of conference: But this came to nothing; for *Luther* afterwards gave some reasons for not going to *Coblentz*, and the pope would not refer the matter to the elector of *Triers*.

During all these treaties, the doctrine of *Luther* spread, and prevailed greatly; and he himself received great encouragement at home and abroad. The *Bohemians* about this time sent him a book of the celebrated *John Huss*, who had fallen a martyr in the work of Reformation; and also letters, in which they exhorted him to constancy and perseverance, owning, that the divinity, which he taught, was the pure, the sound, and orthodox divinity. Many great and learned men had joined themselves to him; among the rest *Philip Melancthon*, whom *Frederic* had invited to the university of *Wittenberg* in August 1518, and *Andrew Carolostadius* archdeacon of that town, who was a great linguist. They desired, if possible, to draw over *Erasmus* to their party; and to that end we find *Melancthon* thus expressing himself in a letter to that great man, dated *Leipsic*, January the fifth, in 1519: ‘*Martin*
‘*Luther*, who has a very great esteem for you, wishes of
‘all things, that you would thoroughly approve of him.’ *Luther* also himself wrote to *Erasmus*, in very respectful, and even flattering terms: “*Itaque, mi Erasme, vir*
“*amabilis, si ita tibi visum fuerit, agnosce & hunc frater-*
“*culum in CHRISTO; tui certè studiosissimum & aman-*
“*tissimum, cæterum pro inscitâ suâ nihil meritum, quàm ut*
“*in angulo sepultus esset.*” The elector of *Saxony* was desirous also to know *Erasmus*’s opinion of *Luther*, and might probably think, that as *Erasmus* had most of the monks for his enemies, and some of those, who were warmest against *Luther*, he might easily be prevailed on to come over to their party. And indeed they would have done something, if they could have gained this point; for the reputation of *Erasmus* was so great, that if he had once declared for *Luther*, almost all *Germany* would have declared along with him.

But *Erasmus*, whatever he might think of *Luther*’s opinions, had neither his impetuosity, nor his courage. He contented himself therefore with acting and speaking in his usual strain of moderation, and wrote a letter to the elector *Frederic*, in which he declared ‘His dislike of
‘the arts, which were employed to make *Luther* odious;
‘that he did not know *Luther*, and so could neither ap-
‘prove nor condemn his writings, because indeed he had
‘not read them; that however he condemned the railing
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‘ prodigiously, and I hope will be read with great advantage. There is a prior of the monastery of *Antwerp*, who says he was your pupil, and loves you most affectionately. He is a truly Christian man, and almost the only one of his society who preaches *Christ*, the rest being attentive either to the fabulous traditions of men, or to their own profit. I have written to *Melancthon*. The Lord *Jesus* pour upon you his Spirit, that you may abound more and more, every day, to his glory and the service of the church. Farewell.’

Frederic elector of *Saxony* was the patron and protector of *Luther*: But *George*, a prince of the same house, opposed *Luther* to the utmost of his power. The former desired *Erasmus* to give him his opinion concerning *Luther*; and *Erasmus* gave it jocosely: But gravely told the archbishop of *Mentz*, that the monks condemned many things in the books of *Luther* as heretical, which were esteemed as orthodox in *Bernard* and *Austin*. *Erasmus* wrote also to cardinal *Wolsey*, that the life and conversation of *Luther* were universally commended; and it was no small prejudice in his favor, that his morals were unblameable, and that no reproach could be fastened upon him by calumny itself. ‘ If I had really been at leisure, says *Erasmus*, to peruse his writings, I am not so conceited of my own abilities, as to pass a judgment upon the performance of so considerable a divine: Though even children, in this knowing age, will boldly pronounce, that this is erroneous, and that is heretical.’

Claude has spoken judiciously of *Luther*, when he wishes he had been more temperate in his way of writing; and that, with his great and invincible courage, with his ardent zeal for the truth, with that unshaken constancy he ever manifested, he could have shewed a greater reserve and moderation. But the divine providence had a great work to effect by *Luther*, in which strength and even roughness of spirit were requisite to encounter every kind of difficulty and to bear up against the rage, in a manner, of the whole world. When men would fell a wood, they employ a heavy rough axe, and not a smooth and polished razor. *Melancthon* said very justly of him, upon seeing his picture, in this extempore line:

‘ *Fulmina erant linguæ singula verba tuæ.*’

Thy single words were piercing thunder-bolts.

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The monks took upon them to rail most violently, and even seditiously, in their sermons, against the Reformers. 'Whence, says *Erasmus*, came this new race of deities? They call every one an heretic whom they dislike, and stir heaven and earth when they are called calumniators.' He owns, that *Luther* had given them good advice on many points; and that it would be an impiety to leave him undefended, where he had the truth on his side; for then who would ever dare to stand up for the truth? Hitherto, adds *Erasmus*, *Luther* has certainly been useful to the world: He hath set men upon studying the fathers, some to satisfy their own minds, and others to plague him by hunting out arguments and objections against him.

If *Erasmus* had not the same impetuous acrimony in his style, which predominated in the writings of *Luther*; yet the monks were equally offended at him; because the abuses which he attacked were the source of their best revenues.

Erasmus, in 1519, wrote to *Melancthon*, that all the world agreed in commending the moral character of *Luther*; and wished that God might grant him success equal to the liberty which he had taken. *Melancthon* was always mild and moderate, and had a sincere affection for *Luther*; but sometimes could not refrain from complaining of his bold and impetuous temper. However, *Erasmus* entertained hopes, that the attempts of *Luther*, and the great notice which had been taken of them, might be serviceable to true Christianity. In this he was not mistaken, as the event proved; for, from this period, *Luther's* writings and the cause of Reformation spread all over the Christian world, and brought into full blaze the glimmering light, which had before been introduced by *Wickliffe*, *Huss*, and other learned and good men.

Frederic of Saxony, one of the most virtuous and illustrious princes of that century, was a friend both to *Luther*, and to the Reformation; and the protestants have great reason to reverence and bless his memory. When he might have been chosen emperor, he declined it, and gave the crown to *Charles V.* *Erasmus* wrote a letter to him, which was very favorable to *Luther*. *Andrew Bodestine*, from his native place called *Carlostadius*, defended the writings of *Luther*. *Bucer* was present, when *Luther* maintained his doctrine before the *Augustine* friars

at *Heidelberg*, and told *Rhenanus*, ‘ That his sweetness
 ‘ in answering was admirable, and his patience in hear-
 ‘ ing incomparable : That the acuteness of *St. Paul*, in
 ‘ resolving doubts, might have been seen in *Luther*; so
 ‘ that he brought them all into admiration of him, by
 ‘ his concise and nervous answers, taken out of the store-
 ‘ house of the holy scriptures.’

Luther was honorably entertained at *Heidelberg*, by *Wolfgang* the count palatine : And *Erich* duke of *Calemberg* espoused his cause. *Erich* shared in the danger and glory of all the undertakings of the emperor *Maximilian*, and was a great ornament to the house of *Brunswick Lunenberg*. He saved the life of that emperor in 1504, who perpetuated the memory of his valour, by adding a bright star to his coat of arms, on the very field of battle, with this explanation : ‘ That as the morning star exceeds all the others in lustre; so duke *Erich* was as much superior to all other princes of his time.’ This star has ever since continued in the coat of arms of the house of *Brunswick*, and is placed upon the helmet in the middle of the peacock’s train. *Ernest* duke of *Lunenberg* was educated under the inspection of his uncle *Frederic*, surnamed the wise, elector of *Saxony*, who sent him early to the university of *Wittenberg*, where he made a great progress in learning, and had an opportunity to converse with *Luther*, when he began to discover his sentiments about the hierarchy, and the doctrines of the see of *Rome*. *Ernest* boldly embraced the doctrine of *Luther* : And his example was followed by his brothers *Otho* and *Francis*; as also by *Philip* of the line of *Grubenhagen*. These princes made the necessary preparations to introduce the Reformation into the circle of *Lower Saxony*; as the elector their uncle was doing in that of the *Upper Saxony*. *Ernest* was determined to pursue the glorious scheme he had formed, gradually to abolish the errors and abuses that had crept into the church. His concern was so great for extending the knowledge of the pure faith, that he generously sent learned men to the county of *Hoya*, *East-Friesland*, and other parts of *Germany*, to preach the gospel in its native simplicity. Such was his zeal in the cause of the Reformation; so many were the difficulties and oppositions he met with on that account, that he justly merited the surname which was given him of *confessor*. It should be observed, that the emperor *Otho IV.* one of the most illustrious ancestors of the house of *Brunswick*, so early as in the beginning of
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the thirteenth century, notwithstanding the ignorance and bigotry of those times, endeavored with uncommon resolution to lay open the abuses of the see of *Rome*, even in defiance of its excommunications. His endeavors were not attended with the success they deserved; yet they have rendered his name sacred to posterity, as he was the first prince who ventured to oppose the encroachments of the papacy, whereby others were afterwards incited thoroughly to examine the title, which the popes pretended they had, to impose arbitrary laws on Christendom.

Eckius had wrote some notes upon the first thesis of *Luther*, which were answered by *Carlostadius*; and a conference was agreed on at *Leipsic*, by the consent of prince *George* of *Saxony*, uncle to the elector *Frederic*. *Eckius* appeared; and was met by *Luther*, who was accompanied by *Melancthon* and *Carlostadius*. Both parties were well received by the prince, the senate, and university, who appointed a great hall in the castle for the place of the conference, which was solemnly opened on the twenty-seventh of *June*, 1519. The first disputation was concerning free-will, which *Eckius* undertook to prove by a passage in *Ecclesiasticus*; and was opposed by *Carlostadius*, who denied that free-will had a distinct operation from grace. This dispute continued a whole week; in which time, *Luther* preached a sermon, in the chapel of the castle, upon the feast of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, wherein he declaimed against the authority of the pope. The dispute was then carried on between *Luther* and *Eckius*, upon thirteen propositions extracted by the latter out of the writings of the former; the last, and principal of which, was against the supremacy of the pope. *Luther* alledged, against it, the canon of the council of *Afric*, which ordained, that the bishop of the first see should not be called the prince of bishops, or supreme bishop: And he maintained, that *Wickliffe* and *Huss* ought not to have been condemned, as many of their articles were orthodox; and that he could oppose the tradition and usage of the *Greek* church for 1400 years, to the condemnation of the *Bohemians*. *Eckius* attempted to prove the doctrine of indulgences, by the authority of the general councils of *Vienna*, *Lateran*, and *Constance*: He said, that *St. Gregory* had published them 900 years before; that they were approved by the consent of the universal church; and that all the Christian world had acknowledged them by receiving the jubilees.

Luther

Luther replied, that he preferred works of charity before indulgences; and supported his opinion by the authority of *St. Paul* and *St. Augustine*, who say, we can do no good without charity and grace. *Eckius* seemed to make this question a matter of nothing: But *Luther* had the advantage of the argument. He knew, ‘ That the Christian princes had been tired of making expeditions to the *Holy Land*, which were only specious pretences, invented by the popes, to drain them of their blood and treasure: And that another scheme was then set on foot to allure them and their subjects to part with their money: That frequent jubilees were kept at *Rome*; though, according to their first institution, they were to take place but once in a century: That the popes perceived the advantages which arose from bringing people together to their market from all parts of the Christian world, and shortened the time, by ordering a jubilee to be kept every fifty years: And afterwards appointed one to be celebrated every thirty years: That immense sums were brought into the pope’s coffers by these jubilees at *Rome*, where all that resorted received absolution of their sins for a particular sum: And that indulgences being found so beneficial, they were sold all over *Europe*, and no more confined to certain times and jubilees.’

The conference at *Leipsic* continued fourteen days; and the dispute was left to the decision of the universities of *Paris* and *Erfurt*: But *Luther* opened the whole to the world, by publishing a tract, entitled, “ Resolutions of the propositions disputed at *Leipsic*,” and addressed to *Spalatinus*; in which he said, that *Eckius* had no cause to boast of the dispute, and had acknowledged that no trust ought to be put in indulgences. *Melancthon* wrote with great moderation upon these conferences: And *Eckius* told *Hogestratus*, that the Lutherans had great advantages over him, because they were many against a single man, *Jerom Emser* owned, that the dispute at *Leipsic* was rather sharp than edifying: But the two universities never gave their judgements about the contests in these conferences.

Zuinglius began, about this time, to write against pardons and indulgences. *Luther* wrote a book “ Of Christian liberty;” which he dedicated to the pope. He also addressed another book to the nobility of *Germany*, wherein he shook the three principal bulwarks of popery, by opposing the doctrine, ‘ That temporal magistrates
‘ were

‘ were subject to the spirituality; that the pope is the only judge of the scripture; and that he only can call a council.’ *Luther* shewed what things should be handled in councils; and asserted, that the pope yearly drained *Germany* of three millions of florins. He pointed out the necessity of reforming schools and universities; declared that heretics should be convinced by scripture, and not awed by fire; imputed the misfortunes of the emperor *Sigismund* to his breach of faith with *Huss* and *Jerom*; and exposed the inconveniences, resulting from the council of *Constance*.

What the divines of *Paris* and *Erfurt* neglected, those of *Louvain* and *Cologne* attempted. The former consulted with the cardinal de *Tortosa*, afterwards pope *Adrian VI.* and condemned twenty-two propositions extracted from *Luther* as heretical, or approaching to heresy, and declared that his writings ought to be burnt. Those of *Cologne* concurred; and agreed, that *Luther* ought to be obliged to make a public recantation. *Luther* declared, he disregarded the censures of these two universities; and that *Occam*, *Stapulensis*, *Huss*, and other eminent men, were unjustly condemned after the same manner. He accused the universities of rashness, of want of charity, and contempt of justice; after which, he sharply confuted their censures, without any respect to their persons.

The emperor *Maximilian* was so far from suffering himself to be persuaded to proceed against *Luther*, that he used to say, ‘ If the clergy would lead pious lives, *Luther* would have no room for a Reformation.’ But his successor was of a different disposition; and gave occasion to the violent measures that were taken to nip the Reformation in its very bud. *Luther* wrote a letter to the new emperor, on the fifteenth of *January*, 1520, before his arrival in *Germany*, to vindicate his conduct, and intreat his protection from the power of his numerous adversaries, who had persecuted him for three years, and were resolved that he should perish with the gospel. He told the emperor, he would not desire his protection, if he was convicted of impiety or heresy: But desired, he would not let him be condemned without hearing; and declared, he would either be silent, or refer himself to the judgement of any impartial universities, before which he was ready to appear.

It was a great mistake in *Leo X.* to decide in favor of the indulgence-merchants, by his bull in 1518, since thereby all hopes of an accommodation were cut off: For

it would have been much more political in him to have enjoined silence to both parties, and to have contrived some way to satisfy *Luther*, who offered *Cajetan* to drop the controversy, if his adversaries would do the same: But they would be satisfied with nothing less than a recantation. The elector of *Saxony* was again solicited to give up *Luther*, who was compelled to fall upon the pope, to vindicate himself, by appealing to a general council; the calling whereof was delayed upon various pretences, whereby the cause of *Rome* became more and more suspected. About the same time, the pope's quarrel with *Henry VIII.* made way for the introduction of the Reformation in *England*: And the house of *Navarre*, in revenge for the pope's siding with *Ferdinand* the catholic, encouraged the protestant religion to the utmost of their power in *France*. Besides all this, many sensible honest men, even among the *Roman-catholics*, were quite unconcerned at the rough treatment which *Luther* shewed the papal see, because they knew it deserved his resentment.

Luther also wrote to the elector of *Mentz*, who answered him, and commended his disposition: But desired him to treat of religious matters with moderation and respect; for he observed with grief, that the professors disputed upon frivolous opinions, and questions of little consequence, with intolerable pride.

While *Luther* was vindicating himself to the emperor, and the bishops of *Germany*, judgement was passed upon his writings at *Rome*, where *Eckius* and *Ubricus* went on purpose to solicit his condemnation, which was resolved upon, notwithstanding he had obediently revered the person of the pope. *Luther*, at the request of the *Augustines*, wrote a long epistle to his holiness, full of submission and respect, wherein he told him, "That the
 " court of *Rome* was visibly more corrupt than either
 " *Babylon* or *Sodom*; but that his holiness was a lamb in
 " the midst of wolves, a *Daniel* among lions, and an
 " *Ezekiel* among scorpions: That there were not above
 " three or four cardinals, who had any learning or piety;
 " and that it was against these disorders of the court of
 " *Rome*, that he was obliged to appear."

The writings of *Luther* were examined in a congregation of cardinals, who distinguished his doctrine, writings, and person. They condemned forty-one propositions taken out of his works; ordered him to appear in person; and agreed that his writings should be burnt. In consequence of this resolution, the bull was drawn up by
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the cardinal of *Ancona*, and published by the pope, who invoked the aid of *Jesus Christ*, the apostles, and all the saints, against the new errors and heresies; and to preserve the faith, peace, and unity of the church. This bull was dated the fifteenth of *June*, 1520, and condemned the forty-one articles, extracted from the writings of *Luther*, as heretical, false, and scandalous. Indulgences, the papal supremacy, free-will, purgatory, and the begging friars, were the principal things vindicated in this bull; and all Christians were forbid, under the pain of excommunication, to defend any of the propositions that were thus condemned: *Luther* was admonished to revoke his errors by some public act, and cause his books to be burnt within sixty days; otherwise he, and his adherents, should incur the punishments due to heretics.

Luther, now perceiving that all hopes of an accommodation were at an end, threw off all reserve, and answered this bull, which he called "The execrable bull of antichrist," by publishing a book called "The captivity of *Babylon*;" in which he absolutely rejected indulgences; and asserted, that the papacy was the kingdom of *Babylon*. He denied there were seven sacraments; and said, there was properly only one, in three sacramental signs, the Lord's Supper, baptism, and penance. He affirmed, that the sacrament of the altar is the testament of *Jesus Christ*, which he left when he died, to be given to all those who should believe in him: That this testament is a promise of forgiveness of our sins, confirmed by the death of the Son of God; that it is only faith in this promise which justifies, and the mass is entirely useless without that faith. He declared, that the effect of baptism depended alone upon faith in the promise of *Jesus Christ*, of which the outward baptism is only a sign, supplied in infants by the faith of the church. He maintained, that the remission of sins, which is the effect of penance, depends upon faith in the promise of *Jesus Christ*; and allowed no effect to the other parts of penance. He wondered that confirmation, and ordination, should be sacraments, when they are no more than ecclesiastical ceremonies: Neither would he allow marriage to be a sacrament, because there is no promise annexed to it; and the marriage of infidels is as binding as that of Christians: And he rejected the usage of the extreme unction, built upon the authority of the epistle of St. *James*, because he thought there was not any promise of grace annexed to that unction.

Luther was fully persuaded of the necessity of “Justification by faith alone:” Which he looked upon as the basis of the whole Christian religion. When he first preached against indulgences, he intended no separation from the church of *Rome*: But the violence of his opponents, and the heat of the controversy, drew him so far into the dispute, that he carried it on with unparalleled spirit, and came at last to fix upon that scheme, which has been since adhered to by the Lutheran churches, with little variation.

As the pope had condemned *Luther* at *Rome*; *Luther* degraded the pope in *Germany*. He compiled a history of the wars raised by the popes against the emperors; and maintained, that the *German* princes had the same power over the clergy as over the laity. He advised the *Germans* to shake off the yoke of popery; and proposed a Reformation, that should subject the pope and bishops to the power of the emperor, and take away from the pope the authority of interpreting scripture, or calling a general council. He declaimed against the manners and practice of the court of *Rome*, the pride of the pope, and the avarice of the cardinals: He asserted, that annates and papal months, should be abolished, and that the canon-law ought to be entirely destroyed. He even assembled the students of *Wittenberg* together, and flung the pope’s bull and decretals into a fire prepared for that purpose, saying, “Because thou hast troubled the Holy One of God, let eternal fire trouble thee.” This ceremony was performed by *Luther*, upon the tenth of *December*, 1520. The next day he expounded the *Psalms*, and earnestly charged his auditors, that, as they loved the salvation of their souls, they should take heed of the pope’s decrees. He also defended what he had done in writing; and published, among other errors in the papal doctrine, the following thirty:

I.

‘ The pope and his clergy are not bound to obey the
‘ commandments of God.

II.

‘ It is not a precept, but a counsel of *St. Peter*, when
‘ he teaches, *That all men are to be subject to kings.*

III.

‘ That in a state, the sun signified the papal power, the
‘ moon meant the imperial or secular,

IV.

IV.

‘ That the pope and his chair are not to be held subject to the councils and decrees.

V.

‘ That the pope has in the secret of his own breast all laws, and plenary power over all laws.

VI.

‘ Whence it follows; That the pope hath power to disannul, change, and determine, all councils, and all constitutions and ordinances, as he daily practises.

VII.

‘ That the pope hath a right to demand an oath of all bishops, and an obligation upon them for their palls.

VIII.

‘ That if the pope be so negligent of his own and his brethren’s salvation, and so unprofitable and careless in his function, as to carry with him (like the chief factor for hell) innumerable people to their everlasting damnation; no man ought to reprove him or blame his faults.

IX.

‘ That the salvation of all the faithful, next to God, depends upon the pope.

X.

‘ That no man upon earth can judge the pope, or censure his determinations; but the pope is judge of all men.

XI.

‘ That the *Roman* see giveth to all laws and rights their due force; but is itself subject to none of them.

XII.

‘ That the see of *Rome* is the rock, on which *Christ* built his church, according to *Matth. xvi.—Distinct, 19.*

XIII.

‘ That the keys were given to *St. Peter* only.

XIV.

‘ That the priesthood of *Christ* was translated from Him to *St. Peter*. *De constit. c. translato.*

XV.

‘ That the pope hath power to make laws and ordinances for the catholic church.

XVI.

XVI.

‘ That this sentence; *Whatsoever thou bindest on earth,*
 ‘ *shall also be bound in heaven,* establishes this point, That
 ‘ the pope hath power to impose even his unadvised laws
 ‘ upon the whole catholic church.

XVII.

‘ That his injunction to abstain from flesh, butter, &c.
 ‘ on particular days, is not to be disobeyed without sin,
 ‘ or danger of excommunication.

XVIII.

‘ That no priest can marry, because he hath forbid-
 ‘ den it.

XIX.

‘ That pope *Nicholas* the 3d or 4th, hath well decreed,
 ‘ that *Christ*, by giving the keys, gave him power both
 ‘ over the heavenly and earthly kingdom.

XX.

‘ That *Constantine* the great gave to popes the power
 ‘ over all the provinces and kingdoms of this lower
 ‘ world.

XXI.

‘ That the pope is the rightful heir of the holy *Roman*
 ‘ empire.

XXII.

‘ That it is lawful for a Christian to avenge himself.

XXIII.

‘ That subjects may rebel against their princes; and
 ‘ that the pope may depose kings.

XXIV.

‘ That the pope can overturn and dissolve all oaths,
 ‘ covenants, and obligations.

XXV.

‘ That the pope hath power to dissolve and compound
 ‘ for all vows made to God.

XXVI.

‘ That he, that doth not pay his vow to God, is not
 ‘ guilty of breaking it.

XXVII.

‘ That no married man or woman can truly serve
 ‘ God.

XXVIII.

XXVIII.

‘ That the pope’s injunctions are of equal force and weight with the scriptures.

XXIX.

‘ That the pope hath power to explain the scripture, at his own will and pleasure; and that no man can dare to explain it in a contrary sense.

XXX.

‘ That the pope doth not receive his authority from the scripture, but the scripture from the pope.

‘ In short, the sum of the whole canon law is this: *The pope is God on earth, supreme in all heavenly, earthly, spiritual, and secular matters. All things are the pope’s; and there is none who can say unto him, What doest thou?* Melch. Adam. in vit. Luth.

This publication gave (as it may be supposed) the highest offence to the *Romanists*; and the pope resolved to crush him at once by his bulls, which commanded all secular princes to destroy him.

Eckius carried the bull against *Luther* into *Germany*, and was entrusted by the pope to carry it into execution; which was a smart blow given him by his mortal enemy, who was his adversary, accuser, and executioner.

Charles V. was crowned emperor, at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the twenty-first of *October* 1520, and appointed a diet to be held at *Worms*, on the sixth of *January*, 1521. The nuncios, *Martinus Caracciolus* and *Ferom Alexander*, presented the elector of *Saxony* the brief which the pope had sent him, to inform him of the decree which he had made against *Luther*, who was then more than ever protected by the elector, and the university of *Wittenberg*. *Luther* renewed his appeal to a future council; and called the pope a tyrant, and heretic. *Erasmus*, and several other divines, foresaw that the fire, which was to burn the books of *Luther*, would put all *Germany* into a flame, and were for referring the whole cause to a general council: But the nuncios prevailed, and *Luther*’s books were burnt at *Mentz* and *Cologne*. *Ulricus Hultenus*, a satirical poet, ridiculed the papal bull; which *Luther* called the execrable bull of antichrist, and caused it (as we have just observed) to be burnt at *Wittenberg*. *Catharinus* wrote five books in defence of the papal supremacy; which *Luther* refuted; and *Alexander* obtained a new bull from *Rome*, wherein *Luther* was declared contumacious, and to have incurred the penalty denounced by the pope.

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The diet of *Worms* assembled on the day appointed, when *Alexander* exerted all his interest and eloquence, to persuade the emperor, and the princes of the empire, to put the bull against *Luther* into execution; without suffering him to appear, or hear his vindication. The diet resolved, that *Luther* should be summoned, and have a safe conduct; which was granted by the emperor, who sent with it a private letter, directed ‘To the honourable, beloved, devout, doctor *Martin Luther*, of the order of St. *Augustine*.’ This letter was dated the sixth of *March*, and *Luther* was thereby ordered to appear at *Worms* within twenty-one days. The tragical end that *John Huss* had met with at *Constance*, in 1415, was remembered by the friends of *Luther* on this occasion: But he answered those, who dissuaded him from appearing, that “he would go, though there should be as many devils at *Worms* as there were tiles upon the houses.” He was accompanied from *Wittenberg* by some divines, and one hundred horse: But he took only eight horsemen into *Worms*, where he arrived on the sixteenth of *April*: And, when he stepped out of the coach, he said, “God shall be on my side,” in the presence of a great multitude of people, whom curiosity had brought together to see the man, who had made such a noise in the world.

Luther had his apartments in the house belonging to the knights of the *Teutonic* order, near those of the elector of *Saxony*. He was visited by many princes, noblemen, and divines; and the next day appeared before the diet. *Eckius* acted as prolocutor, and told *Luther*, that the emperor had sent for him, ‘to know whether he owned those books that bore his name; and if he intended to retract, or maintain, what was contained in them?’ *Luther* is said to have had as much courage, as *Alexander* and *Julius Cæsar* put together. He answered, he owned the books: But desired time to consider the other question: “So that he might make a satisfactory answer, without prejudice of the word of God, and prejudice of his own soul.” The emperor granted him a day to consider the matter: And some of his principal friends encouraged him with this sentence; *When thou art before kings, think not what thou shalt speak, for it shall be given to thee in that hour.*

Luther appeared again before the diet the following day, when *Eckius* repeated the same question, to which *Luther* replied with modesty and constancy. He protested,
that

that all he had wrote, was for the glory of God, and the instruction of the faithful: But desired the assembly to observe, that his books were of three kinds: 'That in some, he treated only of piety and morality, in such a plain and evangelical manner, that his adversaries acknowledged, they were innocent, profitable, and worthy to be read by all Christians: That in others, he had wrote against popery: And in a third sort against those private persons, who opposed the truths which he taught.' He asserted, that the bull itself had condemned nothing in particular which was taken out of those books; though all his books in general were condemned. And declared, "that, as a man, he might err; and if any one could convince him, by holy scripture, of any error, he was ready to revoke it, and burn his writings." *Eckius* passionately said, he had not answered the question; therefore, he insisted that *Luther* would give a plain and direct answer, 'whether he would retract, or not?' *Luther* replied, "that he was not obliged to believe the pope, or his councils, because they erred in many things, and contradicted themselves: That his belief was so far settled by the texts of scripture, and his conscience engaged by the word of God, that he neither could, nor would, retract any thing; because it was neither safe, nor innocent, for a man to act against his conscience." *Eckius* then said, that *Luther* had revived the errors condemned in the council of *Constance*: And the emperor declared he would proceed against him as a heretic; which was prejudging the cause, and contrary to the established rules of the diet.

As *Luther* undauntedly refused to recant at *Worms*, as he had done three years before at *Augsburg*; the clergy insinuated to the emperor, 'that faith was not to be kept with heretics.' They wanted him to revoke the safe-conduct he had granted to *Luther*: But *Charles* made this generous answer, 'that if no faith was to be found in the rest of the world, it ought at least to be seen in a *Roman* emperor.' The elector Palatine also opposed the violation of the safe-conduct, as had been done at the council of *Constance*. The electors of *Brandenburg* and *Triers*, with *Eckius*, *Cochläus*, and others, had a private conference with *Luther*, to persuade him to desist from his enterprize: But he declared, he was resolved to die, rather than recede from the word of God. The elector of *Triers* desired *Luther* to propose some means of

ending this matter himself; to which *Luther* answered he had no other way than the council of *Gamaliel*, “If
 “ this work be of men, it will come to nought, and
 “ fall of itself; but, if it be of God, ye cannot hinder
 “ the execution of it.”

The emperor, on the twenty-sixth of *April*, ordered *Luther* to depart immediately from *Worms*, under a safe-conduct for twenty-one days; and the elector of *Saxony* imagined, that *Charles* would issue a severe edict against *Luther*; but the elector was resolved to protect him from the prosecution of the emperor and pope. *Luther* was purposely seized on the road by a troop of masked horsemen, and carried, as if by violence, to the castle of *Wartburg*, near *Eisenach*, where the elector concealed him ten months. *Luther* called this retreat his *Patmos*, and wrote several useful treatises there: While his enemies employed reputed wizards to find out the place of his concealment. Here he held a constant correspondence with his friends at *Wittenberg*, and employed himself in composing several of his works. He frequently made excursions into the neighborhood, though always in disguise. Weary, however, of this confinement, he appeared at the end of ten months at *Wittenberg*, on the sixth of *March*.

The emperor published an edict against *Luther*, on the twenty-sixth of *May*, when the electors of *Saxony* and *Palatine* were absent from the diet. He declared, ‘it
 ‘ was his duty to extinguish heresies; that *Luther* was a
 ‘ schismatic and heretic; that the sentence of the pope
 ‘ should be put in execution against him; and that no per-
 ‘ son should revive, defend, maintain, or protect him, under
 ‘ the penalty of high treason, and being put to the ban
 ‘ of the empire.’ This edict was drawn up with all possible rancor and malice by *Aleander*. However, whilst *Luther* attended at *Worms*, and pleaded his cause, he was treated with much affability and civility by that illustrious assembly. He shewed a sufficient presence of mind, and a noble intrepidity, in the opinion of every one but himself; for he afterwards lamented, that he had not been still bolder in the cause of God.

Some are of opinion, that the emperor connived at the spreading of *Luther*’s doctrine in *Germany*, that he might make himself absolute there by such divisions: Else, say they, he might easily have suppressed it, by putting *Luther* to death, when he had him in his power at *Worms*. However, it is far from being clear, that if he had been
 murdered,

murdered, contrary to the sanction of the safe-conduct, his opinions would have died with him: And it would have been very imprudent in *Charles* to have thereby disoblged the elector of *Saxony*, who had placed him on the imperial throne, and whose authority in *Germany* was great, while he had a war upon his hands against *Turkey* and *France*.

The tenets of *Luther* became now to be received, not only in *Upper* and *Lower Saxony*, but also in other parts of *Germany*, and in the *North*. *Erasmus*, and the learned *Agrippa* of *Cologne*, looked upon this Reformer as a hero, who would put a stop to the tyranny which the mendicant friars, and the rest of the clergy, exercised over the minds and consciences of men. Being ignorant and voluptuous, they encouraged a thousand paltry superstitions, and would neither emerge from their barbarity, nor suffer others to do it: Insomuch, that to be witty, and polite, was sufficient to expose a man to their hate and indignation. *Agrippa*, *Erasmus*, and some other great geniuses, were pleased that *Luther* had broke the ice: They expected the critical hour for the deliverance of honest men from oppression: But when they saw that things did not take the turn they expected, they were the first to cast a stone at *Luther*. *Agrippa* wrote to *Melancthon* in these words; ‘Pay my compliments to the invincible heretic *Martin Luther*, who, as *St. Paul* says in the *Acts*, ‘worships God after the way which they call heresy.’ But the divines of *Louvain* censured *Agrippa* for writing ‘the vanity of sciences;’ though that book convinced *Erasmus*, its author was of a fiery genius, extensive reading, and great memory. But *Jovius*, and *Thevet*, ridiculously charge *Agrippa* with being a magician: Though this did not hinder the famous *John Colet* from lodging *Agrippa* in his house at *London*; nor the emperor *Maximilian* from employing him in *Italy*.

Jerom Savonarola, a Dominican at *Florence*, had distinguished himself by the austerity of his life, and by the fervent eloquence with which he preached against immorality, without sparing the disorders of the clergy, nor even the court of *Rome*. *Philip de Comines*, the celebrated historian of *France*, saw *Savonarola* at *Florence*, and says, ‘that no preacher ever had a greater influence over a city.’ Some authors maintain, that his conduct was the effect of a great zeal for truth, and for the Reformation of the church: Others pretend that he was an impostor, and a hypocrite. It is certain, that this divine

had acquired such a great power over the Florentines, by his singular sanctity, and the reputation of his virtue, that, in the opinion of all, he deserved to be canonized alive: But he lost his credit, was excommunicated, degraded from his ecclesiastical order, hanged and burnt in the year 1498. Friar *Jerom* had been considered as a prophet sent by God for the Reformation of manners; and he had preached, that the state of the church should be reformed by the sword. He foretold many things before they came to pass: But the pope excommunicated him, on a charge that his doctrine was not catholic; and the Franciscan friars undertook to prove it heretical. The truth is, *Savonarola* had earnestly wished to be the instrument of calling a general council, in which the corrupt manners of the clergy might be reformed; and the state of the church of God, which had deviated so far, might be reduced to as great a resemblance as possible of those days that were nearest to the times of the apostles. The general of the Dominicans, and the bishop of *Romolino*, were appointed commissaries by the pope to punish *Savonarola*, whom they put to the torture, and delivered him over to the secular arm to be hanged and burnt. His trial was falsified in the most unjust and scandalous manner: But he suffered death courageously, and many persons considered him as a martyr. His ashes were thrown into the *Arno*, that his adherents might not have any relic left of him: But books were written for his justification; and the protestants have revered his memory.

Beza, *Vigner*, *Cappel*, *Du Plessis Mornay*, and the other Reformers, considered *Jerom Savonarola* as a martyr like *Jerom of Prague*: They looked on him as one of the forerunners of the evangelical Reformation; and called him the *Luther of Italy*. The popish writers also defended his character, particularly the learned prince of *Mirandula*: But pope *Clement VIII.* forbade the sermons of *Savonarola* to be read till they had undergone a purgation.

Luther quoted *Savonarola*, and prefixed a preface to his meditations; because he considered him as an author that is very orthodox upon the subject of justification, and the merit of good works. The tools of *Rome* were for putting *Luther* to death, as well as *Savonarola*: But *Erasmus* was greatly dissatisfied, when *Luther* was proscribed; and said, ‘that they, who condemned him, deserved to be condemned themselves: That the pope’s
‘ unmerciful

‘ unmerciful bull was disapproved by all honest men ;
‘ and that *Luther*, being a man void of ambition, was
‘ the less to be suspected of heresy.’ One of the eccle-
siastical electors said, ‘ Would to God that *Luther* had
‘ written in Latin, and not in *German*.’ Mention being
made of *Luther* at the emperor’s table, *Ravenstein* said,
‘ here is one Christian arisen among us, at last, after
‘ four hundred years, and the pope wants to kill him.’

The emperor had performed the conditions of the safe-
conduct to *Luther* ; and the pope had tried him before a
council : ‘ But the Lutherans would have been fools and
‘ mad, to have trusted themselves and their cause, to
‘ such a pontiff, and to such an emperor ;’ notwithstand-
ing *Erasmus* said, ‘ we have a pope, who in his temper
‘ is much disposed to clemency, and an emperor who is
‘ also mild and placable.’ *Erasmus* judged very wrong
of both these persons. *Leo* was a vain, voluptuous, and
debauched man, who had no religion, and no compassion
for those, who could not submit entirely to his pleasure ;
as he shewed by the haughty manner in which he treated
Luther, without admitting the least relaxation in any of
the disputed points. *Charles V.* was only twenty years
of age, at this time, and made a conscience of nothing
to accomplish any of his projects. He said so himself ;
and we may take his word for it. This emperor, dis-
cussing of past events with the prior and the monks of
St. *Justus*, told them, that he repented of having ful-
filled the promise of safe-conduct which he gave to *Luther*.
This regret is ascribed to his pious zeal for the cause
of God : But the examples of *Gregory* the Great, who
kept his faith given to heretics ; of *Joshua*, who kept it
to the idolatrous *Gibeonites* ; and of *Saul*, whom God
punished for doing the contrary, might have quieted his
royal conscience : And if he had any cause to repent, it
should have been for plighting his faith to a heretic, and
not for keeping it. However, *Charles* in his old age
seemed inclined to protestant principles : And, if reports
may be credited, his son *Philip* intended to have made
his father’s process, and to have had his bones burnt for
heresy ; being only hindered from doing it by this con-
sideration, that if his father was an heretic, he had for-
feited all his dominions, and by consequence he had no
right to resign them to his son. If these things are true,
the emperor must have been the greatest hypocrite that
ever lived ; or we have been greatly imposed upon by
historians.

At the time the diet of *Worms* was held, a treatise was published, in which were the following among other anecdotes. The count of *Nassau*, governor of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Holland*, said to the divines at the *Hague*, ‘Go, and preach the gospel in sincerity and truth, like *Luther*.’ The academics of *Louvain* complained to *Margaret* the emperor’s sister, governess of the *Netherlands*, that *Luther* was subverting Christianity by his writings. ‘Who, said she, is this *Luther*?’ They replied, he was an illiterate monk. ‘Is he so, said the princess? Then you, who are very learned and numerous, write against this illiterate monk: And surely the world will pay more regard to many scholars than to one blockhead.’

As the pope and emperor had published such a furious bull, and violent edict, against *Luther*, *Erasmus* began to be in pain for the Reformer, though the elector of *Saxony* had taken him under his protection. ‘I fear,’ says he, for the unfortunate *Luther*: So violent is the conspiracy, and so strongly have the pope and the prince been instigated against him. Would to God he had followed my counsel, and had abstained from violent and seditious proceedings! He would then have done more good, and have incurred less hatred.’

But if *Luther* had followed the advice of *Erasmus*, and conducted the affair with all moderation and reserve, he would still have had less success; because his system passed, in the opinion of the divines, for a most pestilent heresy, tending to overset the authority of the pope and the monks, and to destroy the credit of certain opinions and doctrines, from which they drew an immense profit. If *Luther* had recanted after he had been condemned, all the benefit, that his doctrine was capable of producing, would have been lost: And if he resisted, a separation from those who had excommunicated him must ensue.

Erasmus declined the task of refuting *Luther*; ‘because it was a work above his abilities; and he would not deprive the universities, which had undertaken to confute him, of their honour and glory.’ He wished that *Luther* had been solidly confuted before his books were burnt: Because it is the duty of divines to persuade, and the practice of tyrants to compel. But this was not the language of the inquisition, and of the monks, who breathed nothing besides revenge, and the destruction of heretics. To please them, he ought to have cried out, that ‘*Luther* deserved to be hanged, for

‘ what he had done, whether he submitted or not: He
 ‘ ought to have insulted and abused him upon all occa-
 ‘ sions, if he hoped for any favour from men, who ac-
 ‘ counted moderation and equity to be capital crimes,
 ‘ when they extended to a man accounted by them the
 ‘ leader of the heretical armies.’ *Luther* was sometimes
 censured by *Erasmus* for writing with such spirit; but in
 this, *Luther* acted more like an apostle, or primitive
 Christian, than *Erasmus*.

Luther also made a translation of the New Testament
 into the *German* language; and wrote several books, dur-
 ing his retirement, which he called his hermitage. He
 was immediately accused of corrupting the gospel in
 several places; but none of his adversaries ventured to
 condemn the translation of the New Testament into the
 vulgar tongue: On the contrary, *Jerom Emser* criticised
 upon this version, and made another. The king of *Eng-
 land* wrote to the princes of *Germany* upon that subject;
 and said, it was useful to have the scripture in several
 languages, that corrupt versions might be prevented.

However, it is acknowledged, that *Luther*, in translat-
 ing the bible, was assisted by the disciples of *Reuchlin*,
 and hath hit off many places very happily: That he was
 master of the *German* language; and that there is much
 to be learned from this work. But the *Sieur de St. Al-
 degonde*, in 1594, wrote to *John Drusius*, who was em-
 ployed by the states-general to make a new translation of
 the bible into the *Dutch* tongue, that, ‘ among all the
 ‘ versions he had met with, he had seen none that dif-
 ‘ fered so widely from the true *Hebrew*, as that of
 ‘ *Luther*.’

Luther wrote against private confession, private masses,
 and monastic vows; in consequence of which, *Carlostadius*,
 and the Augustine friars at *Wittenberg*, abolished
 the use of the mass. Vows of celibacy very little pro-
 moted continence. The monks left their cloisters at
Wittenberg, and the priests married; after *Carlostadius*
 and *Justus Jonas* had set them the example, which was
 afterwards followed by *Luther*.

The adversaries of *Luther* affirmed, ‘ that he uttered
 ‘ a thousand blasphemies, and particularly against *Moses*:
 ‘ They went so far as to maintain, that he got *Amadis de
 ‘ Gaul* translated into *French*, to put people out of con-
 ‘ ceit with the scripture, and all books of devotion.
 ‘ They observed so little measures in the calumnies they
 ‘ published against him, as to accuse him of having said,
 ‘ that

‘ that he believed nothing of what he preached.’ Most of these calumnies were grounded upon some words in a book published by *Luther’s* friends; to which his enemies gave a very malicious interpretation, and very remote from this minister’s thoughts.

He was even accused of Atheism: But this, as well as what was said of *Amadis*, was an egregious falshood, and proved so by *Bayle*, from the journal of *Leipsic*, *October* 1684, where it is said, that ‘ this ridiculous calumny ‘ cannot excite indignation, but laughter; for the honest ‘ catholics themselves must be ashamed of it: They cannot be ignorant that, by the indefatigable pains of ‘ *Luther*, the sacred writings were once more put not ‘ only into the hands of the clergy, but into those of ‘ the middle rank, nay, even of those of the meanest sort; ‘ he having, for that purpose, with incredible study and ‘ toil, translated the holy bible into the vulgar tongue, ‘ and not *Amadis*.’ What is not a man capable of, in point of gross calumnies, so diametrically opposite to all probability, when there are those who dare affirm, that *Luther* desired to bring the scriptures into discredit: *Luther* had no greater reproach to bear, with all the Reformers, from the popish clergy, than that of too much recommending to laymen the reading of the bible in the vulgar tongue.

The doctrine of *Luther* was not prevented by the edict of the emperor, which was contemned by the princes and magistrates. *Henry VIII.* king of *England*, stopt the new doctrine from spreading in his dominions: He did something more, for he caused to be made, in his own name, a treatise about the seven sacraments, against *Luther’s* book of “ the Captivity of *Babylon*.” Some have thought that *Edward Lee*, afterwards archbishop of *York*, was the author of that work: But the king presented it to the pope, who received it very favorably, and was so well pleased with *Henry*, that he rewarded him with the glorious title of ‘ Defender of the Faith.’ *Henry* was the slave of *Rome* for the first eighteen years of his reign. Delighted with the flatteries of the pope and the clergy, he drew his pen in their defence. The papal compliments induced *Henry* to order all *Luther’s* books to be called in; and forty-two articles, taken from his doctrine, were condemned. *Luther* had made very free with *Aquinas*, the favorite author of king *Henry VIII.* who had a great opinion of his learning and talents for disputation, and stepped forth as the champion of the church,

church, to defend her against the danger she was in from the spreading of *Luther's* heresy. But *Luther* was not to be silenced by the power of his adversary: And conceiving himself to be used too contemptuously by the king, he replied with more acrimony than was thought decent towards the person of a sovereign prince. He answered *Henry* with sharpness; and without any respect to his royal dignity; for *Luther* spared no man in the cause of God. Many divines thought it an honor to defend the king of *England*, by confuting the book which *Luther* wrote against him. In *Germany*, it was answered in Latin by *Eckius*; and in High Dutch by *Muncer*. In *England*, *John Fisher*, bishop of *Rochester*, wrote a book to maintain the doctrine which the king had vindicated; and Sir *Thomas More* wrote another, under the name of *William Ross*, in which he gave a character of *Luther*. But *Luther's* magnanimous spirit was not to be depressed by the words of a king, whose treatment of *Lambert*, the martyr, discovered an heart full of rancor against the truth, because he condemned it without investigation, and a mind full of meanness, because he insulted and threatened an humble subject and inferior. *Luther* defended his sharp style in answering the king, after this manner; “If my asperity towards the king has offended any body, let them take this answer. In that book I had to do with unfeeling monsters, who have despised my best and gentlest writings, who have trampled upon my most humble submissions, and who only seem the more insolent, in proportion to my calmness and temperance. Let it be remembered too, that I entirely omitted all threats of virulence and falsehoods, with which the king has filled his book against me from beginning to end. Nor ought it to be considered as a great affair, if I affront and treat sharply an earthly prince, who has dared to blaspheme the King of heaven in his writings, and to insult his holy name with the bitterest lies.—But GOD will judge the people in his equity.”——*Luther* had indeed written a very humble letter to *Henry* the Eighth, by the persuasion of *Christiern*, the banished king of *Denmark*; to which the king returned a very harsh and unbecoming answer in his book, which probably induced *Luther* to treat this haughty prince with the more tartness. His submissive letters to cardinal *Cajetan*, *George* duke of *Saxony*, and others, were all served in the same contemptuous strain, which determined *Luther* to take up a different conduct with his

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adversaries,

adversaries, in which his bravery of soul was equal to all their insolence.

If we would know what was the ground of this wonderful man's magnanimity, it cannot be better expressed than it is by himself in a letter to *Spalatinus*, during the business of *Augsburgh*: "That kings, and princes, and
 " people, (says he) rage against *Christ*, the Lord's
 " Anointed, I esteem a good sign, and a much better one
 " than if they flattered. For it follows upon this, that
 " he, who dwelleth in heaven, laughs them to scorn.
 " And if our Head laugh, I see no reason why we should
 " weep before the faces of such beings. He does not
 " laugh for his own sake, but for our's, that we, putting
 " the more trust in him, might despise their empty de-
 " signs; of so great need is faith, that the cause and
 " ground of it is not to be perceived without faith. He,
 " who began this work, began it without our advice and
 " contrivance; he hath hitherto protected it; and hath
 " ordered the whole above and beyond our counsels and
 " imaginations. He also, I make no doubt, will carry
 " on and complete the same, without and above all our
 " conceptions and cares. I know and am assured of this,
 " for I rest the whole upon him, who is able to do above
 " all that we can ask or think. Yet our friend *Philip*
 " *Melancthon* will contrive and desire, that God should
 " work according to and within the compass of his puny
 " notions, that he may have somewhat whereof to glory.
 " Certainly (he would say) thus and thus it ought to be
 " done; and thus and thus would I do it.' But this is
 " poor stuff: 'Thus I *Philip* would do it.' This (I)
 " is mighty flat. But hear how this reads; I AM
 " THAT I AM, *this is his name* JEHOVAH: HE,
 " even HE, will do it.—But I have done. Be strong
 " in the Lord, and exhort *Melancthon* from me, that he
 " aim not to sit in God's throne, but fight against that
 " innate, that devilishly implanted ambition of our's,
 " which would usurp the place of God; for that am-
 " bition will never further our cause. It thrust *Adam*
 " and *Eve* out of paradise; and this alone perplexes us,
 " and turns our feet from the way of peace. We must
 " be men, and not gods." The protestant champion
 knew full well where his strength lay—not in himself,
 but in his Sovereign. If deserted by his Covenant-head,
 he felt the deep conviction, that every reed might make
 him tremble, and every blast of trial cast him down.
 He knew (to use the words of a late writer) that 'if
 ' God

‘ God changed from his purpose of saving a man, when-
 ‘ ever the man, left to his own will, would change from
 ‘ the desire of being saved ; he must renounce the strongest
 ‘ believer upon earth, in five minutes after he had com-
 ‘ mitted him to himself.’*—But *Luther* had not so learned
Christ.

Leo X., called *John de Medicis*, was elected pope on the eleventh of *March*, 1513 ; and it is thought, that nothing contributed more to his elevation to the popedom, than his intrigues and connexions with some dissolute women of great influence. He made a league with the emperor against *France*, to recover the places which the *French* held in *Italy*. He took that affair so much to heart, that having received the news of the misfortunes of the *French*, he died, it is said, of mere joy : Not but there are writers who affirm, that he was poisoned. He died, on the second of *December*, 1521, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the ninth of his pontificate. He might justly be termed the father of revived and restored learning, which claims from history a tribute perhaps not due to his other virtues as a man, or to his piety as a prelate. His encouraging arts and sciences ; his boundless liberality to the poor, to wits, poets, artists, and men of letters, is what his apologists have to oppose to abundance of scandalous defects, and grievous faults in his character. Even the failings of his character were productive of some public use ; for he seems to have had a contempt for the understanding of other nations, which led him to trespass upon them too far in the matter of indulgences, and other ecclesiastical propositions, that paved the way for the Reformation.

After the death of *Leo*, the several factions of the conclave terminated in the election of *Adrian VI.* which highly displeased the people of *Rome*. He was born at *Utrecht* in 1459 ; and his father got his living by barge-making : But the university of *Louvain* supplied his domestic indigence, and educated the son, who made a great progress in all kinds of sciences, and was appointed preceptor to the archduke *Charles* in 1507. The new pope refused to change his name : And in every thing expressed his aversion to pomp and pleasures. He was thought fit to be raised to the papacy, which had need, at that time, of a man learned in divinity, to oppose *Luther* ; and also of one capable of governing a state, because of

* See ‘ *Horæ Solitariae*, or Essays upon the Names of *Christ*.’ p. 379. *Matthews*, Strand.

the troubles in *Italy*. But he thought it necessary, in the first place, to reform the discipline of the church, and particularly the abuses of the court of *Rome*, which he observed, and publicly acknowledged, in a very strong manner. He began with revoking all the privileges granted to the Franciscans, by the promulgation of indulgences: Next, he abolished part of the reservations, accessions, regresses, and such inventions, which were called the snares of the court of *Rome*: And afterwards he attempted to reform the discipline of the church; as also the manners of the clergy and laity: But his laudable views were prevented by the cardinals, and priests, who could not endure the thoughts of a Reformation, which was so contrary to their interest. *Erasmus* entertained some hopes, that his old friend and school-fellow, *Adrian VI.* would do some good. The new pope deplored the sad life of the clergy, and the corruption of morals which had appeared in some popes: But his reign was short, and troublesome; which made him say, he had more satisfaction in governing a college of *Louvain*, than in governing the whole Christian church.

Luther was now at open war with the church of *Rome*, and wrote against the excommunication issued by the pope: He also attacked the bishops, and ecclesiastical princes, in a work, entitled, “Against the order, falsely called, the order of bishops.” And he exhorted the states of *Bohemia* to continue in their separation from the *Roman* church. He wrote his rough answer to *Henry VIII.* in Latin, and afterwards translated it into *German*. *Emser* wrote the life of *Benno*, bishop of *Misnia* in the eleventh century, whose principal merit was, that he had been a rebel and a traitor; yet he was canonized by pope *Adrian VI.* for his miracles. *Luther* wrote against this canonization, and treated *Benno*’s miracles as human frauds, or diabolical operations. Every thing co-operated with the decree of heaven, in spreading the doctrines of *Luther*; and the spiritual monarchy of *Rome* was on the brink of ruin.

As the diet of *Worms* had not settled the tranquillity of the empire, another diet was appointed by the emperor to be held at *Nuremberg* in *November*, 1522. The emperor was not present, and his brother *Ferdinand* supplied his place. The pope sent his nuncio, *Cberegatus*, to this diet; with letters, in manner of a brief, to the princes; and instructions how to proceed against *Luther*. The pope informed the diet, that *Luther* continued to disturb
and

and replenish the world with new books; which grieved him the more, because he was his countryman. He exhorted the members to reduce *Luther*, and his adherents, to a conformity of faith with the church: But, 'if this pestiferous canker cannot be cured with gentle medicines, sharper salves must be proved, and fiery scarifications: The putrified members must be cut off from the body, lest the sound parts should be infected.' Yet the nuncio was instructed to declare, 'that God suffered this persecution to be inflicted upon his church for the sins of men, especially of priests and prelates of the clergy.' The cardinals strongly resented these reflections cast upon them in such an assembly; and it is imagined that the life of *Adrian* was shortened on that account.

The diet answered the nuncio by writing, that they had not put the papal sentence, nor the imperial edict, into execution against *Luther*, for fear of raising civil commotions: But they particularly desired he would apply a remedy to the abuses and grievances of which they would give him a memorial; as this would be the only way to re-establish peace and concord between the ecclesiastical and secular orders. They thought it would be necessary, as soon as possible, to call a free council in *Germany*, to extirpate all errors and abuses: And that all controversy should cease, till the determination of such a council should be known. The nuncio replied, that the negligence which they had shewn concerning *Luther*, was offensive to God, to the pope, the emperor, and the empire: That they should observe the imperial edict; and also put in execution the decree of the council of *Lateran*, which inhibits the printing of any book about religious matters, without being licensed by the ordinary.

The diet, in the reign of *Maximilian*, proposed ten grievances against the court of *Rome*: But this diet of *Nuremberg* sent one hundred heads of complaint, or grievances, to the pope; with a protestation, that they neither could nor would endure such oppressions and extortions. The principal of the *centum gravamina* were against the great number of human constitutions; indulgences; ecclesiastical causes; collation of benefices; annates; exemption of ecclesiastics in criminal causes; excommunication; and many others which they reserved to be proposed, when justice was done them in these.

This resolution of the diet was published, on the sixth of *March*, 1523, in the form of an edict; but both the Papists and Lutherans interpreted it in favor of themselves.

selves. *Luther* continued to publish several new tracts; and undertook to compose a new form of celebrating the communion in the church of *Wittenberg*. He would have none admitted to the communion, but such as could give an account of their faith; and who knew the nature, use, and benefit of the Lord's Supper: He appointed, that both kinds should be given; and that those, who would take only in one, should have neither.

Jodocus Clichtovæus, and *Joannes Cochläus*, answered *Luther*; against whom, and the Reformation, the writings of *Cochläus* have been the fund of virulent abuse, for all those who have slandered the Protestant religion ever since: But *Luther* answered, and confuted, both these antagonists; as also two others, *John Faber*, afterwards bishop of *Vienna*, and *Conradus Collinus*, a Dominican. *Luther* was desirous of totally suppressing the monastic orders, and wrote a book called, "The common Treasury," for blending them with the public; which made his enemies say, he set himself up as a supreme legislator, and disposer of the revenues of the church.

Zuinglius, at this time, was establishing his doctrine in *Switzerland*: But differed from *Luther* in the doctrine of the sacrament. Pope *Adrian VI.* died on the twenty-fourth of *October*, 1523, in the sixty-fifth year of his age; without being able to reform the church. He was succeeded by the cardinal *Julius de Medicis*, who assumed the name of *Clement VII.* The new pope sent cardinal *Campesius* to the diet of *Nuremberg*, in *February*, 1524, when he had an audience of the assembly, and vainly endeavored to stop their complaints by promises. The diet declared for a free council, to allay the disputes of *Luther*: But the legate procured a private assembly to be held at *Ratisbon* in *July*, where it was agreed, that the edict of *Worms* should be put into execution; and that thirty-five articles of certain constitutions, made for the Reformation of the *German* clergy in pursuance of the late complaints, should be published. The doctrines of *Luther* were generally favored by the imperial cities, whose deputies held an assembly at *Spire*, and explained the decrees of *Nuremberg* in their favor, while the other sat at *Ratisbon*.

Luther exposed the contradictions in the two last edicts; and the popish princes opposed Lutheranism, by putting those edicts in execution. *Luther* was certainly right, in asserting, that the edicts of *Nuremberg* and *Spire* contradicted each other: For if the edict of *Worms*, which
condemned

condemned *Luther* as a heretic, was to be obeyed; why should the diet of *Nuremberg*, which ordered that edict to be executed, also order his books to be examined at *Spires*? And if an examination was to be made of his writings, why was he to be condemned as a heretic, before such examination was made?

Luther published a book “Of the Duty and Dignity of the civil Magistrate;” and wrote an elegy upon two Augustine monks, who were burnt for Lutheranism at *Brussels*. Their names were *Henry Voes*, and *John Esch*. The greatest error they were accused of, was, ‘that men ought to trust only in God.’ They suffered with heroic constancy; and *Luther* composed a hymn in their praise, which was sung in the reformed churches. The charitable catholics rejoiced at their death, and called them ‘the devil’s martyrs:’ But *Erasmus* had the courage to declare his dislike of such barbarous and unchristian proceedings; and observed, that the sufferings of these men had brought over multitudes to Lutheranism. About this time *Luther* wrote a consolatory epistle to three noble ladies at *Misnia*, who were banished from the duke of *Saxony*’s court at *Friburg* for reading his books. The disputes between *Luther* and *Carlostadius* increased, and the latter retired from *Wittenberg* to *Ortamunden*, where he was followed by *Luther*, who accused him of making innovations in the public worship without the consent of the magistrate; and the elector banished *Carlostadius* out of his dominions. He settled at *Strasburgh*, where he published two books upon the Lord’s Supper, to maintain that “the body of *Jesus Christ* is not in the sacrament.” *Zuinglius* would not absolutely condemn his opinion: But he censured his conduct, and rejected his interpretation.

About this time, the Anabaptists sprang up under *Muncer* and *Stork*, who were discovered to be fanatics, and were banished *Saxony*. A rebellion ensued, which the popish writers attribute to the rise of Lutheranism: But it has been fully proved, that these tumults were occasioned by grievances of a civil nature. The peasants refused to pay obedience to their superiors, and desolated whole countries in a most barbarous manner; but they were reduced, and returned to their duty, after more than one hundred thousand of their associates had been killed during this commotion, and their leaders had received the punishment they deserved. Their principal tenets were these;

1. ' That every man hath the spirit.
2. ' That the spirit was nothing more than our natural reason and understanding.
3. ' That every man believes, or may believe.
4. ' That there is no hell to torment souls, but that the body only is condemned.
5. ' That every soul shall be saved.
6. ' That we are taught by the law of nature to do to others, as we would have them do to us; and that this principle is all we are to understand by the term *faith*.
7. ' That we do not sin against the law by concupiscence, if in the will we do not follow that concupiscence.
8. ' That a man not having the holy Spirit hath no sin; because he is without reason, which is only another name for the holy Spirit.
9. ' That infants are not to be baptized.
10. ' That all things are to be held in common.'

Luther exerted himself against these fanatical people, and set forth a treatise, wherein he admonished them to lay down their arms, and proved the necessity of obeying their magistrates. These Anabaptists were enemies to popery, and a scandal to the Reformation. The exhortations of *Luther* on this occasion, both to the rebellious peasants, and to the tyrannical nobles, were excellent, and gave a high idea of his probity, plain-dealing, and good sense. Lutheranism increased, and was established in several cities, even before these seditions were suppressed in *Germany*. It was publicly professed by the elector of *Saxony*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the duke of *Brunswick*. It was received at *Strasburgh*, *Frankfort*, *Mentz*, and *Cologne*: And it prevailed in almost all the states of the empire, except in the hereditary countries subject to the emperor.

Erasmus had been frequently solicited by the pope, and the popish princes, to write against *Luther*: But he avoided the dispute, till he was suspected of being a Lutheran, and then he undertook to oppose him, in a book entitled, ' A Diatribe, or Conference about Free-will,' against the opinion of *Luther* concerning liberty. The Lutherans themselves have rejected that opinion: But *Luther* and *Erasmus* were in the same condition and situation in one respect: They had innumerable adversaries, and for the most part extremely contemptible. *Le Clerc* supposes that *Luther* was a Thomist: But we find, that he abhorred *Aristotle*, and despised the schoolmen

men in general; particularly both the Thomists and Scotists. If he was a favorer of any scholastic sect, it was that of *Occam*, whom he esteemed. Therefore, a judicious divine thinks, that *Luther* first received his doctrine of predestination from *Augustine*, of whom he was a great admirer. Certain it is, that scarce any man ever carried the doctrine of predestination to greater lengths, or wrote more positively in defence of it*. If there

* Witness his book *de servo arbitrio*, written against *Erasmus*, who had attacked the doctrine of predestination. *Erasmus* had said: "What can be more useless, than to publish this paradox to the world? namely, that whatever we do, is done, not by virtue of our own free-will, but in a way of necessity, &c. What a wide gap does the publication of this tenet open among men, for the commission of all ungodliness! What wicked person will reform his life? Who will dare to believe himself a favourite of heaven? Who will fight against his own corrupt inclinations? Therefore, where is either the need, or the utility, of spreading these notions, from whence so many evils seem to flow?"

To which, LUTHER replies: "If, my *Erasmus*, you consider these paradoxes (as you term them) to be no more than the inventions of men; why are you so extravagantly heated on the occasion? In that case, your arguments affect not *me*: For there is no person, now living in the world, who is a more avowed enemy to the doctrines of men, than myself. But, if you believe the doctrines, in debate between us, to be (as indeed they are) the doctrines of God; you must have bid adieu to all sense of shame and decency, thus to oppose them. I will not ask, Whither is the modesty of *Erasmus* fled? but, which is much more important, Where, alas! are your fear and reverence of the Deity, when you roundly declare, that this branch of truth, which He has revealed from heaven, is, at best, *useless*, and unnecessary to be known? What! shall the glorious Creator be taught, by *you* his creature, what is fit to be preach'd, and what to be suppress'd? Is the adorable God so very defective in wisdom and prudence, as not to know, till *you* instruct him, what would be useful, and what pernicious? Or could not HE, whose understanding is infinite, foresee, previous to his revelation of this doctrine, what would be the consequences of his revealing it, till those consequences were pointed out by *you*? You cannot, you dare not say this. If, then, it was the divine pleasure to make known these things in his word; and to bid his messengers publish them abroad, and leave the consequences of their so doing to the wisdom and providence of Him, in whose name they speak, and whose message they declare; *who art thou*, O *Erasmus*, *that thou shouldest reply against God*, and say, to the Almighty, *What doest thou?* St. PAUL, discoursing of God, declares peremptorily, *Whom he will he hardeneth*: And again, *God willing to shew his wrath*, &c. And the Apostle did not write this, to have it stifled among a few persons, and buried in a corner; but wrote it to the Christians at *Rome*: Which was, in effect, bringing this doctrine upon the stage of the whole world; stamping an *universal imprimatur* upon it; and publishing it to believers at large, throughout

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there was any difference between *Luther* and the Thomists of the church of *Rome*, it was this, that *Luther* spake more simply, sincerely, and openly than they; for he

“ the earth.—What can sound harsher, in the uncircumcised ears of
 “ carnal men, than those words of *Christ*, *Many are called, but few*
 “ *are chosen?* and elsewhere, *I know whom I have chosen.* Now,
 “ these and similar assertions of *Christ* and his Apostles, are the very
 “ positions which you, O *Erasmus*, brand as useless and hurtful.
 “ You object, *If these things are so, who will endeavour to amend his*
 “ *life?* I answer; Without the Holy Ghost, no man can amend his
 “ life to purpose. Reformation is but varnish'd hypocrisy, unless it
 “ proceed from *grace*. The elect and truly pious are amended by
 “ the Spirit of God: And those of mankind, who are not amended
 “ by Him, will perish.—You ask, moreover, *Who will dare to be-*
 “ *lieve himself a favourite of heaven?* I answer; It is not in man's
 “ own power to believe himself such, upon just grounds, till he is
 “ enabled from above. But the Elect shall be so enabled: They
 “ shall believe themselves to be what indeed they are. As for the
 “ rest, who are not endu'd with faith, they shall perish; raging and
 “ blaspheming, as you do now. But, say you, *These doctrines open*
 “ *a door to ungodliness.* I answer; Whatever door they may open to
 “ the *impious* and *prophane*; yet, they open a door of righteousness
 “ to the *elect* and *holy*, and show them the way to heaven, and the
 “ path of access unto God. Yet you would have us *abstain from the*
 “ *mention* of these grand doctrines, and leave our people in the dark,
 “ as to their election of God: The consequence of which would be,
 “ that every man would bolster himself up with a delusive hope of a
 “ share in that salvation, which is suppos'd to lie open to all; and,
 “ thus, genuine humility, and the practical fear of God, would be
 “ kick'd out of doors. This would be a pretty way indeed of *stopping*
 “ *up the gap*, *Erasmus* complains of! Instead of closing up the door
 “ of licentiousness, as is falsely pretended; it would be, in fact,
 “ opening a gulph into the nethermost hell. Still you urge, *Where*
 “ *is either the necessity, or utility of preaching predestination?* God him-
 “ self teaches it, and commands us to teach it: And that is answer
 “ enough. We are not to arraign the Deity, and bring the motives
 “ of his will to the test of human scrutiny; but simply to revere both
 “ *Him* and *It*. He, who alone is all-wise and all-just, can, in reality
 “ (however things appear to us), do wrong to no man; neither can
 “ he do any thing unwisely or rashly. And this consideration will
 “ suffice, to silence all the objections of truly religious persons. How-
 “ ever, let us, for argument's sake, go a step farther. I will venture
 “ to assign, over and above, *Two* very important reasons, why these
 “ doctrines should be publicly taught: 1. For the *humility* of our
 “ *pride*, and the manifestation of divine grace. God hath assuredly
 “ promis'd his favour to the truly humble. By truly humble, I mean,
 “ those who are endu'd with repentance, and despair of saving them-
 “ selves: For a man can never be said to be really penitent and
 “ humble, till he is made to know that his salvation is not sus-
 “ pended, in any measure whatever, on his own strength, machi-
 “ nations, endeavours, free-will, or works: But entirely depends on
 “ the free pleasure, purpose, determination, and efficiency of another;
 “ even of God alone. Whilst a man is persuaded, that he has it
 “ in

he absolutely denied there was any such thing as free-will; whilst they admitted it in words. This, perhaps, deceived *Erasmus*, who imagined he was only disputing against *Luther*, whilst he was really disputing as much against *Thomas Aquinas* and his followers, as against the Reformers. To attack *Luther* upon the single point of liberty and necessity, was, in an oblique and indirect way, to allow him superior to his adversaries in other respects. *Erasmus* very dextrously and artfully chose this point of disputation, that he might appear to the *Romanists* to write against *Luther*; and yet that he might avoid censuring his other doctrines opposite to the *Roman* church.

Erasmus insisted, that the human will co-operates with the grace and assistance of God; and that a man should use all his endeavors to attain to perfection. He shews

“ in his power to contribute any thing, be it ever so little, to his
 “ own salvation; he remains in carnal confidence: He is not a *self-*
 “ *despairer*, and therefore he is not duly humbled before God: So
 “ far from it, that he hopes some favourable juncture or opportunity
 “ will offer, when he may be able to lend an helping hand to the
 “ business of his salvation.—On the contrary, whoever is truly con-
 “ vinced that the whole work depends singly and absolutely on the
 “ will of God, who alone is the *author* and *finisher* of salvation; such
 “ a person despairs of all *self-assistance*: He renounces his own will,
 “ and his own strength: He waits and prays for the operation of
 “ God: Nor waits and prays in vain. For the *Elect*’s sake, therefore,
 “ these doctrines are to be preach’d: That the chosen of God, being
 “ humbled by the knowledge of his truths; self-empty’d, and sunk,
 “ as it were, into nothing in his presence; may be saved in *Christ*,
 “ with eternal glory. This, then, is one inducement to the publi-
 “ cation of the doctrine; that the penitent may be made *acquainted*
 “ with the promise of grace, *plead* it in prayer to God, and *receive*
 “ it as their own. 2. The *nature of the Christian faith* requires it.
 “ Faith has to do with things not seen.—And this is one of the highest
 “ degrees of faith, stedfastly to believe that God is infinitely *merciful*,
 “ tho’ he saves (comparatively) but few, and condemns so many;
 “ and that he is *strictly just*, tho’, of his own Will, he makes such
 “ numbers of mankind necessarily liable to damnation. Now, these
 “ are some of the unseen things, whereof faith is the evidence.
 “ Whereas, was it in my power to *comprehend* them, or clearly to
 “ make out, *how* God is both inviolably just, and infinitely merciful,
 “ notwithstanding the display of wrath and seeming inequality in his
 “ dispensations respecting the reprobate; *faith* would have little or
 “ nothing to do. But now, since these matters cannot be adequately
 “ comprehended by us, in the present state of imperfection; there is
 “ room for the exercise of faith. The truths, therefore, respecting
 “ *predestination* in all it’s branches, should be taught and publish’d:
 “ They, no less than the other mysteries of Christian doctrine, being
 “ proper objects of faith, on the part of God’s people.” See *TOR-*
 “ *LADY’s Zanchius*, p. 97, &c.

that man was created a free agent; but took a middle way between those who destroy free-will entirely, and those who attribute too much to it: He would have something ascribed to it, but more to grace.

Erasmus sent his treatise against *Luther* to the king of *England*, to *Wolsey*, *Warham*, and many more. *Luther* answered *Erasmus* in his book "*De servo arbitrio*"; to which *Erasmus* replied in two books, entitled, *Hyperaspistæ*.

Luther had wrote a letter to *Erasmus*, full of life, fire, and spirit; which vexed him not a little. He begins in the apostolical manner; "Grace and peace to you from the Lord *Jesus*." After modestly reproving him, for keeping fair with the papists, he says, "We saw that the Lord had not conferred upon you the discernment, courage, and resolution to join with us, and freely and openly to oppose those monsters; and therefore we dared not to exact from you, that which greatly surpasseth your strength and your capacity. We have even borne with your weakness, and honoured that portion of the gift of God which is in you." Then having bestowed upon him his due praises, as he had been the reviver of good literature, by means of which the holy scriptures had been read and examined in the originals, he tells *Erasmus*, that he had with-held some persons from attacking him; and that he had restrained himself, though provoked. "What, says he, can I do now? Things are exasperated on both sides; and I could wish, if it were possible, to act the part of a mediator between you, that they might cease to attack you with such animosity, and suffer your old age to rest in peace in the Lord. They would shew their moderation towards you so much the more, since our affairs are advanced to such a point, that our cause is in no peril, although even *Erasmus* should attack it with all his might." He desires of *Erasmus*, if he cannot or will not defend their sentiments, to let them alone; and concludes with a high compliment on his authority and reputation.

Erasmus answered this letter, and speaks ambiguously of the Lutheran doctrine. *Luther* wrote another against the *Hyperaspistæ*, wherein he accuses *Erasmus* of Arianism. The Minorite brethren had said, that "*Erasmus* laid the egg, and *Luther* hatched it:" But, says *Erasmus*, "I laid a hen-egg, and *Luther* hath hatched a very different bird." It is to be lamented that these two eminent men had any misunderstanding; as they had both translated the

the holy scriptures, and were both inclined for a Reformation in the church. *Erasmus* afterwards wrote some other treatises against the Reformers: Yet he honestly dissuaded the *German* princes from hanging and burning the poor Lutherans; and declared himself against the cruel and sanguinary methods of defending the cause of *Rome*. The *Italians* thought him a Lutheran; and the *Germans* called him a *Romanist*: But every man passed for an heretic at *Rome*, who did not join in every article with the pope against *Luther*. About this time, the violent and unhappy controversy, concerning the eucharist, was excited among the protestants. As many books were written upon the subject as would load several waggon; and were of no small harm to the Reformation; which, like the growth of the *Roman* commonwealth, flourished in the midst of violent and continual divisions.

Luther was this year occupied in translating the book of *Job*, which he was inclined to think was wrote by *Solomon*. He complained of the difficulty of the task; and observed, somewhat jocosely, that *Job* chose to sit on his dunghill, and to admit of no interpreters.

Luther's memorable protestation, upon the article of justification, must not be omitted. “ I *Martin Luther*,
 “ an unworthy preacher of the gospel of our Lord *Jesus*
 “ *Christ*, thus profess, and thus believe; that this article,
 “ THAT FAITH ALONE, WITHOUT WORKS, CAN JUSTIFY BEFORE GOD, shall never be overthrown neither
 “ by the emperor, nor by the *Turk*, nor by the *Tartar*,
 “ nor by the *Persian*, nor by the pope, with all his
 “ cardinals, bishops, sacrificers, monks, nuns, kings,
 “ princes, powers of the world, nor yet by all the
 “ devils in Hell. This article shall stand fast, whether
 “ they will or no. This is the true gospel. *Jesus*
 “ *Christ* redeemed us from our sins, and he only. This
 “ most firm and certain truth is the voice of scripture,
 “ though the world and all the devils rage and roar.
 “ If *Christ* alone take away our sins, we cannot do this
 “ with our works; and as it is impossible to embrace
 “ *Christ* but by faith, it is, therefore, equally impossible
 “ to apprehend him by works. If then faith alone must
 “ apprehend *Christ*, before works can follow, the conclusion is irrefragable; that faith alone apprehends him,
 “ before and without the consideration of works: And
 “ this is our justification and deliverance from sin. Then,
 “ and not till then, good works follow faith, as its necessary and inseparable fruit. This is the doctrine I
 “ teach;

“ teach ; and this the Holy Spirit and church of the
 “ faithful have delivered. In this will I abide. Amen.”

The judgement of this great man, upon synods and councils, is very remarkable : “ I do not think it (says
 “ he) very safe to call a council of our friends, for the
 “ settlement of a unity in ceremonies ; for it will occa-
 “ sion a bad example, though it be attempted with the
 “ best zeal, as all councils of the church from the be-
 “ ginning may serve to shew us. Thus, as in the
 “ synod of the apostles, matters of action and tradition
 “ were much more treated of than matters of faith ; so,
 “ in succeeding councils, were opinions and questions
 “ always agitated, without entering upon faith ; for
 “ which reasons I have a greater suspicion and detes-
 “ tation of the very shadow of a council, than I have
 “ of free-will itself. If one church will not follow
 “ another in those external things, what need is there
 “ to compel it by the decrees of councils, which soon
 “ are perverted into institutions and traps for the in-
 “ tanglement of souls ? Let one church, therefore, be
 “ at liberty either to follow or not to follow another ;
 “ principally regarding, above all indifferent circum-
 “ stances, the unity of the spirit, founded upon one
 “ common faith in the word of God ; which being main-
 “ tained, the difference of outward rites is only to be
 “ considered as a difference in the flesh and the elements
 “ of the world.”—It would be happy for the cause of
 Christianity, if all its professors were like-minded, and
 it would save the gospel much of that reproach, which
 infidels in all ages, upon this very account, have cast
 upon it.

Luther laid aside the friar’s habit in *October*, 1524 ; and
 married *Catharine de Bore*, a lady of noble descent, who,
 with eight other nuns, was taken out of the nunnery at
Nimptschen in 1523, and carried to *Wittenberg*, by *Leo-
 nard Coppen*, of *Torgau*. *Luther* vindicated that action,
 and intended to marry *Catharine* to *Glacius* minister of
Ortamunden, whose person she disliked ; and so *Luther*
 married her himself, on the 13th of *June*, 1525, without
 consulting his friends : But *Luther* says, he took a wife
 in obedience to his father’s command. *Luther* was then
 forty-two, and his wife was twenty-six. He was so far
 from being ashamed of entering into the holy state of
 matrimony, that he exhorted the elector of *Mentz*, and
 the grand master of the Teutonic order, to follow his
 example ; which was done by the latter, notwithstanding
 the

the censure of the *Romanists*. This grand master was *Albert* margrave of *Brandenburgh*, for whom that part of *Prussia* which belonged to the Teutonic order was formed into a secular duchy. He embraced the Lutheran religion, renounced his vow of celibacy, and married *Anna Maria* of *Brunswick*. He afterwards conformed to the *Augsburg* confession, and founded an university at *Konigsberg*, in 1544, that the protestant religion might be introduced and established in *Prussia*, and all the professors were to be Lutherans. In those times, marriage soon became a recommendation among the Reformers, and was a certain proof that they had abjured popery; for if a converted clergyman did not marry, he caused a suspicion that he had not renounced the doctrine of celibacy.

Luther was very fond of his wife, and used to call her his *Catharine*. She was handsome and modest: *Luther* did not pretend she was without faults, but he believed she was less faulty than other women; and when she had borne him a son a little after, he said he would not change his condition for that of *Cræsus*. He was heard to say, that he would not exchange his wife for the kingdom of *France*, nor for the riches of the *Venetians*; because she had been given him by God, at a time when he implored the assistance of the Holy Ghost in finding a good wife; and had strictly regarded her conjugal fidelity. But he professed himself, that one great reason which induced him to marry was, to give an example of the doctrine he preached against celibacy, and to shew, that he was not afraid or ashamed to do himself, what he exhorted and enjoined in others.

Erasmus sent word to *Nicholas Everard*, president of the court of *Holland*, that the Lutheran tragedy would end, like the quarrels of princes, in matrimony. He says, ‘If the common story be true, that antichrist shall be born of a monk and a nun, as they pretend, how many thousands of antichrists are there in the world already? I was in hopes that a wife would have made *Luther* a little tamer: But he has published a book against me more virulent than ever.’ *Erasmus* was not well instructed in this affair, or he was too prone to give credit to the scandal which was published against *Luther*.

Luther had answered the king of *England* in a rough way, and was now persuaded by his friends to write him a very humble letter, with some hope that his majesty would favor the Reformation. *Henry* returned him a very haughty and churlish answer: Upon which *Luther*, (as we have observed)

served) who had too much spirit to bear affronts even from crowned heads, declared publicly that he was very sorry for having demeaned himself so far: And that he would never more throw away any civilities and submissions upon *Henry VIII.* cardinal *Cajetan*, prince *George* of *Saxony*, or *Erasmus*, who had all paid his humility with insults. The king of *England* was chiefly angry, because *Luther* had said, that his book upon the sacrament was made by another, and put out in his name. *Luther* believed it was written by *Lee*, who was a zealous Thomist, and had been engaged in disputes with *Erasmus*, and was afterwards made archbishop of *York*: Therefore, *Luther* wrote another book, entitled, “An answer to the abusive and slanderous book of the king of *England*.” None suspect the king wanted learning for such a design: But it is probable some other gardener gathered the flowers, though king *Henry* had the honour to wear the posie, carrying the credit in the title thereof.’ The king was assisted by bishop *Fisher* and Sir *Thomas More*; in return for which, he afterwards cut off their heads.

The disturbances in *Germany* increased every day, and the emperor called another diet, which was held at *Spire* on the twenty-fifth of *June*, 1526. *Ferdinand*, and six other deputies, acted for the emperor, and were for executing the edict of *Worms*: But the elector of *Saxony*, and landgrave of *Hesse*, were for holding a general council, and laid the foundation of an union for the defence of those who followed the new doctrine. The emperor had a quarrel with the pope, who entered into a league against him with the *French* king, and the *Venetian* republic. *Charles V.* told *Clement VII.* he would appeal to a general council, and vindicate himself. The next year his troops invaded *Italy*, plundered *Rome*, and took the pope prisoner, who was obliged to submit to some hard conditions before he was set at liberty.

A motion was made in the consistory at *Rome* to tempt *Luther* with a great sum of money, and buy him off from opposing popery: But one of the cardinals cried out, ‘*Hem! Germana illa bestia non curat aurum, sed auram.*’

The disputes between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, about the sacrament, continued till the emperor assembled another diet at *Spire* in *March*, 1529, when long and warm debates were held about religion. The *Romanists* again insisted, that the ban should be executed upon the Lutherans; which was opposed by the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, the dukes of *Lunenburg*, the landgrave of

of *Hesse*, and the prince of *Anhalt*, who declared again for a council, either general or national. But the *Romanists* prevailed, and confirmed the decree of the former diet of *Spire*; against which the Lutheran princes, and fourteen cities, joined in a formal protest, whereby they appealed, from all that should be done, to the emperor, a future council, or to unsuspected judges; and accordingly they sent deputies to the emperor, with a petition that this decree might be revoked. This was the remarkable protestation, which gave the name of *PROTESTANTS* to the Lutherans in *Germany*. The protesters acted with so much steadiness and resolution, that the emperor was much startled at it, and determined to use moderation for the present.

The same year, the landgrave of *Hesse* brought *Luther* and *Zuinglius* to a conference at *Marpurg*; when the Lutherans produced such articles as they objected against in the doctrine of the *Zuinglians*. After some debates, articles were drawn up, in which they agreed about the Trinity, original sin, justification by faith, the efficacy of baptism, and the authority of the magistrates: But they disagreed about the sacrament, in the sense and meaning of the words; though they assented, that the communion should be administered in both kinds; and they denied transubstantiation, as also the sacrifice of the mass.

At this time, *Solyman* the Magnificent invaded *Germany*, and besieged *Vienna*: But soon retired with great loss. The emperor *Charles* returned to *Germany*, and appointed another diet to be held at *Augsburg*, which was opened on the twentieth of *June*, 1530. It was given out, that the emperor would tread the gospellers under his feet; which made the protestant princes inclined to meet him in arms: But *Luther* prevailed on them to meet in peace. The princes appointed *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Justus Jonas*, and *Pomeran*, to draw up their form of doctrine, to lay before the diet, where *Luther* was too obnoxious to appear, and was left in the castle of *Coburg*, near at hand, that he might be consulted on occasion. *Erasmus* excused himself from appearing at this diet, because he knew upon whose judgement the emperor relied; upon divines, in whose opinion whosoever should dare to open his mouth in favor of piety, was a Lutheran, and worse than a Lutheran.

The imperial chancellor opened the diet by declaring, that the emperor had summoned this assembly, that every

one might consult upon such propositions as should be made, and offer in writing what he thought convenient, concerning religion. The protestant princes petitioned the emperor to permit their confession of faith to be read in a full diet, which he refused; but granted them leave to read it in his presence before a special assembly of princes, and other members of the empire. This confession of faith, which was afterwards called, ‘The AUGSBURG CONFESSION,’ was delivered to his imperial majesty both in *Latin* and *German*, with the authority whereon each article was founded. It was signed by the elector of *Saxony*; *George* margrave of *Brandenburgh*; *Ernest* and *Francis*, dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenbergh*; *Philip* landgrave of *Hesse*, and the princes of *Anhalt*; as also by the deputies of *Nuremberg* and *Ruthlingen*.

The emperor shed tears when this confession was read; which were doubtless owing to the truth of the doctrines contained in it, and the moderation that *Melancthon* had shewn in revising the whole. It was divided into two parts: The one contained twenty one articles upon the principal points of religion: And the other was concerning the ceremonies of the church. The emperor dismissed the assembly, when they had heard the confession; and the *Romanists* agreed to draw up a confutation of it, which was undertook by *Faber*, *Eckius*, *Cochlæus*, *Conradus de Wimpina*, *Conradus Collinus*, and other popish divines, who examined the protestants confession of faith step by step, and answered all the articles; some of which were approved, and others condemned; but some were partly received, and partly rejected, as will be seen in the life of *Melancthon*.

Luther, in his retirement, was not a little afraid to what lengths the pacific spirit of *Melancthon* might induce him to yield to the papists, and therefore wrote to him to be careful of what concessions he should make them; “for (says he) they will take them in the large, the
“larger, and largest sense, but hold their own in the
“strict, stricter, and strictest. In short, I have but a
“small opinion of this projected concord in doctrine:
“I believe it truly impossible, unless the pope will
“renounce his popedom.” With regard to the *Romish* confutation of the protestant articles, he said; “I
“thank God, who suffered our adversaries to compose
“so wretched a confutation. *Christ* will reign for-
“ever. Let the devils, if they will, turn monks and
“nuns; for truly no shape would better become them
“than

“ than that, in which they have so long held forth
 “ themselves, for the adoration of the world.”

This confutation, however, was read before the diet, and the *Romanists* said they hoped the protestants would return to the communion of the church, as they agreed in several points which had been formerly contested. The elector of *Saxony* answered, that the protestants were always ready to come to an union in religion, in any thing which was not prejudicial to their consciences. In consequence of this, the *Romanists* appointed seventeen persons to treat about religion with the protestants; and this conference was held at *Augsburg* on the seventh of *August*. The popish deputies said, that *Luther* would not submit to the judgement of a council: But the protestants declared, they would refer themselves to the determination of a council, to which they appealed; and also presented to the emperor an apology for their confession, which put an end to the diet at *Augsburg*, and the protestant princes returned home in *October*, without an accommodation with the *Romanists*.

The sacramentarians also presented their confession of faith to the emperor at this diet; which was drawn up by *Bucer* and *Capito*: But this confession was more unacceptable than that of the Lutherans, and was answered by *Faber* and *Eckius*; in consequence of which, the emperor commanded the *Zuinglians* to renounce their errors, and threatened to compel them by his authority, if they refused.

A symbolical representation was exhibited before the emperor and his brother *Ferdinand* at *Augsburg*, when the Lutherans presented their confession of faith to that assembly. As the princes were at table, a company of persons offered to act a small comedy for the entertainment of the company. They were ordered to begin; and first entered a man in the dress of a doctor, who brought a large quantity of small wood, of straight and crooked billets, and laid it on the middle of the hearth and retired: On his back was written the name of *Reuchlin*. When this actor went off, another entered, apparelled also like a doctor, who attempted to make faggots of the wood, and to fit the crooked to the straight; but having labored long to no purpose, he went away out of humour, and shaking his head: On his back appeared the name of *Erasmus*. A third, dressed like an Augustinian monk, came in with a chafing-dish full of fire, gathered up the crooked wood, clapped it upon the fire, and blew till he

made it burn, and went away, having upon his frock the name of LUTHER. A fourth entered dressed like an emperor, who, seeing the crooked wood all on fire, seemed much concerned, and to put it out drew his sword, and poked the fire with it, which only made it burn the brisker: On his back was written *Charles V.* Lastly, a fifth entered, in his pontifical habit and triple-crown, who seemed extremely surprized to see the crooked billets all on fire, and by his countenance and attitude betrayed excessive grief: then looking about on every side, to see if he could find any water to extinguish the flame, he cast his eyes on two bottles in a corner of the room, one of which was full of oil, and the other of water; and in his hurry, he unfortunately seized on the oil, and poured it upon the fire, which made it blaze so violently that he was forced to walk off: On his back was written *Leo X.* This farce wanted no commentary.

Luther wrote some books against popery, during the sitting of the diet; particularly a treatise upon the second *Psalms*, in which he applied to the princes met at *Augsburg*, what was said in that *Psalms* concerning the assembly and conspiracy of the princes of the world against *Jesus Christ*. The emperor procured a decree in the diet, which allowed the protestant princes till the fifteenth of *April* following, to consult about their submission to it; and his imperial majesty promised to issue out his summons for a council to begin the next year. The protestant princes remained firm to their confession of faith, and the emperor published the decree of the diet on the sixteenth of *November*, which ordered, that no alterations or innovations should be made in the faith or religious worship of the church; and that none should be admitted to the imperial chamber, who disobeyed this decree.

The elector of *Saxony* was summoned by the emperor to be present at *Cologne*, on the twenty-ninth of *December*, at the election of *Ferdinand* to be king of the *Romans*: But the elector appointed the other protestant princes to meet him at *Smalkald*, on the twenty-second of the same month, where they entered into a confederacy to defend themselves against the emperor and the *Romanists*, who were determined to put the decree, made at the diet of *Augsburg*, rigorously into execution.

The court of *Rome* was greatly disturbed at what had been transacted at the diet at *Augsburg*; and the pope employed his nuncios to dissuade the emperor from holding a council: But the emperor urged the necessity of

it; and the pope, on the first of *December*, 1530, wrote a circular letter to all the Christian princes, informing them, that a council should be held, and desiring them to countenance so holy a cause by their personal attendance. The protestant princes also wrote circular letters to the European sovereigns, and particularly to the kings of *England* and *France*, requesting their interest and protection in obtaining a Reformation, which had been attempted by *John Colet* in *England*, by *John Gerson* and *Nicholas Clemangis* in *France*, and by *Luther* in *Germany*. The kings of *England* and *France*, declared for a general council, peace, and Reformation; which encouraged the confederate princes to meet again at *Smalkald* on the twenty-ninth of *March*, 1531, when they renewed their league; and *Luther* composed a treatise against the diet of *Augsburg*, to prove that it was lawful to resist the magistrates, if they commanded any persons to assault those who would not submit to the decree.

The protestant princes held another assembly at *Frankfort* on the fourth of *July*; and the emperor, on the thirteenth of *July*, 1532, by the treaty of *Nuremberg*, agreed that all the disputes concerning religion should cease, until a free general council was held, which was to be within a year. The protestants insisted, that no innovation in doctrine should be made from their *confession*, nor any ceremonies introduced contrary thereto; which was granted by the emperor, and the protestant princes agreed to assist him in the war against the *Turks*.

The elector of *Saxony* died in *August*, and was succeeded by his son *John Frederic* in his dominions, and zeal for the protestant cause. The pope sent his nuncio, in *January*, 1531, to the new elector, to settle with him the conditions of holding a council: And the protestant princes met upon this occasion at *Smalkald*, on the twenty-fourth of *June*, when they desired that the council might be free, and be held in *Germany*, where these differences in religion first began: But the pope refused to comply with their request.

Luther dissuaded the elector of *Saxony* from making an alliance with the *Switzers*, and persisted to unite more zealously than ever against the sacramentarians: But *Bucer* undertook to reconcile the Lutheran and Zuinglians. *Luther* met *Bucer* and *Capito* at *Wittenberg*, on the twenty-second of *May*, 1536, when they entered into a long debate upon their faith and doctrine concerning the sacrament; and they delivered to *Luther* the confes-

sion of faith of the churches of *Switzerland*; but they could not agree in their articles of *the form of union* about the sacrament. *Luther* explained himself concerning the Lord's Supper, by saying, he had never taught that *Jesus Christ* came down from heaven to the earth, either visible or invisible; and that he left it to the almighty power of God to effect how the body and blood of *Christ* are offered in the Lord's Supper, keeping himself entirely close to the words of the scripture, *This is my body, this is my blood*. He observed, that as they could not understand each other, it was convenient they should be friends, and entertain a good opinion reciprocally of themselves, till the spirit of contention should cease among them; and so he committed to the care of *Bucer* and *Capito* to finish what they had begun.

About the beginning of the year 1527, *Luther* was attacked by a very severe illness, which brought him near to his grave. He applied himself to prayer, made a confession of his faith, and lamented grievously his unworthiness of martyrdom, which he had so often and so ardently desired. In this situation he made a will, for he had a son and his wife was again with child, in which he recommended his family to the care of heaven: "Lord God, says he, I thank thee, that thou wouldest
 " have me poor on earth and a beggar. I have neither
 " house, nor land, nor possessions, nor money, to leave.
 " Thou hast given me a wife and children: Take them,
 " I beseech thee, under thy care and preserve them, as
 " thou hast preserved me." He bequeathed his detestation of popery to his friends and brethren; agreeably to what he often used to say, "*Pestis eram vivus, moriens*
 " *ero mors tua, papa*"; i. e. Living, I was the plague of the pope; and dying, I shall be his death.

Luther, from about this period, having laid the great foundation of the Reformation, was chiefly employed in raising and completing the superstructure. The remainder of his life was spent, in exhorting princes, states, and universities, to confirm the great work, which had been brought about through him; and in publishing from time to time such writings, as might encourage, direct, and assist them in doing it. The emperor threatened temporal punishment with armies; and the pope eternal pains with bulls and curses; but *Luther*, armed with the intrepidity of grace, over and above his own courageous nature, regarded neither the one nor the other. His friend and assistant *Melancthon* could not be so indifferent;
 for

for *Melancthon* had a great deal of softness, moderation and diffidence in his constitution, which made him very uneasy and alarmed at these formidable appearances. Hence we find many of *Luther's* letters were written on purpose to comfort him under these anxieties: "I am (says he, in one of these letters) much weaker than you in private conflicts, if I may call those conflicts private, which I have with the devil; but you are much weaker than me in public. You are all distrust in the public cause; I, on the contrary, am very confident; because I know it is a just and true cause, the cause of God and of *Christ*, which need not tremble or be abashed. But the case is different with me in my private conflicts, feeling myself a most miserable sinner, and therefore have great reason to look pale and tremble. Upon this account it is, that I can be almost an indifferent spectator amidst all the noisy threats and bullyings of the papists; for if we fall, the kingdom of *Christ* falls with us: And if it should fall, I had rather fall with *Christ* than stand with *Cæsar*." So again a little farther: "You, *Melancthon*, cannot bear these disorders, and labour to have things transacted by reason, and agreeably to that spirit of calmness and moderation, which your philosophy dictates. You might as well attempt *cum ratione insanire*, to be mad with reason. Don't you see, that the matter is entirely out of your power and management, and that even *Christ* himself forbids your measures to take place? If the cause be bad, indeed; let us renounce it: But if it be good; why do we make God a liar, who hath promised to support us? Does he make his promises to the wind, or to his people?"

About the year 1533, he had a terrible controversy with *George* duke of *Saxony*, who had such an aversion to *Luther's* doctrine, that he obliged his subjects to take an oath, that they would never embrace it. However, sixty or seventy citizens of *Leipsic* were found to have deviated a little from the catholic way, in some point or other; and they were known previously to have consulted *Luther* upon it: Upon which duke *George* complained to the elector *John*, that *Luther* had not only abused his person, but also preached up rebellion among his subjects. The elector ordered *Luther* to be acquainted with this, and to be told at the same time, that if he did not clear himself from the charge, he could not possibly escape punishment. But *Luther* easily refuted the accusation by proving, that
he

he had been so far from stirring up his subjects against him, on the score of religion, that, on the contrary, he had exhorted them rather to undergo the greatest hardships, and even suffer themselves to be banished. Indeed, it appears from all his conduct and writings, that no man more abhorred that impious principle of subverting kingdoms and states, under a pretence of advancing the cause of God or his gospel. The Almighty is surely able to effect his own will in this case; And it is the duty of Christians to suffer and obey it.

In this year, 1533, *Luther* wrote a consolatory letter to the citizens of *Oschatz*, who had been banished for the gospel; in which letter he uses these words; “The devil
“ is the host in the world; and the world is his inn,
“ Go where you will in the world, you will be sure to
“ find this ugly host walking up and down in it.”

In the year 1534, he printed, and in the next year published, his translation of the bible into *German*; in which latter year, he began publicly to preach upon the book of *Genesis*, which task he ended with his life, as he is said to have foretold.

In the year 1538, arose the vile sect of the Antinomians, who taught that it mattered not how wicked a man was, if he had but faith. The principal person amongst them was *Joannes Islebius Agricola*. *Luther* had the honor not only of confuting, but of converting this man, and of bringing him back to his senses and his duty.

In the year 1540, *Luther* printed and prefaced the confession of *Robert Barnes*, his intimate friend, and a learned divine, who was burnt this year at *London* for the gospel. They became acquainted through *Barnes*’s coming to *Wittenberg* about the business of king *Henry* the Eighth’s divorce.

Luther was continually baited at by a world of furies; and he was particularly set up by providence to effect a Reformation. He published seventy-five propositions against the divines of *Louvain*; and also a short confession of faith; after which he was sent for to his native country, to compose a difference between the counts of *Mansfield*. He preached his last sermon at *Wittenberg* on the seventeenth of *January*, 1546; and, on the twenty-third, set out for *Isleben*, where he was honorably entertained by the count, who escorted him to his apartments with one hundred horse. *Luther* attended the business upon which he came from the twenty-ninth of *January*,
to

to the seventeenth of *February*, when he sickened a little before supper of his usual illness. This was an oppression of humors in the opening of the stomach, with which *Melancthon*, who was with him, had seen him frequently afflicted. His pain increased, and he went to bed, where he slept till midnight, when he awaked in such anguish that he found his life was near at an end. He then prayed in these words: "I pray God to preserve the doctrine of his gospel among us; for the pope and the council of *Trent* have grievous things in hand." After which, he said; "O heavenly Father, my gracious God, and Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, thou God of all consolation, I give thee hearty thanks, that thou hast revealed to me thy Son *Jesus Christ*, whom I believe, whom I profess, whom I love, whom I glorify, and whom the pope and the multitude of the wicked do persecute and dishonor.—I beseech thee, Lord *Jesus Christ*, receive my soul. O my heavenly Father, though I be taken out of this life, and must lay down this frail body; yet I certainly know, that I shall live with thee eternally, and that I cannot be taken out of thy hands. *God so loved the world, &c.* Lord, I render up my spirit into thy hands, and come to thee. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit: Thou, O God of truth, hast redeemed me!" *Albert count of Mansfield, Melancthon, Justus Jonas*, and several other friends, attended him in his last moments, joining him in prayer, that God would preserve the doctrine of his gospel among them. *Melancthon* says of *Luther*, that having frequently repeated his prayers, he was called to God, 'unto whom he so faithfully commended his spirit, to enjoy, no doubt, the blessed society of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, in the kingdom of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.'

Luther died on the eighteenth of *February*, 1546, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. A thousand fables have been invented concerning his death; nor would his enemies forbear publishing lies on this subject long after he had left this world. Some have said, that he died suddenly; others that he killed himself; and some have impudently proceeded so far as to give out that he was taken away by the devil. Nor are they people of mean figure or credit, who vent these calumnies, but the most famous writers, as *Cochlæus, Bessæus, Bozius, Fabianus, Justinian*, and *Bellarmino*. This, says *Bayle*, reflects on the whole body of popery; for such fables ought not to

pass the press. Father *Maimbourg* has rejected all these foolish stories; but he has been mistaken in a notable fact. Speaking of *Luther*, he says, the elector of *Saxony* caused his body to be conveyed with a most magnificent pomp to *Wittenberg*, where he erected for him a monument of white marble, surrounded with the statues of the twelve apostles, as if he had been the thirteenth, with respect to *Germany*. He was honorably interred at *Wittenberg*: But *Seckendorf* has shewn that no such statues were placed round his tomb.

The virulent partizans of the church of *Rome* tell us, that *Luther* was not only no divine, but even an outrageous enemy and calumniator of all kinds of science; and that he committed gross, stupid, and abominable errors against the principles of divinity and philosophy. They accuse him of having confessed, that after struggling for ten years together with his conscience, he at last became a perfect master of it, and fell into Atheism: And add, that he frequently said, he would renounce his portion in heaven, provided God would allow him a pleasant life for a hundred years upon earth. And lest we should wonder, that so monstrous and such unheard-of impiety should be found in a mere human creature, they make no scruple to say, that an Incubus begat him. These, and many more such scandalous imputations, Mr. *Bayle* has been at the pains to collect, under the article LUTHER, in his dictionary; and has treated them with all the contempt and just indignation they deserve. But let us leave these impotent railers, and attend a little to more equitable judges. *Luther*, says Mr. *Warton*, in his appendix to Dr. *Cave's Historia Literaria*, was ‘a man
 ‘ of prodigious sagacity and acuteness, very warm, and
 ‘ formed for great undertakings; being a man, if ever
 ‘ there was one, whom nothing could daunt or intimi-
 ‘ date. When the cause of religion was concerned, he
 ‘ never regarded whose love he was likely to gain, or
 ‘ whose displeasure to incur. He treated the pope’s
 ‘ bulls, and the emperor’s edicts, just alike; that is, he
 ‘ heartily despised both. In the mean time, it must be
 ‘ owned, that *Luther* often gave a greater loose to his
 ‘ passions than he ought, and did not in his writings pay
 ‘ that deference to crowned heads which it is always
 ‘ necessary to pay: But every man has his foible, and
 ‘ this was *Luther's*. However, he was very diligent in
 ‘ his application to letters, and very learned, considering
 ‘ the times he lived in. His chief pursuit was in the
 ‘ study

' study of the scriptures, upon a great part of which he
 ' wrote commentaries. He reformed the Christian reli-
 ' gion from many errors and superstitions, with which
 ' it had been long corrupted; and reduced it, as well as
 ' he could, to its primitive purity. If in some places
 ' he appears not quite so orthodox, we must impute it
 ' to the times, and not to him; for it is no wonder, that
 ' one who attempts to cleanse such a stable of *Augeus* as
 ' the church of *Rome*, should not escape free from spots
 ' and blemishes. He kept primitive antiquity constantly
 ' before his eyes, as his guide and rule; and, as *Erasmus*
 ' has observed, many things are condemned as heretical
 ' in the writings of *Luther*, which are thought very or-
 ' thodox and pious in the books of *Augustine* and *Ber-*
 ' *nard*. *Erasmus* also says, that *Luther* wrote many
 ' things rather imprudently than impiously. His stile
 ' was rough and harsh, for in those days every body
 ' could not write like *Erasmus*, *Politian*, *Bembus*, &c.
 ' who were always reading *Tully*, *Livy*, and *Terence*. Yet
 ' how uncouth and inelegant soever his style may be, it
 ' every where breathes a genuine zeal and piety, which
 ' is more solicitous about things than words.'

Luther left a widow, three sons, and two daugh-
 ters. His family was not extinct, when *Seckendorf* pub-
 lished his history, towards the latter end of the last
 century. Whilst the troops of *Charles V.* were at *Wit-*
tenberg, in the year 1547, the *Spaniards* solicited the
 emperor to pull down *Luther's* monument, and wanted to
 dig up his bones: But the emperor had more generosity
 and prudence, than to consent to a procedure so base and
 infamous.

Luther had a very sharp and satirical stile: But his
 commentary on the epistle to the *Galatians*, was his
 favorite work, which he used to call his wife, his *Catha-*
rine de Bore. It was a very great imprudence to publish
 such a collection as the *Sermones Mensales*, or *Colloquia*
Mensalia; for *Luther's* table-talk is the subject of the
 book. It was published, in 1571, by *Henry Peter Re-*
benstock, minister of *Eischerheim*: But *Luther* was not the
 author of that book, the publication of which was the
 effect of an inconsiderate zeal.

His favorite doctrine was justification by faith alone,
 and not by works, moral, legal, or evangelical: But we
 must do him the justice to observe, that he perpetually
 inculcated the absolute necessity of good works. Accord-

ing to him, a man is justified only by faith; but he cannot be justified without works; and where those works are not to be found, there is assuredly no true faith. He was once somewhat inclined to the opinion, that souls after death sleep till the resurrection: But he afterwards said, that the souls of the faithful are in a state of felicity; and this seems to have been his last and settled opinion. He thought that the *Jewish* nation would never be converted; and that *St. Paul's* expressions concerning this subject were misunderstood.

Luther was a magnanimous person even by the concession of his enemies; and undertook such things as the world may reasonably admire, having opposed himself alone to the whole earth. His followers called themselves Lutherans much against his mind: But they recede from him in many things, as may be seen by their writings.

Melancthon says, ‘*Pomeranus* is a grammarian; I am a logician; and *Justus Jonas* is an orator: But *Luther* is good at every thing; the wonder of mankind; for whatever he says, or writes, it penetrates the heart, and makes a lasting impression.’

It has also been said of *Luther*, that it was a great miracle a poor friar should be able to stand against the pope: It was a greater that he should prevail: And the greatest of all, that he should die in peace, as well as *Erasmus*, when surrounded by so many enemies.

The doctrine of this eminent divine, and great Reformer, was soon extended through all *Germany*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *England*, and other countries, under different modifications.

Luther's works were collected after his death, and printed at *Wittenberg* in seven volumes folio. *Catharine de Bore* survived her husband a few years, and continued the first year of her widowhood at *Wittenberg*, though *Luther* had advised her to seek another place of residence. She went from thence in the year 1547, when the town was surrendered to the emperor *Charles V.* Before her departure, she had received a present of fifty crowns from *Christian III.* king of *Denmark*; and the elector of *Saxony*, and the counts of *Mansfelt*, gave her good tokens of their liberality. With these additions to what *Luther* had left her, she had scarce wherewithal to maintain herself and her family. She returned to *Wittenberg*, when the town was restored to the elector, where she lived

lived in a very devout and pious manner, till the plague obliged her to leave it again in the year 1552. She sold what she had at *Wittenberg*, and retired to *Torgau*, with a resolution to end her life there. An awful providence befel her in her journey thither, which proved fatal to her. The horses growing unruly, and attempting to run away, she leaped out of the vehicle she was conveyed in; and, by leaping, got a fall, of which she died about a quarter of a year after, at *Torgau*, upon the twentieth of *December*, 1552. She was buried there in the great church, where her tomb and epitaph are still to be seen; and the university of *Wittenberg*, which was then at *Torgau*, because the plague raged at *Wittenberg*, made a public programma concerning the funeral pomp.

Upon *Luther's* tomb the university of *Wittenberg* directed the following inscription:

MARTINI LUTHERI S. THEOLOGIÆ
D. CORPUS H. L. S. E. QUI ANNO
CHRISTI MDXLVI. XII. CAL.
MARTII EISLEBII IN PA-
TRIA S. M. O. C. V. AN.
LXIII. M. III. D. X.

TRANSLATION.

‘ In this place lies buried the body of MARTIN LUTHER, doctor of divinity, who died at *Isleben*, his birth-place, on the twelfth of the calends of *March*, in the year 1546; when he had lived sixty-three years, three months, and ten days.’

Beza's epigram upon *Luther* has been much admired; and therefore we will present it to our Readers.

*Roma orbem domuit; Romam sibi papa subegit:
Viribus illa suis, fraudibus iste suis.
Quanto isto major Lutherus, major et illa:
Istum illamque uno qui domuit calamo!
I nunc! Alciden memorato, Græcia mendax;
Lutheri ad calamum ferrea clava nihil.*

The learned Reader will excuse the following unequal translation.

Rome

Rome tam'd the world ; yet *Rome* the pope hath aw'd :
 She rose by force, but he by holy fraud.
 Greater than both how much was *Luther*, when
 He vanquish'd both with nothing but a pen !
 Go, fabling *Greece*, and bid *Alcides* know,
 His club, as *Luther's* pen, gave no such blow.

Our serious Readers will, perhaps, be pleased with the insertion of some remarkable sayings and observations of this great man, which we will extract from that able and faithful biographer, *Melchior Adam*. *Erasmus* confessed, ' that there was more solid divinity contained in one leaf ' of *Luther's* commentaries, than could be found in many ' prolix treatises of schoolmen, and such kind of authors.'

Speaking of the pope's using the mass for departed souls, *Luther* observed, that " he with his mass was not " satisfied to thrust himself into all corners of the earth, " but he must needs go tumbling down into the very " bosom of hell."

He used to call the indulgence-merchants, *purse-threshers*.

There were many plots laid against his life, which the bloody papists sought after by all means. Poison, daggers, pistols, were intended ; when fire and faggot could not be used, through the elector's protection. A *Polish Jew* was hired for 2000 crowns to poison him. " The " plot (says *Luther*) was discovered to me by the letters " of my friends. He is a doctor of physic, and dares to " attempt any thing : He would go about this business " with incredible craft and agility. He is just now ap- " prehended."—However, God preserved him from the malice of his enemies. It shews, however, what papists can attempt (says *Melchior Adam*) ; and if we wanted further proof of it, the words of *Aleander*, the pope's legate, are quite sufficient. ' Though you Ger- ' mans (said he), who pay the least of all people to the ' *Roman* see, have shaken off the pope's yoke ; yet we ' will take care, that ye shall be devoured with civil ' wars, and perish in your own blood.'—A pious resolution indeed !

When *Luther's* bold manner of expressing himself was censured, he replied ; " Almost all men condemn my tart- " nefs of expression ; but I am of your opinion, (says he " to his friend) that God will have the deceits of men " thus powerfully exposed. For I plainly perceive, that " those things, which are softly dealt with in our cor-
 " rupt

“rupt age, give people but light concern, and are pre-
 “sently forgotten.—If I have exceeded the bounds of
 “moderation, the monstrous turpitude of the times has
 “transported me. Nor do I transcend the example of
 “*Christ*, who, having to do with men of like manners,
 “called them sharply by their own proper names, such
 “as, *an adulterous and perverse generation, a brood of*
 “*vipers, hypocrites, children of the devil*, who could not
 “*escape the damnation of hell.*”——*Erasmus*, with all his
 refinement, could own, ‘That God had sent in *Luther*
 ‘a sharp physician, in consideration of the immensity of
 ‘the diseases, which had infected this last age of the
 ‘world.’

Luther caused the *Psalms*, used in worship, to be trans-
 lated into *German*. “We intend (says he to *Spalatinus*),
 “after the example of the prophets and primitive fathers
 “of the church, to turn the *Psalms*, for spiritual sing-
 “ing, into the vulgar tongue for the common people;
 “so that the word of God may remain among the people
 “even in their singing. Upon this account, we seek
 “for some poets: And as you possess the copiousness
 “and elegance of the *German*, which you have greatly
 “cultivated; I would request your assistance in this
 “business, in translating some of the *Psalms* into *Ger-*
 “*man* verse, according to the inclosed example. My
 “wish is, to avoid all difficult and courtly terms, and
 “to use the simplest and most common phrases, so that
 “they are fit and proper, for the edification of the
 “lowest among the people. Let the sense be clear,
 “and as close as possible to the original. To preserve
 “the sense, when you cannot render word for word, it
 “may be right to use such a phrase as will most per-
 “fectly convey the idea. I confess, I am not suffi-
 “ciently qualified myself; and therefore would request
 “you to try how near you can approach to *Heman*,
 “*Asaph*, and *Jeduthun*.”

He used to say of himself and the other ministers;
 “We are only planters and waterers, in administering
 “the word and sacraments; but the *increase* is not in our
 “power.”

Concerning our righteousness, he observed; “Thou,
 “Lord *Jesus*, art my righteousness; but I am altoge-
 “ther sin: Thou hast taken what was mine, and hast
 “given me what was thine; thou hast taken what thou
 “wast not, and hast given me what I was not before.”

Respecting

Respecting ceremonies, he said; “ I condemn no ceremonies, but such as oppose or obscure the gospel.”

With regard to human learning, he thus expressed himself; “ I am persuaded, that true divinity could not well be supported without the knowledge of letters: Of this we have sad proof, for while learning was decayed and in ruins, theology fell too, and lay most wretchedly obscured. I am sure, that the revelation and manifestation of the word of God would never have been so extensive and glorious as it is, if preparatorily, like so many *John Baptists* smoothing the way, the knowledge of languages and good learning had not risen up among us.—They are most exceedingly mistaken, who imagine, that the knowledge of nature and true philosophy is of no use to a divine.”

He advised, in the case of temptations, in this manner; “ I would comfort those, that are tried in their faith and hope towards God, in this way; first, let them avoid solitariness, keep always in good company, sing the *Psalms*, and converse upon the holy scriptures. Secondly, Though it be the most difficult point to work upon the mind, yet it is the most present remedy, if they can, through grace, persuade themselves, that these grievous thoughts are not their own, but *Satan's*; and that, therefore, they should earnestly endeavour to turn the heart to other objects, and quit these evil suggestions: For to dwell upon them, or fight with them, or to aim to overcome them, or to wait for an end of them; is only to irritate and strengthen them, even to perdition, without relief.”

It is well known, that *Luther* earnestly defended *Christ's* corporal presence in the sacrament; but it is said, that he was of a contrary sentiment a little before his death, and owned it. For as he was preparing to make his last journey to *Isleben*, he confessed to *Melancthon*, on the twenty-third of *January*, 1546, “ that he had gone too far in the sacramentarian controversy.” *Melancthon* persuaded him to explain himself by some public writing; but to this he objected, “ that by so doing he should make all his doctrine doubtful; but that he [*Melancthon*] might do as he thought fit, after his decease.” This speech was made before several witnesses.

Luther frequently said; “ That a preacher should take care not to bring three little fly dogs into his profession; *viz.* PRIDE, COVETOUSNESS, and ENVY.” To which he added to preachers; “ When you observe
“ the

“ the people hear most attentively ; be assured, they will
 “ return the more readily. Three things make a divine,
 “ *meditation, prayer, and temptation.* And three things
 “ are to be remembered by a minister ; *turn over and over*
 “ *the bible ; pray devoutly ; and be never above learning.*—
 “ They are the best preachers for the common people,
 “ who speak in the meanest, lowest, humblest, and most
 “ simple style.”

In private life, *Luther* was an example of the strictest virtue. At dinner or supper, he would often dictate matter of preaching to others, or correct the press ; and sometimes amuse himself with music, in which he took great delight. Though a large man, he was a very moderate eater and drinker, and not at all delicate in his appetite, for he usually fed upon the simplest diet. He much delighted in his garden, and was very fond of cultivating it with all kinds of plants. In short, he was never idle.

Though he had not much himself, he very freely bestowed of what he had upon others. A poor student, asking money of him, he desired his wife to give some, who excusing herself on account of their poverty ; he took up a silver cup and gave it to the scholar, bidding him to sell it to the goldsmith, and keep the money for his occasions. When a friend sent him two hundred pieces of gold, he bestowed them all on poor scholars. And when the elector gave him a new gown, he wrote in answer, “ That too much was done ; for if we receive
 “ all in this life, we shall have nothing to hope for in
 “ the next.” He took nothing of printers, for his works, to his own use, saying, “ ’Tis true, I have no money,
 “ but am indeed poor ; yet I deal in this moderate man-
 “ ner with printers, and take nothing from them for my
 “ variety of labours, except sometimes a copy or two.
 “ This, I believe, may be due to me, when other au-
 “ thors, even translators, for every sheet have their stipu-
 “ lated price.” When he had some money sent him, he wrote thus to a friend ; “ I have received by *Taubenheim*
 “ an hundred pieces of gold ; and at the same time *Schart*
 “ has sent me fifty ; so that I begin to fear, lest God should
 “ give me my portion here. But I solemnly protest,
 “ that I would not be so satisfied from HIM : I will
 “ either presently return, or get rid of them. For what
 “ is so much money to me ? I have given half of it to
 “ *Prior*, and made him very happy.”

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He had great tendernefs for his family. When he ſaw *Magdalen* his eldeſt daughter at the point of death, he read to her this paſſage from the xxvith of *Iſaiah*; *Thy dead men ſhall live, together with my dead body ſhall they ariſe: Awake and ſing, ye that dwell in the duſt; for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth ſhall caſt out the dead. Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers and ſhut thy doors about thee: Hide thyſelf as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpaſt.* “My daughter, “do thou enter (ſays he) into thy chamber with peace: “I ſhall ſoon be with thee; for God will not permit me “to ſee the judgements, that hang over *Germany*.” And upon this he poured forth a flood of tears. Yet afterwards, when he attended the funeral, he contained himſelf, ſo as not to appear to weep.

What he ſaid of the covetouſneſs of the *Germans* and of the prevailing ſcarcity in his time, may be applied to ſome other profeſſing people beſides them. “We are “in dread of famine; and famine we ſhall feel, without “remedy. And as we, without neceſſity, and like im- “pious and faithleſs heathens, have been diſtracted with “carefulneſs, ſolicitous leſt we ſhould be deſtroyed by “famine, and utterly neglecting the word and work of “God: ſo he will permit the evil day ſhortly to come, “which will bring with it a moſt heavy load of ſorrows, “beyond our power either to ſuſtain or remove.”

Being once asked, *Whether we ſhould know each other in heaven?* he answered; “How was it with *Adam*? He “had never ſeen *Eve*; for when God formed her, he “was in a deep ſleep; yet when he awaked and ſaw her, “he did not aſk, Who ſhe was? or from whence ſhe “came? but immediately ſaid, that ſhe was fleſh of his “fleſh, and bone of his bone. How, then, did he know “this? Being filled with the Holy Spirit, and endued “with the true knowledge of God, he was able to de- “termine upon the nature of things.—In like manner, “we ſhall be perfectly renewed hereafter through *Chriſt*; “and ſhall know, with far greater perfection than can “be conceived of here, our deareſt relations, and indeed “whatever exiſts; and in a mode too much ſuperior to “that of *Adam* in paradise.”

He was of a proper ſtature and of a robuſt body, with ſuch a piercing vivacity in his eyes, that but few could look upon him directly, when he intentively looked upon them. He had but a ſoft voice, and that not very clear; ſo that when mention was made, one day at table, of
Paul's

Paul's voice, that it was rather weak; he observed of his own, that it could not deliver his words but with a low pronounciation. ‘ Yes, (said *Melancthon*) but that feeble ‘ voice of thine is powerfully perceived both far and ‘ near.’

Sturmius says, that he saw a letter written by *Luther* to *Wolfgang Capito*, in which he affirmed, that scarce any of his writings pleased himself, except his catechism, and his book *de servo arbitrio*, “ or free-will a slave.” Of this last work the late *Mr. Toplady* had begun a translation, and indeed carried it on a considerable way; but being prevented from finishing it by his death (it having been long delayed through other avocations), we are deprived of this valuable companion to *Zanchius* in an *English* drefs.

We will conclude this account of *Luther* with the high encomium, paid to his memory by *Wolfgang Severus*, preceptor to the emperor *Ferdinand*:

*ſapeti de gente prior majorque Luthero
Nemo fuit : Sed nec credo futurus erit.*

GEORGE WISHART.

GEORGE WISHART, or *Georgius Sophocardus*, as *Buchanan* translated it, was born in *Scotland*, and brought up at a grammar-school : From whence he went to the university. After which he travelled into several countries, and at last came to *Cambridge*, where he was admitted into *Bennet-College*.

He was a most famous and successful preacher of the gospel, and in many places of *Scotland*, through which he preached, he was blessed with many seals of his ministry : And though he was much persecuted by the cruel cardinal *Beton*, he still continued to preach in public, and perseveringly to go about doing good.

He was (says the excellent Mr. *Robert Fleming*) one of the most extraordinary ambassadors of *Jesus Christ*, that can be instanced. He was also the great friend, and (it is believed) spiritual father of the famous *John Knox*, to whom we are chiefly indebted for the memorials of *Wishart's* life, that have been transmitted down to us.

Wishart spent a considerable time abroad for his improvement in literature, and distinguished himself for his great learning and abilities both in philosophy and divinity. His desire to promote true knowledge and science among men, as is usually the case, accompanied the possession of it in himself. He was very ready to communicate what he knew to others, and frequently read various authors both in his own chamber and in the public schools.

He appears to have left *Cambridge* in the year 1544, and to have returned into his own country with the ambassadors of *Scotland*, who came into *England* to treat with *Henry* the eighth, about the marriage of his son prince *Edward* with their young queen *Mary*, who was afterwards the mother of *James* the first, and put to death by queen *Elizabeth*. *Wishart* first preached at *Montrose*, and then at *Dundee*, to the admiration of all that heard him. In this last place, he made a public exposition of the epistle to the *Romans*, which he went through with such grace and freedom in speaking the truth, that the papists began to be excessively alarmed. At length, upon the instigation of cardinal *Beton*, one *Robert Miln*, a principal man at *Dundee*, and formerly a professor of religion, prohibited his preaching; forbidding him to trouble their town any more, for he would not suffer it. This was spoken to him in the public place: Whereupon he mused a space, with his eyes lifted up to heaven; and afterwards, looking sorrowfully on the speaker and people, he said, "God is my witness, that I never minded
 " your trouble, but your comfort; yea, your trouble is
 " more dolorous to me than it is to yourselves: But I
 " am assured, to refuse God's word, and to chase from
 " you his messenger, shall not preserve you from trouble,
 " but shall bring you into it: For God shall send you
 " ministers that shall neither fear burning nor banishment. I have offered you the word of salvation.
 " With the hazard of my life I have remained among
 " you: Now ye yourselves refuse me; and I must leave
 " my innocence to be declared by my God. If it be
 " long prosperous with you, I am not led by the Spirit
 " of

“ of truth: But if unlooked-for trouble come upon
 “ you, acknowledge the cause, and turn to God, who is
 “ gracious and merciful. But if you turn not at the
 “ first warning, he will visit you with fire and sword.”
 And then he came down from the pulpit.

After this he went into the west of *Scotland*, where he preached God's word, which was gladly received by many; till the archbishop of *Glasgow*, at the instigation of the aforesaid cardinal, came with his train to the town of *Air* to resist *Wishart*, and would needs have the church himself to preach in. Some opposed it; but *Wishart* said, “ Let him alone; his sermon will not do much hurt. “ Let us go to the market-cross.” And so they did, where he made so notable a sermon, that his very enemies themselves were confounded.

Wishart remained with the gentlemen of *Kyle*, preaching sometimes in one place, sometimes in another; but coming to *Macklene*, he was by force kept out of the church. Some would have broken in; upon which he said to one of them, “ Brother, *Jesus Christ* is as mighty “ in the fields as in the church; and himself often “ preached in the desert, at the sea-side, and other places. “ The like word of peace God sends by me: The blood “ of none shall be shed this day for preaching it.”

Then going into the fields, he stood upon a bank, where he stayed in preaching to the people above three hours; and God wrought so wonderfully by that sermon, that one of the most wicked men in all the country, the laird of *Sheld*, was converted by it; his eyes flowing with such abundance of tears that all men wondered at it.

Soon after news was brought to *Wishart*, that the plague was broke out in *Dundee*; which began within four days after he was prohibited to preach there, and raged so extremely, that it is almost beyond credit how many died in the space of twenty four hours. This being related to him, he would needs, notwithstanding the importunity of his friends to detain him, go thither; saying, “ They are now in troubles and need comfort. “ Perhaps this hand of God will make them now to “ magnify and reverence the word of God, which before they lightly esteemed.”

There he was with joy received by the godly. He chose the *Eastgate* for the place of his preaching; so that the healthy were within, and the sick without the gate. His text was, *He sent his word and healed them, &c.* Psalm

cvii. 30. In this sermon he chiefly dwelt upon the advantage and comfort of God's word, the judgements that ensue upon the contempt or rejection of it, the freedom of God's grace to all his people, and the happiness of those of his elect, whom he takes to himself out of this miserable world. The hearts of his hearers were so raised by the divine force of this discourse, as not to regard death, but to judge them the more happy who should then be called, not knowing whether they might have such a comforter again with them. After this, the plague almost quite ceased; though, in the midst of it, *Wishart* constantly visited those that lay in the greatest extremity, and comforted them by his exhortations.

When he took his leave of the people of *Dundee*, he said; "that God had almost put an end to that plague, " and that he was now called to another place." He went from thence to *Montrose*, where he sometimes preached, but spent most of his time in private meditation and prayer, in which he was so earnest that night and day he frequently continued in it.

It is said, that before *Wishart* left *Dundee*, and while he was engaged in the labors of love to the bodies as well as to the souls of those poor afflicted people, the cardinal corrupted a desperate popish priest, called *John Weighon*, to slay him. And on a day the sermon being ended, and the people departed, the priest stood waiting at the bottom of the stairs, with a naked dagger in his hand under his gown. But Mr. *Wishart* having a sharp piercing eye, and seeing the priest as he came down, said to him, "My friend, what would you have?" And immediately clapping his hand upon the dagger, took it from him. The priest being terrified, fell down upon his knees, and confessed his intention, and craved pardon. A noise being hereupon raised, and it coming to the ears of those who were sick, they cried, "Deliver the traitor to us, or we will take him by force;" and they burst in at the gate. But *Wishart* taking the priest in his arms, said, "Whatsoever hurts him shall hurt me; for he hath " done me no mischief, but much good, by teaching me " more heedfulness for the time to come." And so he appeased them, and saved the priest's life.

Soon after his return to *Montrose*, the cardinal again conspired his death, causing a letter to be sent to him as if it had been from his familiar friend, the laird of *Kinnier*, in which he was desired with all possible speed to come to him, because he was taken with a sudden sickness.

ness. In the mean time the cardinal had provided sixty men armed, to lie in wait within a mile and a half of *Montrose*, in order to murder him as he passed that way.

The letter coming to *Wishart's* hand by a boy, who also brought him a horse for the journey; *Wishart*, accompanied by some honest men his friends, set forward; but suddenly stopping by the way, and musing a space, he returned back, which they wondering at, asked him the cause, to whom he said, "I will not go. I am forbidden of God. I am assured there is treason. Let some of you go to yonder place, and tell me what you find." Which doing, they made the discovery; and hastily returning, they told Mr. *Wishart*: Whereupon he said, "I know I shall end my life by that blood-thirsty man's hands, but it will not be in this manner."

The time approaching when he should meet the gentlemen at *Edinburgh*, he took his leave and departed. By the way he lodged with a faithful brother, called *James Watson*, of *Inner-Goury*. In the night-time he got up, and went into a yard; which two men hearing, they privately followed him. There he walked in an alley for some space, breathing forth many groans: Then he fell upon his knees, and his groans increased: Then he fell upon his face; when those that watched him heard him lamenting and praying: And thus he continued near an hour: Then getting up he went to his bed again. Those who attended him, appearing as though they were ignorant of all, came and asked him where he had been? But he would not answer them. The next day they importuned him to tell them, saying, "Be plain with us, for we heard your mourning, and saw your gestures." Then he, with a dejected countenance, said, "I had rather you had been in your beds." But they still pressing upon him to know something, he said, "I will tell you: I am assured that my warfare is near at an end, and therefore pray to God with me, that I shrink not when the battle waxeth most hot."

When they heard this they fell a weeping, saying, "This is small comfort to us." Then said he, "God shall send you comfort after me. This realm shall be illuminated with the light of *Christ's* gospel, as clearly as any realm since the days of the apostles. The house of God shall be built in it; yea, it shall not lack, in despite of all enemies, the top-stone; neither will it be long before this be accomplished. Many shall not suffer

“ suffer after me, before the glory of God shall appear
 “ and triumph in despite of Satan. But alas, if the
 “ people afterwards shall prove unthankful, then fearful
 “ and terrible will the plagues be that shall follow.”

He then went forward upon his journey and came to *Leith*, but hearing nothing of the gentlemen, who were to meet with him, he kept himself retired for a day or two. He then grew pensive, and being asked the reason of it, he answered; “ What do I differ from a dead
 “ man? Hitherto God hath used my labours for the
 “ instruction of others, and to the disclosing of dark-
 “ nefs: And now I lurk as a man ashamed to shew his
 “ face.” His friends perceived that his desire was to preach, whereupon they said to him, ‘ It’s most com-
 ‘ fortable to us to hear you, but because we know the
 ‘ danger wherein you stand, we dare not desire it.’ But, said he, “ If you dare hear, let God provide for me as
 “ best pleaseth him;” and so it was concluded that the next day he should preach in *Leith*. His text was of the parable of the sower, *Matt. xiii.* The sermon ended, the gentlemen of *Lothian*, who were earnest professors of *Jesus Christ*, would not suffer him to stay at *Leith*, because the governor and cardinal were shortly to come to *Edinburgh*; but took him along with them; and so he preached at *Brunstone*, *Longniddry*, and *Ormistone*; then was he requested to preach at *Inveresk* near *Muselburgh*, where he had a great confluence of people, and amongst them *Sir George Douglas*, who after sermon said publicly, ‘ I know that the governor and cardinal will hear that
 ‘ I have been at this sermon: But let them know that
 ‘ I will avow it, and will maintain both the doctrine,
 ‘ and the preacher, to the uttermost of my power.’ This much rejoiced those that were present,

Among others that came to hear him preach, there were two gray-friars, who, standing at the church-door, whispered to such as came in: Which *Wishart* observing, said to the people, “ I pray you make room for these
 “ two men, it may be they come to learn;” and turning to them, he said, “ Come near, for I assure you, you
 “ shall hear the word of truth, which this day shall seal
 “ up to you either your salvation or damnation;” and so he proceeded in his sermon, supposing that they would be quiet; but when he perceived that they still continued to disturb all the people that stood near them, he said to them the second time, with an angry countenance; “ O
 “ ministers of Satan, and deceivers of the souls of men;
 “ will

“ will ye neither hear God’s truth yourselves, nor suffer
 “ others to hear it? Depart and take this for your por-
 “ tion; God shall shortly confound and disclose your
 “ hypocrisy within this kingdom; ye shall be abomin-
 “ able to men, and your places and habitations shall be
 “ desolate.” This he spake with much vehemency, and
 turning to the people, he said, “ These men have pro-
 “ voked the Spirit of God to anger;” and then he pro-
 ceeded to the end of his sermon.

He preached afterwards at *Branstone*, *Languedine*, *Or-
 mistone*, and *Inveresk*; where he was followed by a great
 confluence of people: And he preached also in divers
 other places, the people much flocking after him; and
 he, in all his sermons, foretold the shortness of the time
 that he had to travel, and the near approach of his death.

Being come to *Haddington*, his auditory began much to
 decrease, which was thought to happen through the influence
 of the earl of *Bothwell*, who was moved to oppose him
 at the instigation of the cardinal. Soon after, as he was
 going to church, he received a letter from the west-coun-
 try gentlemen; and having read it, he called *John Knox*,
 who had diligently waited upon him since he came into
Lothian; to whom he said, “ That he was weary of the
 “ world, because he saw that men began to be weary of
 “ God: For, said he, the gentlemen of the west have
 “ sent me word, that they cannot keep their meeting at
 “ *Edinburgh*.” *John Knox*, wondering that he should
 enter into conference about these things immediately be-
 fore his sermon, contrary to his custom, said to him;
 ‘ Sir, sermon-time approaches; I will leave you for the
 ‘ present to your meditations.’

Wishart’s sad countenance declared the grief of his
 mind. At last he went into the pulpit, and his auditory
 being very small, he began in this manner; “ O Lord,
 “ how long shall it be, that thy holy word shall be de-
 “ spised, and men shall not regard their own salvation?
 “ I have heard of thee, O *Haddington*, that in thee there
 “ used to be two or three thousand persons at a vain and
 “ wicked play; and now, to hear the messenger of the
 “ eternal God, of all the parish can scarce be numbered
 “ one hundred present. Sore and fearful shall be the
 “ plagues that shall ensue upon this thy contempt. With
 “ fire and sword shalt thou be plagued; yea, thou *Had-
 “ dington* in special, strangers shall possess thee; and you,
 “ the present inhabitants, shall either in bondage serve
 “ your enemies, or else you shall be chased from your
 “ own

“ own habitations ; and that because you have not known,
 “ nor will know, the time of your visitation.”

This prophecy was accomplished not long after, when the *English* took *Haddington*, made it a garrison, enforced many of the inhabitants to fly ; oppressed others, and after a while, a great plague breaking forth in the town, whereof multitudes died, the *English* were at last forced to quit it, who at their departure burnt and spoiled great part of it, leaving it to be possessed by such as could first seize upon it, which were the *French* that came as auxiliaries to *Scotland*, with a few of the antient inhabitants ; so that *Haddington*, to this day, never recovered her former beauty, nor yet men of such wisdom and ability as did formerly inhabit it.

That night was *Wishart* apprehended in the house of *Ormeiston*, by the earl of *Bothwel*, suborned thereto by the cardinal. The manner was thus : After sermon he took his last farewell of all his friends in *Haddington* ; *John Knox* would fain have gone with him ; but he said, “ Return to your children, and God bless you : One is
 “ sufficient for one sacrifice.” Then went he to the laird of *Ormeiston*’s with some others that accompanied him. After supper he had a comfortable discourse of God’s love to his children ; then he appointed the 51st *Psalms* to be sung, and so retired to his chamber.

Before midnight the house was beset ; and the earl of *Bothwel* called for the laird of the house, and told him that it was in vain to resist, for the governor and cardinal were within a mile, with a great power ; but if he would deliver *Wishart* to him, he would promise upon his honor that he should be safe, and that the cardinal should not hurt him. *Wishart* said, “ Open the gates, the will of
 “ God be done ;” and *Bothwel* coming in, *Wishart* said to him, “ I praise my God that so honourable a man as
 “ you, my lord, receive me this night ; for I am persuaded that for your honour’s sake you will suffer nothing to be done to me but by order of law : I less
 “ fear to die openly, than secretly to be murdered.” Then said *Bothwel*, “ I will not only preserve your body
 “ from all violence that shall be intended against you
 “ without order of law ; but I also promise in the presence of these gentlemen, that neither the governor nor
 “ cardinal shall have their will of you ; but I will keep
 “ you in mine own house, till I either set you free, or
 “ restore you to the same place where I receive you.” Then said the lairds, “ My lord, if you make good your
 “ promise,

‘ promise, which we presume you will, we ourselves will
 ‘ not only serve you, but we will procure all the profes-
 ‘ sors in *Lothian* to do the same, &c.’ These promises
 being made in the presence of God, and hands being
 stricken by both parties, the earl took *Wishart*, and so
 departed.

Wishart was carried to *Edinburgh*; but gold and women
 easily corrupt fleshly men; for the cardinal gave *Bothwell*
 gold; and the queen, that was too familiar with him,
 promised him her favor, if he would deliver *Wishart* into
Edinburgh castle, which he did; and shortly after he was
 delivered to the blood-thirsty cardinal: Who, because it
 was forbidden by their canon-law for a priest to sit as a
 judge upon life and death; sent to the governor, re-
 questing him to appoint some lay-judge to pass sentence
 of death upon *Wishart*.

The governor would easily have yielded to his request,
 if *David Hamilton*, a godly man, had not told him, that
 he could expect no better an end than *Saul*, if he perse-
 cuted the truth which formerly he had professed, &c.
 Hereupon the governor sent the cardinal word, that he
 would have no hand in shedding the blood of that good
 man. The cardinal, being angry, returned this answer,
 that he had sent to him of mere civility, and that he
 would proceed without him; and so to the great grief of
 the godly, the cardinal carried *Wishart* to Saint *Andrew's*,
 and put him into the tower there; and, without any long
 delay, he caused all the bishops, and other great clergy-
 men to be called together to Saint *Andrew's*.

On *February* the twenty-eighth, 1546, *Wishart* was
 brought before them, to give an account of his seditious and
 heretical doctrine, as they called it. The cardinal caused
 all his retinue to come armed to the place of their sitting,
 which was the abby-church, whither when *Wishart* was
 brought, there was a poor man lying at the door, that
 asked his alms, to whom he flung his purse. When he
 came before the cardinal, there was a dean appointed to
 preach; whose sermon being ended, *Wishart* was put up
 into the pulpit to hear his charge: And one *Lawder*, a
 priest, stood over against him, and read a scroll full of
 bitter accusations and curses, so that the ignorant people
 thought that the earth would have opened and swallowed
 up *Wishart* quick: But he stood with great patience,
 without moving or once changing his countenance. The
 priest, having ended his curses, spat at *Wishart's* face,
 saying, ‘ What answerest thou? thou runagate, traitor,
 I i 2 ‘ thief,

‘ thief, &c.’ Then *Wishart* fell upon his knees, making his prayer unto God; after which he said, “ Many and
 “ horrible sayings unto me a Christian man, many words
 “ abominable to hear, have ye spoken here this day;
 “ which not only to teach, but even to think, I ever
 “ thought a great abomination, &c.” Then did he give them an account of his doctrine, answering every article, as far as they would give him leave to speak.

But they, without any regard to his sober and godly answers, presently condemned him to be burnt. After which sentence, he, falling upon his knees, said;

“ O immortal God, how long wilt thou suffer the
 “ rage, and great cruelty of the ungodly to exercise
 “ their fury upon thy servants, which do further thy
 “ word in this world; whereas they on the contrary seek
 “ to destroy the truth, whereby thou hast revealed thyself
 “ to the world, &c. O Lord, we know certainly that
 “ thy true servants must needs suffer, for thy name’s
 “ sake, persecutions, afflictions, and troubles in this
 “ present world; yet we desire, that thou wouldest pre-
 “ serve and defend thy church, which thou hast chosen
 “ before the foundation of the world, and give thy peo-
 “ ple grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants
 “ in this present life.”

Then were the common people put out, the bishops not desiring that they should hear the innocent man speak; and so they sent him again to the castle, till the fire should be made ready. In the castle came two friars to him, requiring him to make his confession to them; to whom he said, “ I will make no confession to you,
 “ but fetch me that man who preached even now, and I
 “ will speak with him.” Then was the sub-prior sent for, with whom he conferred a pretty while, till the sub-prior wept, who, going to the cardinal, told him that he came not to intercede for *Wishart*’s life, but to make known his innocency to all men; at which words the cardinal was very angry, saying; ‘ We knew long ago
 ‘ what you were.’

The captain of the castle with some friends, coming to *Wishart*, asked him if he would break his fast with them:
 “ Yea, said he, very willingly, for I know you be
 “ honest men.” In the mean time he desired them to hear him a little; and so he discoursed to them about the Lord’s Supper, his sufferings and death for us, exhorting them to love one another, laying aside all rancor and malice, as becomes the members of *Jesus Christ*, who
 continually

continually intercedes for us with his Father. Afterwards he gave thanks, and blessing the bread and wine, he took the bread and brake it, giving it to every one, saying, "eat this, remember that *Christ* died for us, and "feed on it spiritually;" so taking the cup, he bad them "remember that *Christ's* blood was shed for them, &c." Then he gave thanks and prayed for them, and so retired into his chamber.

Presently came two executioners to him from the cardinal; one put on him a black linen coat, the other brought him bags of powder, which they tied about several parts of his body; and so they brought him forth to the place of execution; over against which place, the castle windows were hung with rich hangings, and velvet cushions laid for the cardinal and prelates, who from thence were to feed their eyes with the torments of this innocent man. The cardinal, fearing lest *Wishart* should be rescued by his friends, caused all the ordnance in the castle to be bent against the place of his execution, and commanded his gunners to stand ready all the time of his burning. Then were his hands bound behind his back, and so he was carried forth. In the way some beggars met him, asking him his alms for God's sake: To whom he said, "My hands are bound wherewith I was wont "to give you alms: But the merciful Lord, who of his "bounty and abundant grace feeds all men, vouchsafe "to give you necessities both for your bodies and "souls." Then two friars met him, persuading him to pray to our lady to mediate for him; to whom he meekly said, "Cease, tempt me not, I entreat you:" And so with a rope about his neck, and a chain about his middle, he was led to the fire; then falling upon his knees, he thrice repeated; "O thou Saviour of the world, have "mercy upon me; Father of heaven, I commend my "spirit into thy holy hands." Then turning to the people, he said; "Christian brethren and sisters, I beseech you, be not offended at the word of God for the "torments which you see prepared for me; but I exhort "you that ye love the word of God for your salvation, "and suffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart, for "the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation "and everlasting comfort. I pray you also shew my "brethren and sisters, who have often heard me, that "they cease not to learn the word of God, which I "taught them according to the measure of grace given "me, for no persecution or trouble in this world what-
" soever;

“ soever; and shew them, that the doctrine was no old
 “ wives fables, but the truth of God; for if I had
 “ taught men’s doctrine, I should have had greater
 “ thanks from men: But for the word of God’s sake I
 “ now suffer, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and
 “ mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer
 “ this fire for *Christ’s* sake; behold my face, you shall
 “ not see me change my countenance: I fear not the
 “ fire; and if persecution come to you for the word’s
 “ sake, I pray you *fear not them that can kill the body, and*
 “ *have no power to hurt the soul, &c.*” Then he prayed
 for them, who accused him; saying, “ I beseech thee,
 “ Father of heaven, forgive them that have, of ignorance
 “ or of an evil mind, forged lies of me: I forgive them
 “ with all my heart; I beseech *Christ* to forgive them,
 “ that have condemned me this day ignorantly.” Then
 turning to the people again, he said; “ I beseech you,
 “ brethren, exhort your prelates to learn the word of
 “ God, that they may be ashamed to do evil, and learn
 “ to do good, or else there shall shortly come upon them
 “ the wrath of God which they shall not eschew.”
 Then the executioner upon his knees, said, ‘ Sir, I pray
 ‘ you forgive me, for I am not the cause of your death;’
Wishart, calling him to him, kissed his cheeks, saying,
 “ Lo here is a token that I forgive thee: My heart, do
 “ thine office.” And so he was tied to the stake, and the
 fire kindled.

The captain of the castle, coming near him, bade him
 be of good courage, and to beg for him the pardon of his
 sin; to whom *Wishart* said, “ This fire torments my body,
 “ but no whit abates my spirits:” Then, looking to-
 wards the cardinal, he said, “ He, who, in such state
 “ from that high place, feeds his eyes with my tor-
 “ ments, within few days shall be hanged out at that
 “ same window, to be seen with as much ignominy, as
 “ he now leans there with pride:” And so his breath
 being stopped, he was consumed by the fire, near the
 castle of *St. Andrew’s*, in the year 1546.

This prophecy was fulfilled, when, after the cardinal
 was slain, the provost, raising the town, came to the castle
 gates, crying, ‘ What have you done with my lord car-
 ‘ dinal? Where is my lord cardinal?’ To whom they
 within answered, ‘ Return to your houses, for he hath
 ‘ received his reward, and will trouble the world no
 ‘ more:’ But they still cried, ‘ We will never depart till
 ‘ we see him:’ Then did the *Leslies* hang him out at
 that

that window to shew that he was dead; and so the people departed.

But we will relate more particularly, from the *Scotch* historian, the circumstances of the cardinal's death. God (says he) left not the death of this holy man long unrevenge'd: For the people generally exclaimed against the cruelty used upon him; especially *John Lesley*, brother to the earl of *Roths*, and *Norman Lesley* his cousin, fell foul upon the cardinal for it: But he thought himself strong enough for all *Scotland*, saying; 'Tush, a fig for the fools, and a button for the bragging of heretics. Is not the lord governor mine, witness his eldest son for a pledge at my table? Have I not the queen at my devotion? Is not *France* my friend? Why should I fear any danger?' Yet he had laid a design to cut off such as he feared and hated, which was discovered after his death by letters and memorials found about him. He kept himself for his greater security in his castle; and on a *Friday* night there came to the town of *Saint Andrew's*, *Norman Lesley*, *William Kircaldy*, *John Lesley*, and some others; and on the *Saturday* morning they met together not far from the castle, waiting till the gate was opened, and the draw-bridge let down, for the receiving in some lime and sand, to repair some decays about the castle; which being done, *Kircaldy*, with six more, went to the porter, falling into discourse with him, till the *Leslies* came also with some other company. The porter, seeing them, would have drawn up the bridge, but was prevented; and whilst he endeavored to keep them out at the gate, his head was broken, and the keys taken from him. The cardinal was asleep in bed, for all night he had for his bedfellow, *Mrs. Mary Ogleby*, who was a little before gone from him out at the postern gate; and therefore the cardinal was gone to his rest.

There were about one hundred workmen in the castle, who, seeing what was done, cried out; but, without hurt, they were turned out at the wicket gate. Then *William Kircaldy* went to secure the postern, lest the cardinal should make an escape that way. The rest, going to the gentlemen's chambers, who were above fifty, without hurting them, turned them all out at the gate. They, who undertook this enterprize, were but eighteen men. The cardinal, being awakened with the noise, asked out at the window, 'what was the matter?' Answer was made, that *Norman Lesley* had taken his castle. Then did he attempt to have escaped by the postern; but find-
ing

ing that to be kept, he returned to his chamber; and, with the help of his chamberlain, fell to barricadoing the door with chests, and such things. Then came up *John Lesley*, and commanded him to open the door: The cardinal asked, 'who was there?' He answered, *John Lesley*. The cardinal said, 'I will have *Norman*, for he is my friend.' 'Content yourself, said the other, with those that are here:' And so they fell to breaking open the door. In the mean time, the cardinal hid a box of gold under some coals in a secret corner. Then he said to them; 'Will ye save my life?' *John Lesley* answered, 'It may be, that we will.' 'Nay, said the cardinal, 'swear unto me by God's wounds that you will; and then I will open the door.' Then said *John*, 'that which was said, is unsaid;' and so he called for fire to burn down the door; whereupon the door was opened, and the cardinal sat him down in his chair, crying; 'I am a priest, I am a priest; ye will not slay me!' Then *John Lesley* and another struck him once or twice: But *Mr. James Melvin*, a man that had been very familiar with *Wishart*, and of a modest and gentle nature, perceiving them both to be in choler, plucked them back, saying; 'This work and judgement of God, although it be secret, ought to be done with great gravity.' And so presenting him the point of his sword, he said, 'Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially of shedding the blood of that noble instrument of God, *Mr. George Wishart*, who, though he was consumed by the fire before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon thee; and we from God are sent to revenge it; for here, before my God I protest, that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any hurt thou couldst have done me, moveth me to strike thee; but only because thou hast been, and still remainest, an obstinate enemy against *Jesus Christ*, and his holy gospel;' and so he thrust him through the body, who falling down, spake never a word, but 'I am a priest, I am a priest: Fie, fie, all is gone.'

The death of this tyrant was grievous to the queen mother, with whom he had too much familiarity, as with many other women; as also to the *Romanists*, though the Reformed were freed from their fears in a great measure thereby.

The conduct, however, of these *Lesleys* is, by no means, to be justified; for killing men without law, is undoubtedly *murder*, and a defiance of all civil institutions.

And,

And, in a Christian view, it is still more unjustifiable; for we are taught to suffer, and not to revenge, but to commit ourselves to HIM, who judgeth righteously. It was also what *Wishart* himself would have condemned; as evidently appears by his meek and tender conduct to the priest, who would have stabbed him, as we have above related. *Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.* The judgement was certainly just upon the cardinal; but God, in the dispensations of his justice, usually lets wicked instruments loose, and even *Satan* himself, to accomplish his awful designs. Christians have a better business allotted them.

The *Scotch* historian's account of *Wishart's* person and manner of life is so extraordinary, that we flatter ourselves it will not be unacceptable to our Readers:

'*Wishart*, says he, was tall of stature, and of a melancholy constitution: He had black hair, a long beard, was comely of personage, and well-spoken, courteous, lowly, lovely, willing to teach, desirous to learn. As for his habit, he wore a frize gown, a black fustian doublet, plain hose, coarse canvass for his shirts, falling bands, &c. all which apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly; saving a *French* cap that he wore, which he kept a twelvemonth. He was modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness. His charity was extraordinary; he forbore his food one meal in three, and one day in four; that he might the better relieve the poor. His lodging was upon straw; and he had coarse new canvass sheets, which, when once foul, he gave away. He had by his bedside a tub of water, in which in the dark night he bathed himself. He taught with great modesty and gravity.'

FREDERIC MYCONIUS.

FREDERIC MYCONIUS was born at *Lichtenfeldt*, in *Franconia*, December the twenty-sixth, in the year 1491, of religious parents, and bred up at school there till he was thirteen years of age, and then was sent to *Annaberg*, where he studied till he was twenty. About that age he entered into a monastery of Franciscans, without the knowledge of his parents. To this step he was led, by the superstition of the times, not for the love of ease, (says *Melchior Adam*) and much less for the sake of his belly or pleasures; but with a view to serve God, and to obtain, by his own righteousness, the remission both of his own sins and of others. For the monks persuaded men, ‘ That their vow was equivalent
‘ to baptism; that it was the state of perfection; that
‘ the monastic rules and ordinances [*verbo DEI multis*
‘ *parasangis anteire*] were very far to be preferred to the
‘ word of God; that the habit of their order was much
‘ holier than all other garments; and that whosoever
‘ should be buried in the cowl of a monk, would infal-
‘ libly obtain the remission of one-third part of all his
‘ sins;’ with much other goodly doctrine of the same profitable kind.

The first night after his entry, *Myconius* had a remarkable dream, which proved prophetic, but is too long for insertion here. In this monastery he read the schoolmen and *Augustine*’s works. He read also, at meal-times, the bible with *Lyra*’s notes, which he continued for seven years together, and with such exactness, that he had it almost by heart: But at length, despairing of making any considerable attainments in learning, he turned himself to the mechanical arts. About which time the arrant vagabond *Tetzelius* brought his indulgences into *Germany*, boasting of the virtue of them, and exhorting all men,

as they loved their own salvation, and the salvation of their deceased friends, that they should buy them, &c. *Myconius* had been taught, by his father, the Lord's prayer, the creed, the decalogue, and had been admonished to pray often; that the blood of *Christ* only could cleanse us from sin; that if only three persons were to be saved by this blood, he should endeavor to be one of them; and that pardon of sin and eternal life could not be bought with money, &c. From this circumstance, it has been supposed that *Myconius's* father had secretly embraced the doctrine of the *Waldenses*. *Myconius*, however, was greatly troubled, not knowing whether to believe his father or the priests; but understanding, that there was a clause in the indulgences, that they should be *freely given to the poor*, he went to *Tetzelius*, and begged him to give him one, for that he was a poor sinner, and one that needed a free pardon of his sins, and a participation of the merits of *Christ*. *Tetzelius* wondered to hear him speak Latin so well, which was what few priests could do in those days, and he therefore consulted with his colleagues, what was best to be done, who advised him to give *Myconius* a pardon: But, after a long debate, *Tetzelius* concluded, 'That the pope wanted money, without which he could not part with an indulgence.' *Myconius* urged the above-mentioned clause in the bull; upon which *Tetzelius's* colleagues desired he might have one given him, pleading his learning, ingenuity, poverty, &c. and that it would be a dishonor both to God and the pope to deny him one: But still *Tetzelius* absolutely refused. Upon this one of them whispered to *Myconius*, to give a little money for one, which he refused to do: They fearing the event, and believing that he was suborned by others, offered him money to buy one with; but he would not accept of it, saying, "That, if he chose to buy one, he could sell a book for that purpose, but he desired one for God's sake, which if they denied him, he wished them to consider how they could answer it to God, &c." But prevailing nothing, he went away rejoicing, that there was yet a God in heaven to pardon sinners freely, &c. according to that promise, *As I live, saith the Lord, I desire not the death of a sinner, &c.*

A little time after this [*viz.* in the year 1516] he took orders, and read privately *Luther's* books with *John Voit*, till he made profession of the truth, which gave great offence to the other friars, who severely threatened him

for it. About this period, while *Luther* was attacking the errors and blasphemies of the church of *Rome* at *Wittenberg*, and the light of the gospel began to shine, he received a call to be a preacher at *Vinaria*, which he accepted of, and where at first he mixed some popish errors with the truth; but being further enlightened by the SPIRIT's teaching in reading the scriptures and *Luther's* works, he at length began to preach boldly against popery, and to hold forth the truth clearly; which spread with such incredible swiftness, not only through *Saxony*, but through all *Europe*, 'as if,' says our biographer, 'the angels had been the carriers of it.' Afterwards, in the year 1524, he was called to *Gotha*, to teach and govern the *Thuringian* churches, where he lived with his colleagues twenty-two years in much peace and concord; of which himself says, "*Cucurrimus, certavimus, laboravimus, pugnavimus, vicimus, & viximus semper conjunctissime, &c.*" i. e. "We ran, we strove, we fought, we conquered, and we lived together always in the greatest harmony and love." He was remarkable for the great pains he took to pacify and keep quiet the boors, or common people; and is said to have made such an oration to great numbers of them, that were pulling down some noblemen's houses, that they all went away in peace. The same year he married, and, by the blessing of God, had a numerous posterity.

At this early period, the sound of the gospel was happily spread over most parts of *Germany*; and the following illustrious persons were scattered over it and the bordering countries; *Luther, Zuinglius, Melancthon, Pomeran, Amsdorf, Urbanus Regius, Snepsius, Brentius, Vitus Theodorus, John Alpin, Herman Bonn, John Hess, Ambrose Moiban, Brisman, Speratus, Poliander, P. Rhodius, Hausmann, N. Medlerus, J. Cæsius, J. Langus*; and many others.

He accompanied the elector of *Saxony* in many of his journies into the *Low Countries*, and other places, where he preached the gospel openly and faithfully, though often at the hazard of his life. About this time, our king *Henry VIII.* had fallen out with the pope, for not divorcing him from his wife *Catharine*, aunt to *Charles V.* emperor of *Germany*, and king of *Spain*, because of whose greatness the pope durst not do it. The king then sent over to the *German* princes, especially to the duke of *Saxony*, to confederate against the pope, and to join with him in an agreement respecting religion; upon which account *My-*

Conius was sent over to *England*, partly about religious matters, but principally about a match between king *Henry* and *Anne of Cleve*. *Myconius* upon his arrival soon discovered the king's hypocrisy respecting religion; not only by the six articles about that time established, but also by his imprisoning of *Latimer*, beheading lord *Cromwel*; burning *Dr. Barnes*, &c. and by his seizing all the abbey-lands; all which gave him such offence that he left *England*. Upon his return home, he was called by *Henry* of *Saxony* to visit and reform, (in conjunction with *Luther*, *Jonas*, *Cruciger*, and others) the churches of *Misnia*. The occasion of this reformation-visit was; *George* duke of *Saxony*, laying on his death-bed, sent to his brother *Henry* (all his own sons being already dead) desiring him, as he was to be his successor, not to make any innovations in religion; at the same time he promised him, by his ambassadors, golden mountains if he would comply with his request. To whom *Henry* answered, 'This embassy of your's is just like the devil's dealing with *Christ*, when he promised him all the world if he would fall down and worship him: But, for my own part, I am resolved not to depart from the truth which God hath revealed unto me.' But before the return of the ambassador, duke *George* was dead: Upon which *Henry*, notwithstanding all the oppositions of the papists, carried on the Reformation in the churches. This reformation-work being finished, *Myconius* visited all the churches in *Thuringia*; and, with the help of *Melancthon* and some others, he provided them pastors and schoolmasters, and procured stipends to be settled upon them for their maintenance.

In the year 1541, he fell into a consumption, of which he wrote to *Luther*, "That he was sick, not to death, but unto life:" Which interpretation of the text pleased *Luther* exceedingly; who wrote for answer, 'I pray *Christ* our Lord, our salvation, and our health, &c. that I may not live to see thee and some others of our colleagues to die, and go to heaven, and leave me here amongst the devils alone. I pray God, that I may first lay down this dry, exhausted, and unprofitable tabernacle: Farewel, and God forbid, that I should hear of thy death while I live; but may God grant thee to outlive me: This is my prayer, and my wish, and may it be granted me; amen; for I ask it for the glory of God's holy name, and not for my own ease or profit.' Awhile after, *Myconius* recovered according to this prayer,

prayer, though his disease seemed to be desperate, and outlived it six years, even till the year after *Luther's* death; upon which *Iustus Jonas* remarks, in speaking of *Luther*, *Iste vir potuit quod voluit*; That man could have of God whatever he pleased. *Myconius*, a little before his death, wrote an excellent letter to *John Frederic* elector of *Saxony*, in which he praised God for raising up three successively in that family, namely, *Frederic*, *John*, and *John Frederic*, to undertake the patronage of *Luther*, &c. He was a man of singular piety, of solid learning, of an excellent judgement, of a burning zeal, and of an admirable candor and gravity. He died of a relapse into his former disease, on the seventh of *April*, in 1546, having lived fifty-five years, three months, and seventeen days. And he died as he had lived, glorifying God for all the mercies which had been received by him and by the church in the blessed Reformation. He was a dear friend to *Luther*; and *Luther* was not less so to him. In their lives, they were united; and, in their deaths, they were not long divided; for *Myconius* survived his magnanimous friend only seventy-seven days.

Stigelius wrote the following epitaph for his tomb.

*Quo duce, Gotha, tibi monstrata est gratia CHRISTI;
Hic pia Myconii contegit ossa lapis.
Doctrinâ et vitæ tibi moribus ille reliquit
Exemplum: Hoc ingens, Gotha, tuere decus.*

He is said to have published the following works: *Expositio in Evang. Marci. Enarrationes in Psalmum ci. Expositiones in Evang. secundum Matthæum, Lucam, & Johannem. Commentaria in Esaïam, Jeremiam, & Jonam. Narratio de vitâ & morte Zuinglii. Sermo de liberis rectè educandis: De crapulâ; & Ebrietate: De fænore & usurâ, &c.*

J O H N D I A Z I U S.

THIS learned, pious, and constant sufferer, in the cause of God and truth, was born and educated in *Spain*, and from thence was sent to *Paris*
to

to complete his studies; but it pleased God, in the reading of the books of *Luther* and some other protestant divines, so to enlighten his mind and to teach him the knowledge of the truth from the scripture, that he began to see and abhor the heresies and abominations of the church of *Rome*. In order therefore to further himself in the knowledge and study of the gospel, he went to *Geneva*, where he became intimately acquainted with *Calvin*, and was very dear to him. From *Geneva* he went to *Strasburgh*, where *Bucer*, observing his learning, piety, and diligent application to study, obtained leave of the senate for him to be joined with him to go to the disputation at *Ratisbon*. When he came thither, he visited *Peter Malvinda* a *Spaniard*, the pope's agent in *Germany*, who, finding that he came in company with *Bucer* and other protestant divines, was much surprized, but more upon observing the great change that had taken place in him since he knew him at *Paris*. *Malvinda* was also exceedingly uneasy that the protestants had got a *Spaniard* amongst them, presuming they would triumph more in him than in many *Germans*; and therefore tried all ways and means to draw him back to the church of *Rome*; sometimes making large proffers and promises to him, at other times threatening him with severe punishments, and mixing both with earnest intreaties. But when he found he was unsuccessful in all his endeavors, he sent for his brother *Alphonfus Diazius*, one of the pope's lawyers, from *Rome*; who, hearing that his brother was turned protestant, came with all speed into *Germany*, bringing a notorious cut-throat with him, resolving either to draw him back to popery, or to destroy him.

When *Alphonfus* came to *Ratisbon*, his brother *John* was gone to *Newberg* about the printing of *Bucer's* book; to which place *Alphonfus* followed him; and there they maintained many disputations upon religious matters: But *Alphonfus*, finding his brother *John* so stedfast in the belief of the truths of the gospel, that neither the pope's agent by his promises or threats could terrify him, nor he, by his persuasions and pretensions of brotherly love, could prevail upon him, to return to popery; he feigned to take a most friendly and affectionate leave of him, and departed. But, soon after, he returned with his ruffianly murderer, and, by the way, they bought an hatchet of a carpenter. *Alphonfus* sent the ruffian in first, disguised, with letters to his brother, himself following behind; And while *John Diazius* was reading the letters,
this

this bloody murderer cleft his head with the hatchet; and taking horse they both rode away. This cruel act was perpetrated in the year 1546. *Alphonfus*, another inhuman *Cain*, was highly applauded by the papists for his deed. But God did not suffer this unnatural cruelty to go unpunished; for, not long after, he was so exceedingly tormented with horrors and dread of conscience, that being at *Trent*, when the general council was held there, he died, like *Judas*, by hanging himself.

We thought this account of a *Spaniard*, though short, might be the more desirable, as the country of his birth was ever famous for bigotry and superstition, and hath been remarkably barren in the real profession of the gospel. Indeed, it hath not, of late ages, been much distinguished for men of great liberality or learning, and, at this day, partakes less of civil and religious liberty than any other kingdom in *Europe*. The people there know still less of that spiritual and heavenly liberty, with which *Christ* makes his people free: And their bloody and horrid inquisition will do what it can to keep them ignorant of it. All the *acts of faith* (as they shamefully call the executions of this abominable tribunal) are begun in ignorance and infamy, and end in cruelty and blood.

Spain has, however, produced some few learned men of the *first* class, within the three past centuries: But these have, almost without exception, been bigots of the church of *Rome*, and employed their talents in supporting the papal jurisdiction. It is a pleasure to see an example to the contrary; and, therefore, our Readers will not think it an impertinent digression to relate, that *Cyprian de Valera* was of this country, became a sincere as well as learned protestant, made a voyage to *England* for improvement, and returned with the bible translated into *Spanish*; copies of which, with copies of a *Spanish* translation of *Calvin's* institutes, he dispersed among his countrymen.—The word of God is indeed a *pearl of great price*; but the grace of God alone can make it *precious* to the soul, and render those, who read it, *wise unto salvation*. Happy for his countrymen, if the same light, which blessed his mind, had illuminated their's!

CASPAR CRUCIGER.

CASPAR CRUCIGER, was born at *Leipsick* in *Misnia*, 1504, of religious parents, who brought him up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, as well as in all useful learning. He was naturally inclined to melancholy, loved retirement, was much in meditation, and of few words. In the midst of company he was frequently absent, and collected within himself. The discovery of this temper in him, in his childhood, gave his parents occasion to conclude, that he would be dull in understanding, and of a slow capacity. But judgements of this kind have been very frequently erroneous; for some, who have promised but little in their infancy, have turned out the first of men; while others, who have made an early shew, have yielded only disappointment to the fond expectation of their friends. *Cruciger*, when put under the tuition of an able master, soon afforded proofs of a reach and strength of genius, which surprized every body who knew him. Nothing was too difficult, in human science, for his comprehension; and his industry equalled the clearness of his judgement, and the penetration of his mind. Having acquired the *Latin* language, he studied the *Greek*, together with *Camerarius*, under *Richard Croke*, an *Englishman*. At this time it was said of him, ‘ That though he seemed dull to every body, he acquired more knowledge than all his fellow-students put together.’ Yet, with all his attainments, he was meek, modest, and humble in his deportment, tinged with no arrogance or ostentation; patient, chaste and pious. He was beloved by his tutor, as though he had been his son, and indeed had the affection and esteem of the whole academy, where he studied.

Having made great proficiency in letters, he went to the university of *Wittenberg*, to study divinity, with a view of being more useful to the church: There he

acquired the *Hebrew* language, and became very skilful in it; for whatever he studied, he studied profoundly. He then was called from *Wittenberg* to govern the school at *Magdeburg*, where he taught with great success and applause till the year 1527, when he was invited back again to *Wittenberg*, to preach and expound the scriptures; which he did with so much judgement and use, that they conferred upon him the degree of doctor in divinity. At that university, he also studied and practised phyfic and botany, both of which he greatly delighted in. He was very helpful to *Luther* in his translation of the bible. To *Luther* he was extremely dear, both for the probity of his manners, and the soundness of his doctrine. He is said to write so swiftly, that he was requested to take down the disputation at *Worms*, in 1540, which he did with so much ease and exactness, that, at the same time, he suggested to *Melancthon* many things which he had not answered to his adversary, and several hints with which he confuted the arguments of *Eckius* his opponent. This being observed by *Granvel Bane*, who there personated the emperor, it caused him to say, ‘ That the Lutherans ‘ had a clerk that was more learned than all the papists.’ And the following lines of *Martial* were frequently applied to him, upon account of this extraordinary faculty.

*Currant verba licet, manus est volocior illis:
Nondum lingua suum, dextra peregit opus.*

‘ Though words can swiftly run,
‘ His pen could move more fast:
‘ The tongue had scarcely done,
‘ But hand the work had past.’

He frequently made notes of *Luther*’s sermons, while he was preaching them, and could recite them *per extensum*, or as they were delivered, afterwards.

He always opposed the errors of the fanatical Anabaptists of that day, and was very careful to preserve the truth from corruption: He had a great aversion to sophistical and ambiguous phrases, which had often caused much trouble in the church; and he took such frequent delight in contemplating the foot-steps of God in the creation, that he would often say with *St. Paul*, ‘ That God was ‘ so near unto us, that he might be almost felt with our ‘ hands.’ In the latter part of his time he studied the mathematics, in which he made so great a progress that few excelled him. He was also a most accomplished optician:

ician: In short, he mastered almost the whole compass of human learning, and, what was better, applied all he learned to the use of those about him. To the sick, he was a physician, under God, both for body and soul; and a friend to all men. At length, by intense and incessant application to study, he brought upon himself a disease, which, though it wasted his body away, did not impair his intellects. He laid sick three months, all which time he gave the most lively demonstrations of his faith, patience, and piety. Every thing he said spoke the deepest resignation to the divine will, and that full assurance of faith, with which he waited for glory. Nor did he give up his studies during his sickness, but turned into *Latin Luther's* books concerning the last words of *David*; and often read the *Psalms*, and sometimes other authors. His common conversation with his friends was upon the principles of religion, the affairs of the church, immortality, and our sweet communion in heaven.

A little before his death he called to him his two young daughters, and caused them to repeat their prayers before him, and then himself prayed with great fervency, for himself, the church, and these his orphans, earnestly and often repeating these words; “ I call upon thee, O omnipotent God, eternal and only Father of our Lord
 “ *Jesus Christ*, maker of heaven and earth, of mankind
 “ and of thy church, and upon thy co-eternal Son our
 “ Lord *Jesus Christ* and upon the Holy Spirit, thou only
 “ wise, faithful, just, true, merciful and holy God;
 “ have mercy upon me, and forgive me all my sins for
 “ *Christ's* sake, who was crucified and raised again for
 “ us, the Word and everlasting image of thy person, whom
 “ thou madest to be a propitiation, and also mediator
 “ and intercessor for thy people, by thy wonderful and
 “ unspeakable covenant; O sanctify me by thy Holy
 “ Spirit, and preserve the remnant of thy church in these
 “ lands, nor suffer the light of thine own gospel to be
 “ put out. Make my dear orphans vessels of mercy.
 “ Lord, I call upon thee; and though it be with a languid
 “ and feeble faith, yet with faith notwithstanding. I
 “ trust in thy promise, O thou Son of God, which thou
 “ didst seal by thy blood and by thy resurrection. Help,
 “ help me, Lord *Jesus*, and support and warm my bosom
 “ with faith to the end!” Having repeatedly uttered these words, he inculcated upon his children his paternal advice, respecting the welfare of their souls, and spent the remainder of his time in prayer; and so quietly ended his

days at *Wittenberg*, on *November* the sixteenth, in 1548, and in the forty-fifth year of his age. Considering the mutability of all sublunary things, he used often to say,

“*Omnia prætereunt, præter amare deum.*”

All things must perish, but God's love:
That only, nothing can remove.

He published some theological commentaries, upon the gospel of *St. John*, upon the first epistle of *St. Paul* to *Timothy*, upon the *Psalms*, and upon two controverted articles in the *Nicene* creed. He wrote a tract of the “*Method of teaching*,” which has been ascribed to *Melancthon*. And the Christian church is obliged to *Cruciger's* nimble pen for many remains of *Luther*, which had otherwise been lost.

P A U L U S F A G I U S.

PAULUS FAGIUS, in the *German* language, called *Buchlin*, a learned divine, was born at *Reinzabern* in *Germany*, in the year 1504, and received the foundation of his learning in that town, under his father *Peter Buchlin*, who was chief schoolmaster there. He was sent to *Heidelberg* at eleven years of age, and at eighteen to *Strasburgh*; where not being properly supported, by reason of his parents narrow circumstances, he had recourse to teaching others, in order to find himself books and necessaries. The study of the *Hebrew* growing into vogue in *Germany*, *Fagius* applied himself to it; and by the help of *Capito's* two books of rules and instructions for learning the *Hebrew*, and of *Elias Levita* a learned *Jew*, became a very great proficient in it. This branch of learning led him into a strict acquaintance with *Capito*, *Hedio*, *Bucer*, *Zellius*, and other learned Reformers. In the year 1527, he took upon him the care of a school at *Isna*; where he married a wife, and had several children.

Afterwards,



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Afterwards, quitting the schoolmaster, he entered into the ministry, and became a sedulous preacher. This was about the year 1537. *Petrus Bufflerius*, one of the senators of *Isna*, being informed of his perfect knowledge in the holy tongue, and of the natural bias which he had to learning, erected a printing-house at his own cost and charge, to the end that *Fagius* might publish, whatever he might deem useful to religion and to posterity: But the event did not answer the charges *Bufflerus* had been at. *Fagius*, however, prosecuted his studies with continued zeal, and was allowed to be one of the greatest *Hebræans* of his time. He often employed his knowledge to the confutation of the *Jews*, with whom he had strenuous debates. Mr. *Leigh* notes of him, that, as the *Jews* say of *Moses Ben Maimon* (or *Maimonides*), from *Moses* to *Moses* not one has risen up like this *Moses*; so the *Germans* might add of *Paulus Fagius*, that from *Paul* to *Paul* not one, in this way, has appeared like this *Paul*.

In the year 1541, the plague began to spread at *Isna*; when *Fagius* understanding, that the wealthiest of the inhabitants were about to leave the place, without having any regard to the poorer sort, he rebuked them openly, and admonished them of their duty; that they should either continue in the town, or liberally bestow their alms before they went, for the relief of those they left behind; adding that, during the time of their visitation, he would himself in person visit those that were sick, would administer spiritual comfort to them, pray for them, and be present with them day and night: All which he did, and yet escaped the distemper. At the same season, the plague was hot in *Strasburgh*, and, among many others, took off *Wolfgang Capito*; upon which *Fagius* was called by the senate to succeed him; and here he continued preaching till the beginning of the *German* wars. Then *Frederic* the second, the prince elector palatine, intending a Reformation in his churches, called *Fagius* from *Strasburgh* to *Heidelberg*, and made him public professor there: But the emperor prevailing against the elector, the Reformation was put a stop to. During his residence there, he published many books for the promotion of *Hebrew* learning; which were greatly approved by *Bucer*, *Hedio*, *Zellius*, and others, who were the first planters of the gospel in those parts, and who also employed him to read divinity lectures on week-days, and to officiate for them in other parts of their pastoral

pastoral function, when they were hindered themselves by sickness or other important avocations. Even *Scaliger* confessed him to be the most learned of all the Christians of his time in the *Hebrew* tongue.

His father dying in the year 1548, and the persecution in *Germany* threatening pains, penalties and banishments to all, who did not profess the doctrine of the church of *Rome*; he and *Bucer* came over to *England*, upon receiving letters from archbishop *Cranmer*, in which they had repeated assurances of a kind reception and a handsome stipend, if they would continue there. They arrived in *April*, 1549; were cordially entertained for some time in the palace at *Lambeth*; and were destined at length to reside at *Cambridge*; where they were to perfect a new translation and illustration of the scriptures; *Fagius* taking the Old Testament, and *Bucer* the New, for their several parts. But this was all put an end to, by the sudden illness and death of both these gracious and learned professors. *Fagius* fell ill at *London* of a quartan fever, but would be removed to *Cambridge*, upon a presumption of receiving benefit from the change of air. He died there upon the 13th of *November*, 1550, aged 45; and *Bucer* did not live above a year after him. See *Bucer's* life. *Melchior Adam* says, that *Fagius* slept with great resignation in *Christ*, not without suspicion of having been poisoned; which last circumstance is not mentioned by any of the *English* historians.

Both their bodies were dug up and burnt in the reign of queen *Mary*, both because they had maintained the doctrine of predestination with the other Reformers, and because they, in their writings, had highly commended those Reformers. *Fagius* was tall in stature, somewhat black-visaged; his countenance appeared stern, yet such as commanded reverence; he was of an affable and courteous disposition, affectionate, meek, and lowly; an excellent orator, and a great student, as appears by his works; which are, 1. A translation of *Theſbites Elias*. 2. Apothegms of the *Hebrew* fathers. 3. Moral sentences of *Ben Syra*, alphabetically digested, with notes. 4. The translation of *Tobias Hebraicus*. 5. *Hebrew* prayers used by the *Jews* on their solemn festivals. 6. An exposition of the *Hebrew* sayings on the four first chapters of *Genesis*, with the *Chaldee* paraphrase of *Onkelos*. 7. Translation of a book called, of the truth of faith; compiled by a converted *Jew*, to prove the verity of the Christian religion. 8. Commentaries on certain *Psalms* by *Kimchi*. 9. An

Hebrew

Hebrew preface to *Elias Levita's Chaldee lexicon*. 10. The *Targum*, with notes. 11. An introduction to the *Hebrew* tongue. And many others.

Melchior Adam has preserved the heads of his valedictory sermon, when *Fagius* left *Strasburgh*; in which, among other exhortations, he desired his hearers; “not to raise
“ a disturbance, nor attempt by human force, to keep
“ the ministers of the gospel among them, now attacked
“ by persecution; but to read their bibles, to edify one
“ another, and to continue in the doctrine which had
“ been faithfully preached to them; to honour the mini-
“ sters for their work’s sake, who were not sent to serve
“ their own bellies, nor to please men; that the causes
“ of the present evil were, 1. That wherever God raised
“ a church, the devil would build a chapel by it. 2.
“ That the professors of the gospel had been too remiss
“ and secure, so that the devil had sown his tares. 3.
“ That they had been too little thankful for the divine
“ blessing of God’s word. 4. That God would try his
“ own, and, by the trial, separate the chaff from the
“ grain.” He added concerning himself: “I hear the
“ trumpet of sedition, upon this occasion; but, I bless
“ God, I have instigated no man to follow it. This
“ cannot truly be said of me. What I would confess is,
“ that I have been too little diligent in preaching the
“ gospel among you; for which I implore pardon of my
“ God. Pray for me, that I may abide faithful in all
“ afflictions. I am *but* a man: And even *Peter* fell.”—
Thus humbly did this gracious man think and speak of himself! He knew his own heart; and knew too, that nothing but almighty grace could keep that heart from falling. This is a point of wisdom, which comes alone from heaven, and which is given to all the faithful in leading them thither.

MARTIN

MARTIN BUCER,

THE MODERATE REFORMER.

THIS protestant divine was born at *Schelestadt*, in *Alsace*, in 1491, and died at *Cambridge* in 1551. He was one of the ablest ministers of that century, and there were but few ecclesiastical negotiations in which he was not employed. He wrote several books, and composed many lectures, in which he labored with great zeal, and much dexterity, to pacify the differences between the Lutherans and Zuinglians. He wished that both parties had been less rigid; and that great affair might have happily succeeded, if all the heads had been persons of a reconciling temper like himself.

Bucer was a man of immense learning. From his earliest youth he applied himself to acquire a thorough knowledge of the *Greek* and *Hebrew*. He read *Erasmus's* books with great attention. Meeting afterwards with some of *Luther's* treatises, and comparing the doctrine there delivered with the scripture, he began to doubt of his *Romish* principles. His uncommon learning and eloquence, which was assisted by a strong and musical voice, recommended him to the elector palatine, who made him one of his chaplains.

Bucer met *Luther* at the diet of *Worms* in 1521, when they passed several days in familiar conversation; after which *Bucer* embraced the doctrine of *Luther*, and openly professed it from that time. Two years after, he was admitted into the number of the reformed preachers in *Strasburgh*; and he subscribed a book with them, which they published in 1524, setting forth the reasons that induced them to renounce popery: But he wrote some tracts in 1527, in defence of the Zuinglians against *Brentius* and *Pomeranus*, who were Lutherans. He assisted,
in



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in 1529, as deputy of the church of *Strasburgh*, in the conferences of *Marpurg*, where they endeavored to pacify the dissentions between the Lutherans and the Zuinglians: But it was false, that he begun by being a sacramentarian, for he followed *Luther* as the instrument of his conversion from the beginning.

The bishop of *Meaux* endeavors to make *Bucer* pass for a dissembler, and alledges the testimony of *Calvin* for it. ‘Whether *Bucer* had a formal design to trifle with the world by affected equivocations, or whether any confused idea of reality made him believe, that he might sincerely subscribe to expressions so evidently contrary to the figurative sense, is left to the judgement of the protestants. It is certain that *Calvin*, his friend, and in some measure his disciple, when he would express a blameable obscurity in a profession of faith, said, that there was nothing so perplexed, so obscure, so ambiguous, so winding in *Bucer* himself.’ It was said by *Justus Jonas*, that there was in *Zuinglius* something rustic, and a little arrogant: In *Oecolampadius* a wonderful good nature and clemency: In *Hedio* no less humanity and good nature: In *Bucer* a fox-like cunning, imitating prudence and sagacity. But the bishop of *Meaux* would not rely on the disadvantageous judgement that this divine of *Saxony* made of *Bucer*, after the conferences of *Marpurg* in 1529.

All the works of *Bucer* were very moderate: But, it is said, by one who was an Arminian in his heart, that *Calvin* castrated some of them at his pleasure at *Geneva*. However, we are told, that ‘*Bucer* used, as often happens among learned men as long as they live, to revise his lucubrations, to add, or take away, and even to retract some things.’ *Bucer* declares this concerning himself, in his preface to his commentaries on the gospels, in these words: “This disturbs some, because they make no doubt but many will be offended, that I now seem not very consistent with myself. Because the Lord has given me to understand some places more fully than I formerly did, which as it is so bountifully given to me, why should I not impart it liberally to my brethren, and ingenuously declare the goodness of the Lord? What inconsistency is there in profiting in the work of salvation? And who, in this age, or in the last, has treated of the scripture, and has not experienced, that, even in this study, one day is the scholar of another?” Afterwards he produces the example of

Augustine in his retractions, and wishes that more books of retractions were published. If *Bucer* himself declares that he retracted many things of his former meditations, by what consequence, or even with what conscience, can any one assert, that the later editions of his works are corrupted; if every thing, in some places of them, is not found expressed in the very same words? *David Paræus* made a confession like this of *Bucer*; for which he was insulted by a jesuit of *Mentz*.

Luther did not admire *Bucer*; and yet *Bucer* has been ranked with *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Calvin*, and *Cranmer*, as one of the promoters of the Reformation, to whom the protestants are more obliged than to *Erasmus*, whose timidity offended the Reformers, by his obstinately adhering to the interpretations of the church, upon whose authority he founded his faith and belief of the canonical scriptures. In a civil letter to *Bucer*, in 1527, *Erasmus* sets forth his reasons why he could not join with the reformed; and gives them a very bad character; though he declares his esteem for *Bucer*, who, like *Erasmus*, endeavored to pacify the religious disputants, and bring things to an accommodation; and, like *Erasmus*, was insulted by both parties.

Bishop *Burnet* says, that ‘*Bucer* was a very learned, judicious, pious, and moderate person. Perhaps, he was inferior to none of all the Reformers for learning: But for zeal, true piety, and a most tender care of preserving unity among the foreign churches, *Melancthon* and he, without any injury done to the rest, may be ranked apart by themselves. At *Ratisbon* he had a conference with *Gardiner*, who was then ambassador from king *Henry VIII.* in which *Gardiner* broke out into such a violent passion, that, as he spared no reproachful words, so the company thought he would have fallen on *Bucer* and beat him. He was in such disorder, that the little vein between his thumb and fore-finger did swell and palpitate, which *Bucer* said he had never before that observed in any person in his life.’ Even *Cochlæus* acknowledged, that *Bucer* and *Melancthon* were very learned men. And cardinal *Contarene*, on his return out of *Germany* from the disputation at *Ratisbon*, being asked his judgement of the *German* divines, answered; ‘They have, among others, *Martin Bucer*, endowed with that excellency of learning both in theology and philosophy, and, besides, of that subtlety and happiness in disputation, that he alone may be set
‘ against

‘ against all our learned men.’ *John Gropper*, likewise, ambassador of the archbishop of *Cologne*, said of him, after the assembly at *Regenspurg*, ‘ That he was the fittest man in the world to reform religion, because he was not only very learned and exemplary in his life, but a great lover of peace and concord.’

The Sacramentarians presented their confession of faith at the diet of *Augsburgh*, in 1530. It was drawn up by *Bucer* and *Capito*, and approved by the senate of *Strasburgh*. They held, that men are only justified by the merits of *Jesus Christ*, and faith; but that faith ought to be attended with charity: And they allowed only of two sacraments, Baptism, and the Lord’s Supper.

The Lutherans and Zuinglians differed about the Lord’s Supper, and were separated as to communion. The Lutherans denied having any union with the Sacramentarians; and they were not able to bear the opinion of *Luther*: But there was a third party gathered out of both, who were sensible that they were not obliged to hold up their divisions, and labored to persuade them that their opinions were not so different, as was commonly thought, and that they might easily re-unite. *Bucer*, then a minister at *Strasburgh*, was at the head of this party, and undertook, purely out of a desire of uniting the Lutherans and Zuinglians, to draw up a confession of faith, which both sides might approve. The task was difficult to perform. *Luther*, and his followers, had always asserted, that the body and blood of *Christ* were really with the bread and wine in the Eucharist. *Zuinglius*, and his adherents, on the contrary, held, that the bread and wine were only signs of the body and blood of *Christ*.

These two propositions were directly contrary. *Bucer* found out a medium, which he thought might satisfy both parties; namely, that the bread and wine remained the same substance, that they ever were, without any alteration; but, by receiving them, they received the substance of the real body and blood of *Jesus Christ*, spiritually, and by faith. He made use of the same sort of expressions, as were made by the four imperial cities, *Strasburgh*, *Constance*, *Memminghen*, and *Lindau*, and presented to the diet of *Augsburg*. He made also the same declaration to *Luther*, to persuade him that the Sacramentarians were not of a contrary opinion to him about the Eucharist: But *Luther* knew the opinion of the Zuinglians, and gave no credit to *Bucer*. He wrote a letter to the senate of *Francfort* upon this occasion, in which hav-

ing clearly shewn the difference between his own doctrine and the Zuinglian, he says, that the Zuinglians play after a strange manner with the words of *Jesus Christ*: That they are a double-tongued generation, who say that the body and blood of *Jesus Christ* are really in the sacrament; but, when they explain themselves, say, that it is spiritually, not corporeally; and so continue in the error, that there is nothing but bread and wine in the Lord's Supper. The ministers of *Francfort* made an apology against this letter, and made use of *Bucer's* expressions, affirming that believers receive the true body and blood of *Jesus Christ* in the Lord's Supper, and do really eat and drink it for the nourishment of their souls: That though the bread and wine are not changed in their own nature, yet it cannot be said, that there is nothing in the Lord's Supper except the bread and wine, but that it is the sacrament of the true body and blood, which God has given us for the nourishment of our souls. The Zuinglians suspected, on the other side, that *Bucer* was departed from their opinion; so that in his journey to *Zurick*, which he made in *May*, 1533, he was forced to remove that suspicion, by assuring them, that he was of the same opinion which he maintained in the conference of *Bern*. He added, that he certainly knew, and could prove, that the opinion of *Luther* did not differ from *Zuinglius*, but in terms; and that the presence of the body of *Jesus Christ*, which he asserted in the Lord's Supper, was not contrary to the doctrine of *Zuinglius*.

The ministers of *Augsburg* also complained of *Bucer*, and accused him of having changed his opinion, by acknowledging that the body of *Jesus Christ* was eat corporeally and substantially in the Lord's Supper, and exhorting others to subscribe the confession of *Augsburg*, and the apology. They plainly told him, that they would acknowledge no other presence of *Jesus Christ* in the Lord's Supper, than that of which he speaks in the sixth chapter of *St. John*. *Bucer* replied, that the imperial cities had not, in the assembly of *Schweinfurt*, departed from the confession of faith, which they had given into the diet at *Augsburg*; and that, by subscribing to the confession of *Augsburg*, they had not asserted a corporeal eating, but only promised to teach nothing contrary to that confession, which, in the article of the Lord's Supper, might agree with the doctrine of *Zuinglius*.

The ministers of *Strasburgh* importuned the *Switzers* to draw up a confession of their faith about the Lord's Supper.

Supper. It was composed at *Basil* in these words. ‘ We
 ‘ acknowledge, that our Lord *Jesus Christ* instituted his
 ‘ holy Supper in remembrance of his passion, to publish
 ‘ his death with thanksgiving, to shew our Christian
 ‘ charity, and union in the true faith. And as in bap-
 ‘ tism the water retains its own nature; so in the Lord’s
 ‘ Supper, in which the true body and true blood of *Jesus*
 ‘ *Christ* is signified and tendered to us with the bread and
 ‘ wine by the minister of the church, the bread and the
 ‘ wine remain. Now we firmly believe, that *Jesus Christ*
 ‘ is the nourishment of faithful souls to eternal life, and
 ‘ that our souls are nourished and watered by true faith in
 ‘ *Jesus Christ*, with his flesh and his blood.’ They added,
 in the margin of that confession, some words, by which
 they restrained what they seemed to say, in favor of the
 real presence, to a sacramental and spiritual presence by
 faith.

What opposition soever there was between the Luth-
 erans and Zuinglians, *Bucer* would not despair of effecting
 an union; and, to that end, he obtained that a synod of
 the ministers of the cities of *Upper Germany* should meet
 at *Constance*, in 1534. The ministers of *Zurick* were
 invited; but not being able to come, they sent a con-
 fession of their faith, in which they expressed their sense
 of the sacrament in the same words they had used at the
 conference at *Bern*; where they had declared, that they
 could not re-unite with *Luther*, unless he would acknow-
 ledge that they eat the flesh of *Jesus Christ*, no otherwise,
 than by faith; for, according to his human nature, he
 is only in heaven, and is only in the eucharist by faith
 after a sacramental manner, which makes things present
 not carnally and sensibly, but spiritually, and to be re-
 ceived by faith. This form, approved by the churches
 of *Basil*, *Schaffhausen*, and *Gall*, was received by the synod
 of *Constance*, and put into the hands of *Bucer* for him to
 communicate to *Luther* and *Melancthon*. *Bucer* had a
 conference with the latter at *Cassel*, in the presence of
 the landgrave, and told him, “ that we received truly
 “ and substantially the body and blood of *Jesus Christ*,
 “ when we receive the sacrament: That the bread and
 “ wine are exhibiting signs; and, by receiving them,
 “ the body and blood of *Jesus Christ* are given to us,
 “ and received by us: That the bread and body of *Jesus*
 “ *Christ* are united, not by a mixture of substance, but
 “ because it is given with the sacrament.” *Melancthon*
 was inclinable enough to accept this exposition: But,
 because

because he acted in the names of others, he would not conclude any thing, and obliged himself to give a fair account of *Bucer's* words. *Luther* also began to be more tractable, after *Bucer* had made this declaration; and, in several letters, shewed great inclination for an agreement, and to confer about the means of coming to an union.

The ministers and magistrates of the reformed cantons of *Switzerland*, met at *Basil* in *January*, 1536, to draw up a confession of faith. *Bucer* and *Capito* went thither and propounded an union with the Lutherans, assuring them that *Luther* was much mollified as to the *Zuinglians*, and desired nothing more than to come to an agreement with them; and therefore prayed them, so to moderate the expressions of their confession of faith, which they were about to draw up, especially in the articles about the eucharist, and the efficacy of the sacraments, as that they might forward the union, by omitting such words, as might occasion a contest. This they partly obtained of the ministers of *Switzerland*, from the confession of faith which they had composed. They owned, that the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper were not mere signs, but made up of signs, and things signified. That the water was the sign in baptism, and the thing signified was regeneration and adoption: That, in the eucharist, the bread and wine are the signs, and the thing signified is the communion of the body of *Christ* received by faith: That the body and blood of *Christ* is offered to the faithful in the Lord's Supper, that *Jesus Christ* may live in them, and they in *Jesus Christ*; not that the body and blood of *Jesus Christ* are naturally united to the bread and wine, or included in the elements, or carnally present; but because they are symbols, by which we have a real communion with the body and blood of *Jesus Christ* to nourish the soul spiritually. This confession of faith was also approved in a second assembly of the magistrates and ministers of the protestant cantons of *Switzerland*, held at *Basil* in *March* of the same year.

The ministers of *Strasburgh* gave notice to those of *Basil* and *Zurich*, that they had appointed a synod to meet at *Eisenach*, on the fourteenth of *May*, where *Luther* would be present to treat of an union about the article of the Lord's Supper; and intreated them to send some of their divines. The *Switzers* thought it inconsistent to send any persons from them; but sent their confession of faith to *Bucer* and *Capito*, that they might present it to the synod. *Bucer* and *Capito* carried it to *Eisenach*, where
the

the ministers, sent by the chiefs of *Upper Germany*, were assembled. *Luther* could not be there; and therefore they went to him at *Wittenberg*, where they arrived on the twenty-second of *May*, and had a conference with him. *Luther* required of them, that they would plainly acknowledge, that the bread and wine in the sacrament were the body and blood of our Lord, and that the good and bad receive them alike. When they met again, the next day, *Luther* asked them whether they would not revoke their opinion? *Bucer* answered him, that their faith and doctrine concerning the sacrament was, that, by the institution, and the operation of our Lord, and according to the natural sense of the words, the true body and true blood of *Jesus Christ* were made present, given, and received, with the visible signs of bread and wine: That they also believed, that the body and blood of *Jesus Christ* are offered by the ministers of the church to all those that receive them: And that they are not only received by the heart and mouth of the godly for salvation, but by the mouth of the unworthy for their condemnation; which they yet desire may be understood of the members of the church. *Luther* replied, he did not believe the body and blood of *Christ* were united with the bread and wine by any natural union, nor that they were locally included in the bread and wine; but he admitted a sacramental union of the bread and body, and wine and blood. Then having consulted privately with the *Saxon* divines, he returned to *Bucer* and his brethren, and told them, that if they did believe, and would teach, that the true body and true blood of *Jesus Christ*, were offered, given, and taken in the Lord's Supper, and not mere bread and wine; and that this perception and exhibition were made really, and not after an imaginary manner, they were agreed among themselves, and he would acknowledge and embrace them as brethren in *Jesus Christ*.

This confession of faith was signed by the ministers of the cities of *Upper Germany*. Afterwards, on the twenty-fifth of *May*, they conferred with *Pomeranus* about images, the ceremonies of the mass, priests vestments, tapers, the elevation and adoration of the sacrament, which were yet used in *Saxony*. *Pomeranus* said, that *Luther* confessed these things were amiss: But that he had hitherto continued them up on account of the weak, and was thinking to abolish them on the twenty-seventh of the same month. *Bucer* and *Capito* delivered to *Luther* the confession of faith of the churches of *Switzerland*, that he might examine it. He

He took notice of some words, which, as he said, might offend the weak. Nevertheless he declared, that he would acknowledge them for his brethren, if they would sign the form of the union, which had been drawn up. *Bucer*, having undertaken to cause it to be received by them, returned to *Strasburgh*, and made such an explication of the words, by softening them, that he reduced them to a sense, which was not contrary to the doctrine of the Sacramentarians. These articles were successful at *Strasburgh*; yet they had not the same fate in *Switzerland*, where *Bucer* had sent this form of union. It was there thought obscure, doubtful, and captious; and they would not subscribe to it; so that *Bucer* and *Capito* were obliged to go themselves to an assembly of the protestant cantons, which was held at *Basil* in *September*. *Bucer* there related, that *Luther* had not disapproved the confession of the *Switzers*: But both parties judged it convenient to draw up a form of union; and he undertook to shew, that the doctrine of it was not different from their confession of faith; and he exhorted them to sign it, that the union might be complete. The *Switzers* could not be prevailed on to do it; and all that *Bucer* could obtain was, that they would draw up a declaration of the opinions of the churches of *Switzerland*, in which they would explain the articles of the agreement, and send them to *Luther*.

In this declaration, which is very long, the articles of the form of union about the Lord's Supper are delivered in such expressions, as wholly favor the judgment of *Zuinglius*, and are opposite to the real presence. They there say, that *Jesus Christ* is the food of our souls; and that his body is really eaten, and his blood really drank, not carnally, substantially, and corporeally, but spiritually, and by faith, by believing the promises of God, that the elements of the bread and wine, in the administration of the Lord's Supper, are signs which represent *Jesus Christ* to us, and put us in mind of his mysteries: That his presence in the Supper is not a corporeal presence, but a celestial one; and that his body is united to the bread only in a sacramental manner: That the bread and wine are figures of the body of *Christ*, which is discerned by the mind in the sacrament: That those who eat the bread at the Lord's Supper, by a sincere faith, receive the benefits which God hath promised; but that they, who eat without faith, receive their own judgment and condemnation. This declaration was composed in a synod at *Zurick*, held in *October*, and approved in
another

another assembly, which met in *November* following at *Basil*, from whence it was sent to *Luther*, and presented by *Bucer* at the assembly at *Smalkald*, in 1537. *Luther* approved all the articles, excepting that which contained the Lord's Supper.

The *Switzers* called a synod on purpose, in *March*, 1538, to consult about an answer to *Luther's* letter; and *Bucer* and *Capito* were sent thither, to deliver his judgement. The ministers of *Zurick* alledged, that *Luther*, in his writings, and in the confession of *Augsburg*, had maintained the real presence, and positively condemned the opinion of the *Zuinglians*. That these writings of *Luther* were public, and the words clear; nor could they allow of his doctrine, unless they were certain he had altered his opinion, and embraced the truth. *Bucer* was much amazed at this objection, and answered, that it was very unfit to press it at this time, since they had long known what was contained in *Luther's* writings, and had never urged it before in the whole course of the treaty: That, now things were near an end, they had contrived to propound it, and revive the old quarrel to prevent the conclusion of the whole affair. The ministers of *Zurick* replied, they never desired the ministers of *Strasburgh* to concern themselves with the treaty: That *Bucer* and *Capito* came to find them, and assured them, that *Luther's* opinion about the sacrament agreed with theirs, and that they might unite with him, if they would frame a confession of faith, which should contain their opinion, and the conditions on which they would come to an agreement with *Luther*: That they had drawn up a confession at *Basil*, and delivered their opinion about the Lord's Supper fully: That if *Luther* had approved of their confession of faith, there would have needed no more to be done towards an agreement; but, instead of that, *Bucer* had brought them other articles from *Wittenberg*, and prayed them to sign thereto: That they had offered to do it, provided *Luther* liked the explication which *Bucer* gave of them: That at last, they had sent a declaration of their opinions, which they were resolved to abide by, and would not consent to any thing new or obscure. *Bucer*, the next day, made a long discourse, in which he labored to prove, that there was no other difference between the Lutherans and *Zuinglians*, about their opinion concerning the Lord's Supper, but in words, and expressions. However, the ministers of *Zurick* continued to declare, that they would keep close to the confession

of *Bafil*, and the dispute at *Bern*; that the words, which *Luther* had always used, were directly contrary to their opinions; that they could not explain themselves in any other terms without force, because they were clear and without ambiguity: That it was not reasonable to judge of the opinion of any man, rather by the declaration of another, than from his own words: That *Luther*, in his last letter, had named *Bucer* and *Capito*, for his interpreters; but it was to be feared that in the issue he would blame them for being too easy, and going too far, and so would not consent to the declaration they should make. Then the ministers of *Zurick* came to debate the matter with *Bucer*, and brought him to grant, that these words, *this is my body*, were figurative: That the sacramental union of the body of *Christ* with the bread, consisted only in this, that the bread signified the body: That the body of *Jesus Christ* is essentially at the right-hand of the Father, and after a spiritual manner in the sacrament. They disputed upon this question: Whether the presence of *Jesus Christ*, in the Lord's Supper, was miraculous? *Luther* had said, in his last letter, that the presence was inexplicable, and an effect of the divine omnipotence. The ministers of *Zurick* would not allow any miracle to be in the Lord's Supper, and maintained that it was easy to explain after what manner *Jesus Christ* was spiritually present by operation and efficacy. They urged *Bucer* to sign the articles, on which they were agreed: But he desired time; and drew up a long instrument, in form of a verbal process, containing what had been said on both sides, which was disapproved by the assembly.

The chancellor of *Zurick*, being sensible if they went on disputing there would be no end, turned his speech to the ministers of *Zurick*, and said; 'Do you believe that we receive the body and blood of *Jesus Christ* in the sacrament, or no?' They all answered, 'We believe it.' Then turning himself to *Bucer* and *Capito*, he said to them; 'Do you own that the body and blood of *Jesus Christ* is received into the souls of believers by faith and spirit?' They answered; 'We believe, and confess it.' 'To what purpose then, (replied the chancellor) are all your disputes, which have lasted these three days?' The ministers of *Zurick* added, that they held no other doctrine, than that which they had expressed in their confession of faith, and their declaration: And the ministers of *Strasburgh* solemnly declared, that they would not oblige them to embrace any thing contrary

trary to it; much less draw any person from that doctrine.

Upon these declarations it was agreed, that an answer should be sent to *Luther*, which was drawn up and read two days after in the assembly. The *Switzers* were very careful it should be expressed, that, in their joining with *Luther*, they would not change their opinion about the Lord's Supper; for they declared, they did not enter into that union, till they were assured, by *Bucer* and *Capito*, that *Luther* approved their confession of faith made at *Basil*, with the exposition they had given of it; and because he had declared to them, that *Jesus Christ* was at the right-hand of his Father, and did not come down in any manner into the Lord's Supper; and that he did not grant any presence of *Jesus Christ* in the eucharist, nor any manducation contrary to the Christian faith. They also declared, that the body and blood of *Jesus Christ* were received and eaten in the Lord's Supper: but only so far as they were truly taken and received by faith; and that they would not recede from their confession of faith, and their declaration: That as *Luther* was of the same opinion, they were filled with extreme joy, that they might live in peace and union with him, and keep up this agreement, and avoid all discord. This letter was dated the fourth of *May*, 1538.

Bucer was embarrassed between the opinions of *Luther* and *Zuinglius* concerning the eucharist: One appeared to him too strong, the other too weak. The doctrine of the Lutherans seemed to him to attribute too much reality to the presence of *Jesus Christ* in the sacrament of the eucharist. He could not digest the consequences of it: But he also thought, that the opinion of the Zuinglians was too narrow, and did not come up to the ideas, which the scripture and antient tradition imprint on our minds. They gave him great uneasiness; and he wrote to *John à Lasco*, overseer of the churches of *East Friesland*, to enquire, whether *à Lasco*, besides a power of signifying, acknowledged a power of exhibiting *Christ* himself; and that the Lord, in the communion of his body and blood, is given and received; whereby we are members of him in part, and flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone; whereby we abide in him, and he in us; and that it is given and perceived, when the Lord himself operates in his ministry, and when the words and symbols are received as the Lord's, and as it were from the Lord himself, by free dispensation through his ministers, which

they call an union, not sensual, local, or natural; but sacramental, and of the covenant on account of these texts of scripture, which speak of the mystery of the incorporation of the church, and of the communion, and eating and drinking of the flesh and blood of *Christ*.

Bucer also said, that *Luther* was satisfied, if the *Zuinglians* owned in the holy supper any thing more than bare signs of *Christ* absent. “I am grieved, says he, and
“not without reason, that we, to whom the Lord hath
“so bountifully revealed the other mysteries of his
“kingdom, have not been able, now in thirty-four
“years, to agree concerning this most sacred and most
“general mystery, which all Christians ought to under-
“stand, as well as use.”

The Lutherans said, that *Bucer* died in the Calvinistical faith. *Josias Simler*, professor at *Zurick*, in an oration on the life and death of *Peter Martyr*, testifies that *Bucer* studied such expressions throughout the whole contest, as nothing certain could be concluded from, that so, pleasing both parties, he might gradually compose the difference. However, *Bucer* and *Martyr* continued good friends, and were fully persuaded of each other's orthodoxy.

Bucer has been accused of approaching too near the papistical doctrine of the merit of good works*; but this
does

* The late Mr. *Toplady*, in his *Historic Proof*, has defended *Bucer* from this imputation. See p. 363. His words are: ‘It has been
‘affirmed, that *Bucer* held the doctrine of justification by works, and
‘believed human obedience to be meritorious in the sight of God.
‘That he was once of this opinion, is not at all wonderful, when
‘we consider that he was born and educated in the bosom of the
‘*Romish* church, with whom the tenet of legal justification is a fun-
‘damental principle. And, for a considerable time after God had
‘called him out of papal darkness, his improvements in divine know-
‘ledge were progressive. His spiritual growth resembled the gradual
‘vegetation of an oak; not the rapid proficiency of a mushroom.
‘*Bucer* seems to have expressed himself the most incautiously, in the
‘disputation at *Leipsie*, A. D. 1539; yet, even then, he roundly de-
‘clared, that “those GOOD WORKS, to which so great a reward is
“given, ARE THEMSELVES THE GIFT OF GOD.” And that
‘passage, which *Vossius* quotes from *Bucer*, falls extremely short of
‘proving that the latter was, even at the early period in which he
‘penned it, an assertor of justification by performances of our own.
‘Impartiality obliges me to subjoin that celebrated passage, which so
‘many Arminians and merit-mongers have since caught at, as if it
‘made for the popish doctrine of justification. “I cannot but wish,”
‘said *Bucer*, in the year 1529, “a more sound judgement to some
“persons, who have disturbed many in this our age with this para-
“dox,

does not appear in his dispute with *Malvenda* and other popish divines at the conference at *Ratisbon* in 1546, where (according to *Sleidan*) he maintained; “ That a
“ man

“ dox, That we are saved by faith only: Though they saw the thing
“ was carried so far, as to confine righteousness only to the opinion
“ of the mind, and excluding good works. Where is their charity,
“ who refuse to cure this evil, by one word or two? It is only to say,
“ that, when FAITH is formed, we are JUSTIFIED; and that,
“ through faith, we obtain a disposition to GOOD WORKS, and, con-
“ sequently, a righteousness: Or, that FAITH IS THE FOUNDA-
“ TION AND ROOT OF A RIGHTEOUS LIFE, as *Augustine* said.”
“ Is there a single sentence, in this paragraph, to which the strictest
“ Calvinist would not consent? Observe the order, in which *Bucer*
“ arranges faith, justification, and obedience. *Faith* goes before;
“ justification follows faith; and practical *obedience* follows justifica-
“ tion: We first *believe*; we no sooner believe, than we are *justified*;
“ and the faith, which justifies, disposes us to the after-performance of
“ good works: Or, in other words, *justifying faith* “ is the root and
“ foundation of a righteous life.” Says not every Calvinist the same?

“ As *Bucer* advanced in years and experience, he learned to express
“ his idea of justification with still greater clearness and precision,
“ than he had done on some past occasions. Finding that the enemies
“ of grace had greedily lain hold of some inadvertent phrases, and
“ taken ungenerous advantage of some well-meant concessions, which
“ he had made, before his evangelical light was at the full; he
“ deemed it necessary, to *retract* such of his positions as countenanced
“ the merit of works; and to place justification on the scriptural basis
“ of the Father’s gratuitous goodness, and the Son’s imputed righte-
“ ousness: Still, however, taking care to inculcate, that the *faith*, by
“ which we receive the grace of God and the righteousness of *Christ*,
“ is the certain source of all good works.—For being thus honest to his
“ convictions, he was loaded, by his adversaries, with accumulated
“ slander and reproach. How modestly, and forcibly, he vindicated
“ his conduct, may be judged from the following passage: “ The
“ Lord, (says *Bucer*) has given me to understand some places [of
“ scripture] more fully than I formerly did: Which, as it is so boun-
“ tifully given to me, why should I not impart it liberally to my
“ brethren, and ingenuously declare the goodness of the Lord? What
“ inconsistency is there, in profiting in the work of salvation? And
“ who, in this age, or in the last, has treated of the scripture, and
“ has not experienced, that, even in this study, one day is the scho-
“ lar of another?”

“ Indeed, no stronger proof need be given, of *Bucer*’s soundness in
“ the article of justification, than the rapture and admiration with
“ which he mentions the *English* book of HOMILIES. No sooner,
“ says Mr. *Strype*, were the homilies composed, and sent abroad; but
“ the news thereof (and the book itself, as it seemed, already trans-
“ lated into *Latin*) came to *Strasburgh*, among the protestants there:
“ Where it caused great rejoicing. And *Bucer*, one of the chief mi-
“ nisters there, wrote a gratulatory epistle hereupon to the church of
“ *England*, in November, 1547, which was printed in the year after.
“ Therein, that learned and moderate man shewed, “ How these
“ pious sermons were come among them, wherein the people were so
“ godlily

“ man is not justified before God through his own
 “ works or merits, but that he is freely justified through
 “ *Christ* by faith, when he believeth, both that he is
 “ received into grace, and that his sins are pardoned
 “ through *Christ*: That *Christ*, by his death, made satis-
 “ faction for our sins; and that God doth impute faith
 “ for righteousness:” All which he proved and illus-
 trated by testimonies from scripture, and confuted the
 arguments of *Malvenda*.

That *Bucer* was also, in the other points, a strict Re-
 former, let his own words testify: “ Predestination,
 “ (says he) is neither more nor less than pre-limitation,
 “ or fore-appointment: And God, who consigns every
 “ thing to its proper use, worketh all things agreeably
 “ to its pre-determination; and, accordingly, separates
 “ one thing from another, so as to make each thing
 “ answer to its respective use. If you desire a more
 “ extensive definition of this predestination, take it thus;
 “ predestination is an appointment of every thing to its
 “ proper use; by which appointment, God doth, before
 “ he made them, even from eternity, destine all things
 “ whatever to some certain and particular use. Hence
 “ it follows, that even wicked men are predestinated.
 “ For, as God forms them out of nothing, so he forms
 “ them to some determinate end: For he does all things,
 “ knowingly, and wisely. *The Lord hath made all things*
 “ *for himself, even the wicked for the day of evil.* [Prov.
 “ xvi. 4.] Divines, however, do not usually call this
 “ *predestination*; but, *reprobation*.—’Tis certain, that
 “ God makes a good use of evil itself: And every sin we
 “ commit, hath something in it of the good work of
 “ God.—Scripture does not hesitate to affirm, that
 “ there are some persons, whom God delivers over to a

“ godlily and effectually exhorted to the reading of the holy scrip-
 “ tures; and FAITH was so well explained, whereby we become
 “ Christians; JUSTIFICATION, whereby we are saved; and the
 “ other chief heads of Christian religion are soundly handled. And
 “ therefore, (as he added) these foundations being rightly laid, there
 “ could nothing be wanting in our churches, requisite towards the
 “ building hereupon sound doctrine and discipline.” “ He com-
 “ mended much the homilies of FAITH, the nature and force of which
 “ was so clearly discussed; and wherein it was so well distinguished
 “ from the faith that was dead. He much approved of the manner
 “ of treating concerning the misery and death, we are all lapsed into,
 “ by the sin of our first parent; and how we are rescued from this
 “ perdition, ONLY by the GRACE of GOD, and by the MERIT and
 “ resurrection of his Son.”

“ reprobate

“ reprobate sense, and whom he forms for destruction :
 “ Why, therefore, should it be deemed derogatory from
 “ God, to assert, that he not only does this, but resolved
 “ beforehand to do it ?”

Nothing can be more plain and nervous, than the following remarks of *Bucer*, respecting God's obduration of *Pharaoh*. Whether the remarks be, or be not, carried too far, is beyond my province to enquire. “ The
 “ apostle says, *Who may resist the will of God?* By the
 “ word *will*, *Paul* gives us to understand, that God
 “ actually willeth those very things, unto which men
 “ are hardened by him. When *Paul* adds, *Who may*
 “ *resist?* he, in fact, points out the necessity, which
 “ they, whom God hardens, are under of doing those
 “ things. When God would harden *Pharaoh*, in order
 “ that he might not obey the commandment, it was the
 “ actual will of God that *Pharaoh* should not obey.
 “ Yea, God himself wrought in *Pharaoh* to oppose the
 “ commandment sent to him. *Pharaoh* therefore did
 “ what in reality he willed him to do; yea, he did no more
 “ than what God himself had wrought in him: Nor
 “ was it in *Pharaoh's* power, to act otherwise than he
 “ did.” Such was the doctrine taught by this able
 and indefatigable divine. Willing, however, to obviate any exceptions, which those persons might raise, who had not studied these deep points so carefully and so extensively as he had been enabled to do; he, presently after, shelters both his doctrine and himself under the following words, and the correspondent practice, of the great apostle whom he had quoted before: “ *Nay but,*
 “ *O man, [Who art thou that repliest against God?] St.*
 “ *Paul* does not accommodate, nor soften down, a single
 “ syllable of what he had just asserted. The sacred pen-
 “ man does not deny, that they, who are hardened by
 “ God, perish according to the will of God. The
 “ apostle does not admit it to be even possible, that a
 “ person, who is hardened from above, can perform what
 “ is good. *Paul* [instead of setting himself to answer
 “ our reasonings on the matter] contents himself with
 “ merely giving us a solemn caution, not to sit in judge-
 “ ment on the decrees of God: Assuring us, that we
 “ cannot arraign the Deity at our own bar, without
 “ being guilty of the uttermost boldness and impiety.”
 If *Bucer* was not a Calvinist, where shall we find one?
 I cannot prevail on myself to defraud the Readers of a
 few more citations, which may be found in another
 most

most valuable work of *Bucer*, entitled, “A continued
 “ Interpretation of the Four Gospels.” And they
 are the rather subjoined, as the book itself is exceed-
 ing scarce, and possibly may be in the hands of very
 few of our Readers. “They, who are at any
 “ time able to fall quite away from *Christ*, did never
 “ really belong to him. Consequently, they never truly
 “ believed, nor were indeed pious, nor had the holy
 “ Spirit of adoption: On the contrary, all their per-
 “ formances were nothing but hypocrisy, how sanctified
 “ and ready soever unto good works they, for a time,
 “ pretended to be. They, whom *Christ* loves, are loved
 “ by him even unto the end: And he doth not cast away
 “ those whom the Father giveth him; neither can any
 “ snatch them from his hand. Therefore, admitting
 “ that these may fall, yet they cannot fall utterly; for
 “ they are elect unto life: And God’s election cannot
 “ be made void by any creature whatever. Seeing, then,
 “ that *the purpose of God, according to election, may stand,*
 “ *not of works, but of him that calleth:* [Rom. ix. 2.]
 “ He not only elected his own people, *before they were*
 “ *born, and had done either good or evil,* [Rom. ix. 11.]
 “ but even *before the very foundation of the world.* [Eph.
 “ i. 4.] Hence, our Lord said, concerning his apostles,
 “ *I pray not for the world, but for them whom thou hast*
 “ *given me; for they are thine:* That is, they were chosen
 “ by thee unto life.

“As, therefore, on the one hand, *Christ* never knew
 “ [i. e. never loved] the reprobate, whatever deceitful
 “ appearance of virtue they might have; so, on the
 “ other, he *always knew* [i. e. always loved] the elect,
 “ how ungodly soever they might seem for a time.
 “ Consequently, as these [i. e. the elect] are predesti-
 “ nated and called, they shall, sooner or later, be
 “ formed anew, according to the likeness of *Christ*:
 “ While those [i. e. the reprobate] shall be stripped of
 “ that artificial mask, under which they passed for chil-
 “ dren of God; and be made to appear in their own
 “ proper colours.”—On those words of *Christ*, *ye believe*
not, because ye are not of my sheep; *Bucer* thus remarks:
 “They were not of our Lord’s sheep, i. e. they were
 “ not in the number of those who were given to him by
 “ the Father; they were not elected unto life. There-
 “ fore it was, that they were totally destitute of God’s
 “ good Spirit, and were utterly immersed in flesh:
 “ Neither were they able to believe in our Lord, nor to
 “ embrace him as a Saviour.”—A little farther on, we
 find

find this admirable commentator observing as follows:

“ *My sheep hear my voice, &c.* In these words, our Lord
 “ expressly teaches, that all good things are dependent
 “ on God’s election: And that they, to whom it is once
 “ given to be sheep, can never perish afterwards. *Christ*
 “ here tells us, that they alone *hear his voice*: That is,
 “ they, who are indeed his sheep, are made partakers of
 “ faith. Now, whence is it, that some people are
 “ *Christ’s* sheep, or susceptible of his doctrine, while
 “ others are not? Undoubtedly, because the former are
 “ inspired by the good Spirit of God, whereas the latter
 “ are not inspired at all.—But whence is it, that the
 “ former are indued with the Holy Spirit, and not the
 “ latter? For this reason: Because the former were
 “ given to *Christ*, to be saved by him; but the latter
 “ were not given to him. Let us therefore allow
 “ God the honour of being the bestower of his own
 “ Spirit, without supposing him to need or receive any
 “ of our assistance. *Christ* adds, *And I know them*: i. e.
 “ They are committed to my trust; I have them in spe-
 “ cial charge. And doubtless, from hence it is, that
 “ his sheep follow him; and live the life which never
 “ ends. The Father gave them to him, that he might
 “ endue them with life eternal: And they can no more
 “ be *plucked from Christ’s* hand, than from the hand of
 “ the Father, who is mightier and *greater than all*. *Christ*
 “ and the Father are *one*: Their power and strength are
 “ the same. Consequently, as none can pluck the elect
 “ from the Father’s hand, so neither from the hand of
 “ *Christ*.—We are to observe moreover, that it flows
 “ only from God’s election, that we are the sheep of
 “ *Christ* and follow him. We must observe, too, that
 “ such can never entirely fall away. For, the Father
 “ and the Son being undivided, their hand, that is, their
 “ power, must be undivided also: And, out of their
 “ hand, none shall never snatch those whom that hand
 “ has once laid hold on for salvation. Now, unto
 “ whomsoever it shall be given to hear the voice of
 “ *Christ*, and to follow him; they may be said to be
 “ thus lain hold on [by the hand, or power, of divine
 “ grace], seeing, none but the sheep are able to hear and
 “ follow the Redeemer. And, if they are sheep now,
 “ they are so held in the hand of *Christ* and of the Fa-
 “ ther, as never to perish, but to have eternal life.”

Bucer was at the diet of *Ratisbon*, in 1541, with *Me-*
lancthon and *Pistorius*: And he also accompanied *Brentius*,
 O o Major,

Major, and *Schneppius*, at the conference of *Ratisbon* in 1545. He greatly distinguished himself on both occasions against *Cochläus*, and the other disputants for the Romanists: But he was much troubled to see the dispute between the Lutherans and Zuinglians hotter than ever. He wrote to *Luther*, to pacify him. He told him, that these divisions would not advance the Reformation; and assured him, that the ministers of the imperial cities and *Switzerland* held to the terms of the act of agreement.

Bucer, at the same time, drew up a new confession of faith about the eucharist, in which he asserted, that we ought to acknowledge, that the body and blood of *Jesus Christ* are given us in the Lord's Supper, for our nourishment and drink; and that the eucharist bread and wine are the communion of his body and blood; so that we not only receive the Holy Spirit, or the virtue of the body of *Jesus Christ*, but *Jesus Christ* himself. After this explication, he added several other considerations, to let us know, that manducation is not real, and is only done by faith: But he acknowledged, that the body and blood of *Jesus Christ* are really and truly given in the Lord's Supper, if it is celebrated according to the institution of *Christ*, and we have a firm faith in the words in which it was given.

Bucer, in his discourses and writings, always made profession of Lutheranism, accommodated to the establishment in *England*. It is false, that he made a separate sect. He continued always united with one of the Protestant communions; though the stricter part of each party did not approve his remissions.

He offended *Luther*, by inserting some things in his ecclesiastical postill, which made for the Helvetic opinion, concerning the Holy Supper; therefore *Luther*, in his book '*de verbis institutiones*,' vehemently complained of *Bucer*, that he had corrupted his book of homilies, which, he said, was the best of all that he had wrote, and which even pleased the papists. *Bucer* was at no loss for an excuse; and might have alledged the maxim which *Erasmus* attributed to him, "That a deceit which hurts nobody, and is useful to many, is an action of piety." *Erasmus* endeavored to refute him in this, on occasion of a work, which *Bucer* had dedicated to the dauphin under a fictitious name.

Bucer had a great quarrel with *Pomeranus*, for having caused *Luther's* commentary on the *Psalms* to be printed with alterations. He was desirous to have his own commentaries

mentaries on the *Psalms* read by the Romanists, and published them under the name of *Arethius*, which is a *Greek* word, answering to *Martin*; and *Felinus*, a *German* word, expressing the signification of *Bucer* in *Latin*. If he had put his true name to them, which was hated by the monks, the reading of them would have been forbidden in the popish countries. The priests, in the inquisition in *Spain*, imagined that *Bucer's* book "*adversus merita bonorum operum*," was published as a work of the bishop of *Rocheſter*, *de miſericordiâ Dei*.

It is ſaid, the firſt Reformers clamored loudly againſt the peripatetic philoſophy, which was founded by *Ariſtotle*, commonly called the prince of philoſophers. We are told, that *Thomas Aquinas* made uſe of *Ariſtotle's* method, with ſuch great ſucceſs, in explaining the doctrines of the church of *Rome*, that *Bucer*, one of the greateſt enemies to the *Roman* church, uſed to ſay, "Suppreſs *Thomas's* works, and I will deſtroy the church of *Rome*." If he ſaid this, he ſaid it with but very little reaſon; as a curſory examination of *Aquinas* is ſufficient to ſhew.

It is well known, that the doctrine of the ſacraments was purified from the *Romiſh* idolatry, and from ſcholatiſtical phraſes, by *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius*; and that the loſs, which the canton of *Zurick* ſuſtained in the fight, wherein *Zuinglius* was killed, broke the league lately concluded between the cantons of *Switzerland*, the city of *Strasburgh*, and the landgrave of *Heſſe*. Whereupon *Martin Bucer*, being too timorous, was afraid that the whole party would ſink, unleſs he ſtrengthened, with a new alliance, the towns of *Upper Germany*, and particularly *Strasburgh*, where he taught. He caſt his eye upon the potent duke of *Saxony*; and the better to gain him, he endeavored to make every body believe, that the opinions of *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, concerning the Lord's Supper, were the ſame in the main, and that a mere diſpute about words had prevented their agreement. He further ſaid, that it was better to uſe the expreſſions of *Luther*, than of *Zuinglius*; becauſe the latter ſpoke too meanly of the eucharift, and the other in a ſublime manner. He inſpired the ſame thoughts into *John Calvin*, who had gone from *France* to *Strasburgh*. This intrigue of *Bucer* introduced the Lutheran expreſſions into the towns of *Upper Germany*, eſpecially after the fatal concordate of *Wittenberg*. The divines, who taught in *Saxony*, under the elector *Chriſtian*, uſed themſelves to

those phrases of consubstantiation, *phrasibus illis synuasticis assueverant*; so that being expelled after that prince's death, and retiring into the palatine, they took the ministers who used *Zuinglius's* expressions in that country to be heterodox, which occasioned a dissension; but it was so happily, and so quickly, suppressed, that from that time forward there was visibly a better understanding between the divines of the university and the rest.

We are told, that *Bucer* repented of having mediated the formulary of concord in 1536. "*Bucerus dixit se poenas dare quod causam publicam homo privatus voluisset componere, & tam multa prava dogmata conciliare.*" *Peter Martyr*, who heard him say so in *England*, told *Bullinger* of it; *Daniel Tossanus* had it from *Bullinger*, and *Pozelius* from *Daniel Tossanus*, in the presence of *Scultetus*, who inserted it in the history of his life. *Calvin's* friends accused *Bucer* of introducing a new kind of popery, which they called *Bucerism*, in opposition to *Calvinism*. This *Bucerism* consisted principally in his approving episcopacy. But *Calvin* denied, that he ever laid this to *Bucer's* charge; and wished that he would not give a handle for calumny, while he followed the middle way, which was manifest from his writings, especially from the form of Reformation, prescribed to *Herman*, archbishop of *Cologne*, and what he wrote for the Reformation of *England*. As *Bucer* came nearer the church of *Rome* than *Luther*, *Calvin* departed farther from it than *Luther*; so that there arose two denominations besides *Lutheranism*; that is, *Bucerism*, and *Calvinism*. *Calvin* confessed that *Bucerism* was more tolerable than *Calvinism*, if the matter was not to be tried by the scriptures; and that *Bucer* studied peace too much: But he himself measured all things by truth. These are *Calvin's* words to *Bucer*: 'You have no occasion to make any excuse to me, that you are not erecting a new popery; but I would have your integrity so well known to all the world, that no room might be left for suspicion. It is also unnecessary for you to endeavour not to take in any thing of *Calvinism*: If we might vary from the scripture, I know very well how much more tolerable *Bucerism* is than *Calvinism*.'

Herman de Wida, archbishop of *Cologne*, having a mind to settle the Reformation in his diocese, sent for *Martin Bucer* in the year 1542. Most of the canons opposed the enterprize, and published a work, wherein they mixed
a great

a great many invectives against *Bucer*. *Melancthon*, in confuting that piece, did not forget this article: He maintained, that the nun, whom *Bucer* had married for his first wife, did well in forsaking the church of *Rome*, after she had discovered the idolatry of its worship. He added, that she had led a very exemplary life, by her chastity, modesty, and piety; that she had been brought to-bed thirteen times; and that she died of the plague, which she might have escaped, if she would have left her husband. It would have been a pity so fruitful a woman should have remained in a nunnery: And as there are many others as fit to people the world, who are hindered by monastries, one may easily judge of what prejudice these monastical vows are to the temporal good of the state. *Bucer* married a second time to a widow; which gave the canons of *Cologne* occasion to reproach him with another irregularity; because, according to *St. Paul*, a bishop ought to be the husband of one wife only, that is, as they pretended, that he ought not to marry a second time, nor to marry a widow.

The word of God, say they, directs, that he, who is called to the ministry, should be the husband of one wife, 1 *Tim.* iii. and *Titus* i. which the canons of the apostles, and apostolical fathers, have ever to this day understood in this sense, that he who, enters into a second marriage, or marries a widow, cannot be one of those that serve in the holy ministry. *Melancthon* easily confuted this objection: But we are told, that *Bucer* was married a third time.

Martin Bucer, and *Paulus Fagius*, at the instance of archbishop *Cranmer*, were sent for by king *Edward VI.* from *Strasburgh*, to become professors in *Cambridge*. My author, a *German*, makes them to depart thence, *Magistratus Argentinenfis voluntate et consensu*, whom the Jesuit *Parsons* will have both banished by that state. If so, the disgrace is none at all, to be exiled for no other guilt than preaching the gospel, and opposing the *Augsburg* confession, which that imperial city embraced. Besides, the greater the providence, if, when commanded from one place, instantly to be called to another. They came to *England*, and were fixed at *Cambridge*, where *Bucer* was made professor of divinity, *Fagius* of *Hebrew*. The former had the ordinary stipend of his place tripled unto him, as well it might, considering his worth, being of so much merit; his need, having wife and children; and his condition, coming here a foreigner, and fetched from a far country.

country. So it was ordered, that *Fagius* should in *Hebrew* read the evangelical prophet *Isaiah*, and *Bucer* in *Greek* the prophetic evangelist *St. John*.—But, alas! the change of air and diet so wrought on their temper, that both fell sick together. *Bucer* hardly recovered; but *Fagius*, that flourishing tree (nature not agreeing with his transplanting) withered away in the flower of his age, at scarce forty-five, and was buried in the church of *St. Michael*.

Calvin exhorted *Bucer* to order matters in such a manner, that the Reformation of *England* might be well purged of all remains of popery. He lets him know, that if he does not take pains, he will never be able to wipe out the ill suspicions, which several had conceived of his inclining to both sides.

Calvin writes to him thus: ‘I shall endeavour, according to your desire, to advise the lord protector as the present state of affairs require. It will be your business to press him every way, if you can but gain audience, as I am persuaded you do; but chiefly, that all ceremonies may be abolished, which any way favour of superstition. This, particularly, I recommend to you, that you free yourself from envy, which you know you labour under, without cause, among several persons; for they always call you the author or approver of indifferent [or, moderate] councils. I know that this suspicion is so deeply rooted in the minds of some people, that you will scarce be able to remove it, though you omit nothing: And some there are who slander you, not out of mistake, but mere malice. In short, this evil is, as it were, destined for you, and you will hardly be able to escape it; but you must take care not to give the ignorant occasion to think ill of you, or a handle to the wicked to reproach you.’ It does not appear that *Bucer* took any notice of these admonitions: Yet *Calvin* testifies, that he expected great things from him, if death had not taken him away so soon.

Archbishop *Cranmer*, who had settled *Bucer* at *Cambridge*, wrote to him, for his opinion upon the point in dispute between his grace and doctor *Hooper*, who accepted the king’s nomination to the bishopric of *Gloucester*, yet refused to be consecrated in the episcopal habit; and *Cranmer* would not consecrate him without it. The archbishop suspended *Hooper* from preaching till he would conform himself to the laws. The king was then moved to write to *Cranmer*, and to discharge him from all

all penalties, and forfeitures, which his grace might otherwise be liable to, in dispensing with all these usual rites, to which *Hooper* had an objection. But as the archbishop could not comply with the king's request without violating the laws, and incurring a præmunire; so it was pushed no farther by his majesty, till *Hooper* had satisfied himself by consulting with *Bucer* and *Peter Martyr*, who told him, that, in the business of religious rites, they were for keeping as close as possible to the holy scriptures, and the most uncorrupt ages of the church: But, however, they could not go so far as to believe, that the substance of religion was affected by the clothes we wear; and they thought things of this nature altogether indifferent, and left to our liberty by the word of God. *Hooper* continued obstinate; and *Martyr* tells *Bucer*, in one of his letters, his business was now at that pass, that the best and most pious disapproved of it; and many were much provoked. *Hooper* afterwards died a martyr in the protestant cause, and more of this affair will be mentioned in the life of *Peter Martyr*.

Martin Bucer ended his life, at the age of sixty-one years, and was buried at St. *Mary's* in *Cambridge*; several authors assigning fundry dates of his death. *Martin Crusius*, part. 3, annal. Suev. lib. 11, cap. 25, makes him to die in 1551, on the second of *February*. *Sleidan*; on the 27th of *February*, 1551. *Pantaleon, de Viris Illustribus Germaniæ*, makes him expire about the end of *April* of the same year. Mr. *Fox*, in his reformed Almanack, appoints the twenty-third of *December*, for *Bucer's* confessorship. A printed table, of the chancellors of *Cambridge*, set forth by doctor *Perne*, signeth *March* the tenth, 1550, for the day of his death. Nor will the distinction of old and new stile, had it been in use, help to reconcile the difference. It seems, by all reports, that *Bucer* was incontestably dead in or about this time. *Parsons*, the Jesuit, tells us, that some believed he died a Jew; merely, perhaps, because he lived a good Hebræan, citing *Surius*, *Genebrand*, and *Lindan*, for this report. But it is certain, none of them were near him at his death, as Mr. *Bradford*, and others were: Who, when they admonished him in his sickness, that he should arm himself against the assaults of the devil, answered, "that he had nothing to do with the devil, because he was wholly in CHRIST. God forbid, says he, that I should not now have experience of the
" sweet

“sweet consolations of *Christ*.”—He likewise said, “Cast me not off, O my God, in my old age, now when my strength faileth me;” adding—“He hath afflicted me sore, but he will never cast me off.” And when Mr. *Bradford* came to him, and told him that he must die, he answered, “*Ille, ille, regit, & moderatur omnia;*” i. e. The Lord, the Lord alone rules and disposes all things; and so quietly yielded up his soul. He was a plain man in person and apparel, and therefore, at his own request, privately created doctor, without any solemnity: A skilful linguist, whom *Vossius*, a great critic, and of palate not to be pleased with a common gust, stileth, “*Ter Maximum Bucerum,*” a commendation which he justly deserved. *Calvin*, whose testimony is equal at least to any of *Bucer*’s contemporaries, said of him, in a letter to *Viretus*, that “he never thought of the loss which the church of God had felt in *Bucer*, but his heart was rent with sorrow”—*cor meum propè lacerari sentio*.

Bossuet says, that *Bucer* was a man pretty well learned, of a flexible spirit, and more fertile in distinctions, than the most refined scholastics. A fine preacher, somewhat heavy in his style; but was respected for his stature, and the sound of his voice. He had been a Jacobin, and married as others did, and, as one may say, more than others; for his wife dying, he married a second and a third time.—This is calm for a papist. *Burnet* says, “that *Bucer* was inferior to none of all the Reformers in learning; but superior to most of them in an excellent temper of mind, and great zeal for preserving the unity of the church—a rare quality in that age, in which *Melancthon* and he were most eminent. He had not that nimbleness of disputing, for which *Peter Martyr* was more admired; and the popish doctors took advantage from that to carry themselves more insolently towards him.”

Bucer’s writing was so very bad, that the printers and he himself could hardly read it: But *Musculus* read it easily, and copied it elegantly. He transcribed for him, among many other things, his exposition of the prophet *Zephaniah*, which is in print: In the beginning of this are his verses, and that whole Psalter, which he published under the name of *Aretius Felinus*. *Erasmus*, *Lipsius*, and several other great authors, had the same defect as *Bucer*; and there were few learned men who could write so well as *Musculus*.

There is nothing more absurd, than to impute to him as particular errors, that the body of *Jesus Christ* is present

sent in the eucharist, only in the act of receiving: That baptism does not procure salvation to children: And that there is no sin in not believing, that priests are not obliged to celibacy. The first of these propositions is the common doctrine of the Lutherans: The second and fourth are the common doctrine of all protestants.

‘When I consider, says *Calvin*, with myself, what a loss the church of God has suffered by the loss of this one man, I cannot but every now and then renew my grief. He would have done great service in *England*; and I hoped for something greater from his writings hereafter, than what he has hitherto published.’

Cardinal *Pole* kept a visitation in *Cambridge*, by his power legatine, whereby the bones of *Bucer* and *Fagius* were burnt to ashes, and many superstitions established. This cardinal was of the blood royal, and obtained the see of *Canterbury* when *Cranmer* was martyred. He was at enmity with the pope; and the *English* clergy wished him at *Rome* again, because he was not willing to indulge queen *Mary*, and the persecuting prelates, in their cruelties against the protestants: For he was a modest, humble, good-natured, and learned man. However, the next year, *Pole* sent his *Italian* friend *Ormaneto*, and several bishops, on a visitation to the university of *Cambridge*, of which he was chancellor in the room of *Gardiner*. The first thing which they did, was to put two churches under an interdict, because the bodies of *Bucer* and *Fagius*, two *German* heretics, were laid in them. They entered on a ridiculous process against the two dead bodies; of which sensible men, whose understanding was not devoured by their bigotry, must have been ashamed. The process being finished by the visitors, and a writ from the queen having been sent in consequence of their sentence, the bodies were taken out of their graves, tied to stakes with many of their books, and all the heretical writings they could find, and burnt all together.

Beza composed some excellent verses in celebration of his memory, and the duke of *Suffolk* wrote his epitaph; both of which are in *Melchior Adam*, but require too much room for insertion.

SEBASTIAN MUNSTER.

SEBASTIAN MUNSTER, an eminent *German* divine, was born at *Inghelheim* in the year 1489; and at the age of fourteen, was sent to *Heidelberg* to study. Two years after, he entered the convent of the *Corde-liers*, where he labored assiduously; yet did not content himself with the studies relating to his profession, but applied himself also to mathematics and cosmography. He was the first who published a *Chaldee* grammar and lexicon, and gave the world, a short time after, a *Talmudic* dictionary. He went afterwards to *Basil*, and succeeded *Pellicanus*, of whom he had learned *Hebrew*, in the professorship of that language. He was one of the first who attached himself to *Luther*; yet he seems to have done it with little or none of that zeal which distinguished the first Reformers; for he never concerned himself with their disputes, but shut himself up in his study, and busied himself in such pursuits as were most agreeable to his humor; and these were the *Hebrew* and other oriental languages, the mathematics, and natural philosophy. He published a great number of works on these subjects, of which the principal and most excellent is a *Latin* version from the *Hebrew* of all the books of the Old Testament, with learned notes, printed at *Basil* in 1534 and 1546. His version is thought much better, more faithful, and more exact, than those of *Pagninus* and *Arias Montanus*; and his notes are generally approved, though he dwells a little long upon the explications of the rabbins. For this version he was called the *German Esdras*, as he was the *German Strabo*, for an universal cosmography, in six books, which he printed at *Basil* in 1550. *Munster* was a sweet-tempered, pacific, studious, retired man, who wrote a great number of books, but never meddled in controversy: all which considered, his going early over to *Luther*, may justly seem somewhat extraordinary. He died of the plague at *Basil* in 1552, aged sixty-three years.

C A S P A R H E D I O.

THIS truly excellent and learned man was born at *Etling*, in the marquifite of *Baden*, and educated at *Friburg*, where he took his master of arts degree; from thence he went to *Bafil*, where he studied divinity, and commenced doctor about the year 1520. He was called from this last station to the principal church at *Mentz*, but some of his hearers, not liking his plain and close preaching, were easily induced by the enemies of the faith to persecute him. Upon this account, he left *Mentz*, and went to *Strasburgh*, in the year 1523; and there afforded, under God, great assistance to *Capito* and *Bucer* in the Reformation of religion, by the command of the senate: And there also he married in 1533. *Gerbilius*, a writer of that time, said of him in a letter to a friend, that *Hedio's* success in preaching the gospel was wonderful; and that he was of vast service to his colleagues, and to the cause of truth, not only by the solidity of his discourses, but also by the integrity and purity of his life. The papists there likewise greatly persecuted him, notwithstanding which he preached and wrote boldly against masses, indulgences, auricular confession, and the other flagrant enormities of the church of *Rome*. In the year 1543, *Herman* archbishop of *Colen*, set on foot a Reformation, and sent for *Bucer* and *Hedio* to assist him in it; as both these excellent men were remarkable for their popular way of preaching, and consequently most likely, through the divine blessing, to succeed in the instruction of the people: But being exceedingly persecuted, and at length driven away by the emperor and the *Spaniards* who were then at *Borin*, he escaped through many difficulties and dangers, and returned to *Strasburgh*. All the time he could spare from his ministerial employments, he spent in writing commentaries upon the holy scriptures, or in compiling histories. For the latter he

was extremely well qualified, being thoroughly versed in antiquities, and in almost every branch of human learning.

He had a great correspondence and strict concord with most of the great and good men of his time. He was remarkable for the sincerity of his attachments: And (as one of his dearest friends observed, in writing of him) the devil hates nothing more than cordial friendship and mutual love. He was particularly intimate with *Oecolampadius*.

This great man calmly resigned his breath on the 17th of *October*, in the year 1552, and was succeeded by the famous *Jerom Zanchius* in his pastoral duties at *Straßburgh*.

Hedio's writings were both theological and philological: And he was a great editor of the writings of others, having translated, from the learned languages into *German*, the works of many of the fathers and other useful authors. Upon the whole, though we can furnish our readers with no longer account of him, we may safely say, considering the great usefulness ascribed to him in promoting the Reformation, that he is one of those, who will surely be had *above*, and ought to be had *below*, in perpetual remembrance.

Boissard (according to Mr. *Leigh*) enumerates *Hedio's* works in his *Icones*,

GEORGE, PRINCE OF ANHALT, &c.

AND

BISHOP OF MERSBURG.

WE are told by the apostle, *that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called, 1 Cor. i. 26.* And the truth of this observation is confirmed by the experience of past and present ages. However,

However, blessed be God, it is not said—*not any*. A few of these, though *but* a few, in most generations, have been called to the enjoyment of a better treasure than that of earth; and have, with disciples of a lower order in the world, found the same *mercy to be faithful, to be rich in good works, and to be wise unto salvation*.

This excellent person was descended from the dukes of Saxony, and had in his family (what the world at large is glad to boast of) many great princes and honorable men. He was born on the 14th of *August*, in the year 1507. His immediate parent was prince *Ernest of Anhalt*, who gave him a very sober as well as liberal education. His father seems to have been a religious man by his conduct towards his son; for he gave such persons the charge of his education, as were not only eminent for their knowledge of letters, but for religion and sacred learning. He studied at the university of *Leipsig* under *George Forcheme*, who had been the preceptor of *Camerarius*, *Cruciger*, and other eminent persons. Under this able tutor, the prince made a rapid progress in every branch of science, both human and divine.

His rank and probable destination in life made the study of the civil law highly expedient and necessary; and accordingly he was led to devote much attention to the attainment of it. But he abhorred the quibbles and sophistries practised by the professors of law, and discovered the utmost candor and ingenuousness of temper in his legal researches. Truth was his object in all things; and he used to say, with the wise prince of *Israel*, that *lying lips do not become a prince* above all men. *Panormitan*, the great civilian, was his favorite author in this branch of study.

He had made such attainments in every kind of knowledge, that, when he was scarce twenty two years of age, he was chosen by *Albert*, elector of *Mentz*, to be one of his council; and, being very eloquent, was much employed and attended to by that prince in the discussion of state-affairs.

About this time, the great business of the Reformation attracted the attention of all men; and *Luther's* writings, concerning the difference between the law and the gospel—of true repentance—of grace—of faith—of true prayer—of the use of the sacraments—of the distinction between divine and human laws, and between the dispensation of the gospel and the civil power—were dispersed and read every where. Prince *George* was no idle spectator,

spectator. He sought truth like a philosopher, and loved it like a Christian. But, distrusting his own judgement upon matters of such immense and important controversy, he began his investigations with prayer. *Melchior Adam* says, that he most constantly and ardently begged of God to incline his heart *only* to the truth, and frequently with tears used to repeat these pathetic words; *Deal with thy servant according to thy mercy, and teach, O teach me thy righteousness.* From this period, he sought for truth at the fountain of truth,—in the HOLY SCRIPTURES; and, for assistance in difficult passages, he read *Augustine*, *Jerom*, and *Peter Lombard*; using at the same time the learned conferences of his friend *Forcheme*. For this end, he also perfected himself in *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and is said to have been so great a master in the latter language, as to equal the most learned professors. Nor did he omit, in conversation with the ablest divines, not only to seek the truth for himself, but to induce and confirm it in others.

At length, not without the most mature consideration and hearty prayers, he openly embraced and professed the doctrines of the Reformation, and renounced all commerce with papists and popery. He lived upon the most affectionate terms with the princes his brothers, who concurred with him in planting the Reformation in the territories that belonged to them. He pulled down ignorant superstition, and set up seminaries of learning—the surest way, under God, of exterminating error and darkness from the earth. All this he accomplished without the least dispute or tumult; brought multitudes to the light of the gospel, and established many, through the divine grace, in the happy enjoyment of that light in their souls.

Such a burning and shining lamp was this pious and learned prince, that, by the persuasion of *Luther*, who wrote a book about this time upon Christian episcopacy, he was induced to accept of an ecclesiastical function, and became bishop of *Mersburg* in *Saxony*, in the year 1545; at which time *Nicholas Amsdorf* was made bishop of *Neoburg*. His letter of episcopal ordination was dated on the third of *August*, in the forementioned year, and his style runs thus; ‘The most reverend and illustrious
 ‘ *GEORGE*, prince in *Anhalt*, count of *Ascania*, and lord
 ‘ in *Bernburg*, &c. bishop of *Mersburg*;

and he is therein exhorted to comfort himself by several texts of scripture, and to be assured, ‘that though his sacred office was
 ‘ attended with many and great dangers, to sustain which
 ‘ all

‘all human capacity is utterly unequal, yet God is truly
 ‘present with and dwells in his church, and the voice
 ‘of the gospel is under the protection and defence of
 ‘God.’—His was an episcopate of danger and difficulty
 for the truth of God, which no worldly man would covet,
 and no good man could condemn.

He entered upon this holy office with humble prayer,
 and he discharged it with the utmost care and assiduity.
 His whole time was from thence forward wholly employed,
 in preaching, writing, reading, and settling the affairs of
 the church. Knowingly, he never hurt any man; but
 profited all to the utmost of his power, both in public
 and private. He was a great promoter of peace among
 princes, settled many of their disputes, and, being far
 above all low ambition and revenge himself, he en-
 deavored to remove it from others. He bare many and
 very great insults with true Christian magnanimity, and
 shewed that he lived *with* God in his heart, and *for* God
 in his intercourse with men. He used frequently to say
 to people of agitated tempers; *Submit yourself to God,*
and pray to him; for the Lord is nigh unto them who are
broken in heart, and will save those that are of an humble
spirit.

Most of his time, disengaged from the duties of his
 function, was passed with learned and pious men. With
 these he conversed, according to their several faculties,
 whether of law, physic, or divinity. For this last pro-
 fession, his great colleagues were, *Luther, Justus Jonas,*
Bugenhagenius, and *Camerarius,* with whom he conferred
 freely upon the most profound and interesting topics in
 theology.

As his life, so his death, bespoke an heart full of re-
 signation, faith, and love. He lingered under a painful
 disease for half a year, in which time he settled the affairs
 of his church, and gave himself up, in constant prayer,
 to such preparations, as became a Christian removing to
 his heavenly mansion. He frequently dwelt upon the
 divine promises, and particularly these; *God so loved the*
world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever be-
lieveth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life;
and, My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they
follow me; and I give unto them eternal life, and they shall
never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand;
and, Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden,
and I will refresh you. He sweetly discoursed with his
 brethren and friends upon the blessings of *Christ*, upon the
 hope

hope of eternal life, upon the wonderful gathering in of God's church from the race of mankind, and other heavenly doctrines; all demonstrating where his heart and treasure was, and where his spirit would shortly be. He ceased to breathe in this world, at *Dessau*, on the seventeenth of *October*, in the year 1553, and in the 47th year of his age.

Melancthon wrote two elegies upon his death, and speaks of him in terms of the highest esteem and respect. He held two synods of his clergy twice in every year, and delivered to them a proper charge in *Latin*, according to the exigencies of the church.

He wrote many tracts and sermons, which were published, either at the time they were written, or soon after his death. They are said to have been composed in a plain and perspicuous style. The principal of them were as follow: A consolatory oration upon the promise of *Christ* in *John* x. 29.—A sermon preached upon the marriage of *Augustus* duke of *Saxony*, with *Anne* daughter of the king of *Denmark*. Our prince-bishop united their hands at *Torgau* on the 14th of *October*, 1548.—Four sermons upon the two species of bread and wine in the sacrament.—A consolatory letter to his brother *Wolfgang* in his sickness.—Two sermons upon false prophets and the true use of *Christian* doctrine.—And several others, preached in the reformed churches, which were translated from the *German* into *Latin*.

J O H N R O G E R S,

THE PROTO-MARTYR UNDER Q. MARY.

THIS brave champion for the truth, who had the honor of being PROTO-MARTYR, or the first that was burned for the gospel, in the reign of queen *Mary*, was educated at the university of *Cambridge*; where he attained

tained to a great proficiency in learning: From thence he was chosen by a company of merchants to be their chaplain at *Antwerp*; to whom he preached many years. He there happily became acquainted with *William Tindale* and *Miles Coverdale*, who fled thither from the persecution of the papists under king *Henry VIII.* in *England*; and, by their means, coming to the true knowledge of *Jesus Christ*, he joined heartily with them in the laborious and commendable work of translating the bible into *English*, and was thereby so much enlightened in the doctrines of the gospel, that he cast off the futile and idolatrous worship of the church of *Rome*. At *Antwerp* he married his wife, and from thence went to *Wittenberg*, daily increasing in knowledge, and became such a proficient in the *Dutch* language, that he was chosen pastor of a congregation there; which office he discharged with great diligence and faithfulness for some years. In king *Edward's* time, he was sent for home by bishop *Ridley*, and made prebendary and divinity-lecturer of *St. Paul's*, where he preached faithfully and zealously till the coming in of queen *Mary*. In the beginning of her reign, in a sermon at *Paul's* cross, he exhorted the people steadfastly and perseveringly to adhere to that doctrine, which they had been taught, and to beware of pestilent popery, idolatry, and superstition. His zeal could not long be unnoticed; and accordingly he was soon called before the privy council, where he answered so scripturally, sensibly, and boldly, and at the same time in so becoming a manner, that, for that time, he was dismissed. But, after the queen's proclamation against the preaching of the truth came forth, he was again called before the popish bishops (who thirsted for his blood) and committed prisoner to his own house; from whence he might easily have escaped, and to which indeed he had many inducements; viz. his wife and ten children, his many friends in *Germany*, and the undoubted preferment he would there have met with; but being once called to answer in *Christ's* cause, he would not depart, though he stayed at the hazard and (as will be seen) to the loss of his life.

After being confined a prisoner in his own house about six months, he was removed to *Newgate*, and there kept for a long time among thieves and murderers. At length, on the twenty-second, and several other days, of *January*, in 1555, he was examined before *Dr. Gardiner*, bishop of *Winchester*, and others, in a very illiberal and cruel manner; they not permitting him to speak or answer for himself,

himself, nor yet to defend his doctrines in writing : And on the twenty-ninth of the same month, *Gardiner* and others pronounced sentence against him in the following manner ; ‘ In the name of God, Amen. We *Stephen*, ‘ by the permission of God, bishop of *Winchester*, &c. do ‘ find that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and ‘ obstinately defended divers errors, heresies, and dam- ‘ nable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determi- ‘ nation of the holy church ; as namely these ; “ That “ the catholic church of *Rome* is the church of anti- ‘ christ : *Item*, that, in the sacrament of the altar, there ‘ is not, substantially nor really, the natural body and ‘ blood of *Christ*.” We do therefore judge thee and ‘ condemn thee, *John Rogers*, otherwise called *Matthews* ‘ (thy demerits and faults being aggravated through thy ‘ damnable obstinacy) as guilty of most detestable here- ‘ sies, and as an obstinate impenitent sinner, refusing ‘ to return to the lap and unity of the HOLY MOTHER ‘ CHURCH, and that thou hast been and art by law ex- ‘ communicate ; and do pronounce and declare thee to ‘ be an excommunicate person. Also we pronounce and ‘ declare thee, being an heretic, to be cast out from the ‘ church, and left unto the judgement of the secular ‘ power, by this our sentence definitive, which we here ‘ lay upon and against thee, with sorrow of heart.’

When this sentence was read, *Mr. Rogers* again attempted to speak ; but was not suffered. He then asked of them, to permit his wife, a poor stranger, to see him before he suffered ; but this also was denied, and she was absolutely forbidden. When he was taken back to prison, after this and every preceding day’s examination, he wrote down the questions put to him, and his answers, as far as they would allow him to speak, and also what he would have said, had he been permitted ; which, because of their length, we cannot, consistent with our plan, insert ; but must refer those who wish to see them at large to *Fox’s* martyrology : Yet, on account of their excellency, we presume it will be acceptable to our Readers in general to see so much of them, as may serve for a specimen of the true wisdom, piety, and zeal of this great and good man.

“ But here (says he) they will cry out ; Lo, these men ‘ will be still a *John Baptist*, an apostle, a prophet, &c. ‘ —I answer, We make not ourselves like unto them, ‘ in the gifts and power of God bestowed on them to ‘ the working of miracles, and the like ; but that we ‘ are

are like them in believing the same doctrine, and in suffering persecution and shame for the same. We preach their very doctrine, and none other: This we are able to prove from their writings, which I have proffered to do again and again by writing. And, for this cause, we suffer the like reproach, shame, and rebuke of the world; suffering the same persecution, to the loss of our goods, and even of our lives; and to the forsaking (as our master *Christ* commandeth) father, mother, sister, brethren, wives, children, &c. being assured of a joyful resurrection, and to be crowned in glory with them, according to the infallible promises made unto us in *Christ*, our only and all-sufficient Mediator, Reconciler, Priest, and Sacrifice: Who, for us, as well as them, hath pleased the Father, quieted and pacified his wrath against our sins; and, by imputation, hath made us without spot or wrinkle in his sight; although we, of and in ourselves, are polluted with many filthy sins, which if the measureless, unspeakable mercy and love of God in *Christ* did not put away, by not imputing them to us, would have brought us to everlasting damnation, and death perpetual.—In this, and in no other sense, do we affirm ourselves to be like *Christ* our head, his apostles, prophets, martyrs, and saints. And so far ought all Christians to be like them, according to the measure of faith, and the diversity of the gifts of the Spirit, that God hath given unto them.

But let us now consider, that, if it be God's good will and pleasure to give the members of his beloved church into the hands of their enemies, it is to chasten, try, and prove them; to bring them to an unfeigned acknowledgement of their natural perverseness and disobedience towards God and his commandments, as touching their love of God, their brethren and neighbours; and to shew them their natural inclination and readiness to seek their own ease and pleasure; and to desire that good from the creature which God has forbid, as only to be found in himself. And in order, that having fallen into gross outward sins, like *David*, *Peter*, and others, they may be brought to a true and earnest repentance, and to sigh and cry for the forgiveness of the same, and for the aid of the Spirit, daily to mortify and subdue all evil desires and affections in future. And many other wise and gracious purposes of the Lord concerning his people are answered by

“ their being often put into the furnace of affliction.
 “ But let us also consider what he doth with those ene-
 “ mies into whose hands he giveth his tender darlings
 “ to be chastened and tried. In truth, he does but chaf-
 “ ten and cross them for a little while, according to his
 “ fatherly love and good pleasure, as all fathers do their
 “ children (*Heb. xii.* and *Prov. iii.*); but he utterly
 “ destroyeth, yea and everlastingly damneth their impe-
 “ nitent enemies.

“ Let *Herod* tell me what he got by killing *James*, and
 “ by persecuting *Peter*, and *Christ's* tender darlings and
 “ beloved spouse, his church? Verily God thought him
 “ not worthy to have death ministered by men or angels,
 “ or any other creature, than those small, filthy vermin,
 “ lice and worms, which were ordained to destroy his
 “ beastly, tyrannous body. *Pharaoh* and *Nebuchadnezzar*,
 “ with all their pride and might, must at length let
 “ God's favourite people go freely out of their land,
 “ from their bands and cruelty: For when they could
 “ obtain nothing but counterfeit mercies, like those of
 “ our day*, namely, extreme cruelties and death, then
 “ did God arise, as one awoke out of sleep, and destroyed
 “ those enemies of his flock with a mighty hand, and
 “ stretched-out arm. When *Pharaoh* grievously oppressed
 “ the poor *Israelites* with intolerable labours and heavy
 “ burdens, his courtiers noised abroad his tender mercies
 “ towards them, in suffering them to live in the land,
 “ and in setting them to work, that they might get their
 “ livings; for, if he should thrust them out of his land,
 “ they must be no better than vagabonds and runagates.
 “ Have we not the like examples now-a-days? O that
 “ I had now time to write certain things pertaining to
 “ the bishop of *Winchester's* mercy! I have not time to
 “ speak how *merciful* he hath been to me and to my good
 “ brethren, and to the duke of *Suffolk's* most innocent
 “ daughter, and her innocent husband: O that I had
 “ time to paint it in it's proper colours! but there are
 “ many that can do it better than I, who shall live when
 “ I am dead. *Pharaoh* had his plagues; and his once
 “ most flourishing land utterly destroyed, on account of
 “ hypocrisy and counterfeit mercy, which was no other
 “ than cruelty and abominable tyranny. And think ye,
 “ that the bloody, butcherly, bishop of *Winchester* and

* Alluding to their frequent expressions of great sorrow and concern for him in the course of his examination, and in the sentence pronounced against him.

“ his bloody brethren, shall escape? Or that *England*,
 “ for their offences, and especially for the maintenance
 “ of their idolatry, and wilful following of them in it,
 “ shall not abide as great brunts? yes, undoubtedly.

“ If God look not mercifully upon *England*, the seeds
 “ of utter destruction are already sown in it by these
 “ hypocritical tyrants, and antichristian prelates, papists,
 “ and double traytors to their country: And yet they
 “ speak of mercy, of blessing, of the catholic church,
 “ of unity, of power, and of strengthening the realm.
 “ This double dissimulation will appear in the day of the
 “ Lord’s visitation, when those crown-thorn captains,
 “ who have shewn no mercy to the poor godly sufferers
 “ of this realm, shall have judgement without mercy*.”

Mr.

* In the course of Mr. Rogers’s first day’s examination, *Gardiner*, bishop of *Winchester*, asked him; ‘What sayest thou? Make us a direct answer, whether thou wilt be one of this catholic church or not, with us, in the state in which we are now?’ To which Mr. Rogers answered, “My Lord, I cannot believe, that ye yourselves do think in your hearts that he [the pope] is supreme head in forgiving of sin, &c. as ye have now said, seeing *you* and *all* the bishops of the realm have now for twenty years long preached, and some of you also written, to the contrary; and the parliament hath so long ago condescended unto it;”—Here he was interrupted, and not allowed to say any more. If men could subscribe to, and preach and write, protestant doctrines for twenty years together, and after that slaughter protestants in the manner these men did; may it not from hence be justly inferred, that it is a very great mistake which at this time seems but too generally to prevail, viz. That the *Roman* catholics may in time, (and those even *now* in *England*) have little or no bigotry, and nothing of a persecuting spirit, notwithstanding they stedfastly believe the same doctrines that their ancestors did, whose bigotry, cruelty and thirst for the blood of the protestants, are beyond expression? Similar causes will always produce similar effects. This may be illustrated by a comparison of the experience of those that truly believe in the Lord *Jesus Christ* at this day, with all true believers in every age and place under the like circumstances. They of old believed in the Lord *Jesus Christ*, as reported in the word—they loved God—they kept his commandments as obedient children—they feared to offend their heavenly Father—they loved one another—they fought under the banner of *Christ* against the world, the flesh and the devil—they endured, seeing Him who is invisible—when called to it they took cheerfully the spoiling of their goods—and many (of whom the Lord thought the world not worthy) sealed the truths of the gospel with their blood, and witnessed a good confession of their faith in the flames. Do not those, who, with the faith of God’s elect, believe the same glorious truths with them, discover the same happy dispositions, which under the like circumstances, bring forth the same blessed fruits? If the believing of the doctrine of *Jesus Christ* does uniformly influence the heart and life of all true believers in every place and different period, and that contrary to flesh and blood, and all temporal interest and natural inclination; Can we reasonably suppose, that the papists
 of

Mr. *Rogers*, being sentenced to be burned, and remanded back to prison, was on *Monday* morning, the fourth day of *February*, 1555, awakened out of a very sound sleep, with great difficulty, by the keeper's wife, who suddenly warned him to make haste and prepare himself for the fire. "If it be so, said he, I need not tie my points."—He was then had down to bishop *Bonner*, who degraded him; of whom (he said) he had one favor to ask. *Bonner* asked what that should be: "Nothing," answered Mr. *Rogers*, but that I may speak a few words to my wife before my burning." This request not being granted; he added, "You declare your charity, what it is." The time being come, he was brought out of *Newgate*, and delivered up to the sheriffs of *London* to be taken to *Smithfield*; one of whom said, "Mr. *Rogers*, will you revoke your abominable doctrine, and your evil opinion of the sacrament of the altar?" Mr. *Rogers* answered, "That, which I have preached, I will seal with my blood." "Then, (said the sheriff) thou art an heretic." "That shall be known, (replied Mr. *Rogers*,) at the day of judgement." "Well, (said the sheriff,) I will never pray for thee." "But I will pray for you," said Mr. *Rogers*; and so they proceeded towards *Smithfield*; Mr. *Rogers* saying the 51st Psalm, and the people exceedingly rejoicing and giving thanks to God for his constancy. His wife and ten children by her side, with one at her breast, met him by the way, being the only opportunity they had even of seeing one another any more in the flesh; but neither did this very affecting scene seem in the least to shake his confidence, so graciously was he supported, in the trying hour, by HIM, who hath promised, *I will never, never, leave thee; never, never, forsake thee.* When he came to the stake, he shewed great constancy and patience; but, not being suffered to speak many words, he briefly exhorted the people steadily to remain in that faith and true doctrine, which he had before taught them, and for the confirmation of which he was not only content patiently

of the present day, who announce the same creed with their bloody fore-fathers, will not, whenever it is in their power, be found in their fore-father's cruel practices; especially when, through ignorance and superstition, they believe, *that while they kill you, they do God service?* In short; almost every doctrine, they hold, is framed to sooth the pride and flatter the vanity of fallen man, and calculated to gratify those sensual passions and desires, which rule in a heart deceitful above all things and desperately wicked.

to suffer all such bitterness and cruelty, as had been already shewn him, but also most gladly to resign up his life, and to give his flesh to the consuming fire, for a testimony of the same. They then again brought him a pardon, upon condition that he would recant; but he, with the magnanimity of a true martyr, refused it; not preferring life upon such terms to the cruel death of burning; which he suffered with the greatest patience and fortitude; washing as it were his hands in the flames, and ejaculating with his last breath; “ Lord, receive my “ spirit!”

It is remarked of Mr. *Rogers*, that, during the year and a half that he was imprisoned, he was always cheerful, but very earnest and intent upon every thing he did. He wrote much; especially his examinations, which were wonderfully preserved: For they frequently made diligent search for his writings; and it is supposed, that they refused his wife visiting him, lest she should convey them away. And when he was taken out of *Newgate* and led to *Smithfield*, they again searched his room, but found nothing. They, therefore, readily admitted his wife and son *Daniel* into his apartment, upon their return from *Smithfield*, who looked in every corner, as they thought, and were coming away, supposing others had been before hand with them, when *Daniel* spied something black in a dark corner under a pair of stairs, which proved to be his examinations and writings, to which the Reader has been already referred in *Fox's* martyrology, where they are inserted at large. He was charitable to the poor prisoners, agreeing with Mr. *Hooper* and others, to take but one meal a day, and to give the rest to those on the other side of the prison that were ready to die for hunger; but the cruel keeper withheld it from them. The *Sunday* before he suffered, he drank to Mr. *Hooper*, being then underneath him, and desired them to commend him unto him, and to tell him, “ There was never a little fellow “ would better stick to a man, than he would stick to “ him;” supposing, contrary to what happened, that they should have been both burned together.—Thus died, triumphant in the faith, this blessed proto-martyr, and proved the reality of the antient observation, ‘ that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church;’ for, instead of being intimidated, multitudes were encouraged by his example, and those, who had no religion before, were put upon inquiries; *What was the cause, for which such pious and learned men were contented to die; and so,*
from

from being athiests or papists, they were led, by God's blessing, to a knowledge and profession of that gospel, the darkening of which was the main end and design of all this bloody persecution.

LAURENCE SAUNDERS.

THIS gracious man, descended from an opulent family, and eminent as a scholar, but still more respectable for the grace given him of God; was educated at *Eaton*, and from thence chosen to *King's-College*, in *Cambridge*; where, for three years, he applied himself closely to study, and made a considerable proficiency in learning: But his mother, with a view to increase his plentiful fortune, bound him to a capital merchant, in the city of *London*, to be instructed in trade. The merchant, being a religious man, soon perceived that *Saunders's* natural bias was to learning, rather than trade; and, from his seriousness, presuming that the Lord had some employment for him, far more important than that of merchandize, he gave him his indentures. Upon this, *Saunders* returned again to *Cambridge*, where he made a further progress in his studies. He was a man, exercised with very severe temptations and inward conflicts, but graciously supported, and much comforted. These trials wrought in him such experience, as qualified him afterwards, in his ministerial labors, to administer comfort to others. He remained some considerable time in the university, after he had taken his master of arts degree; and in the reign of king *Edward*, he entered into holy orders, and was made lecturer of *Fotheringhay*; about which time he married. He was next made a reader in the cathedral of *Litchfield*; where he was very successful in winning souls to God; and, by his holy life and conversation, obtained a good report, even of his adversaries. He was from thence removed to *Church-Langton* in *Leicestershire*;

Westershire; and, lastly, to the rectory of *Allhallows*, in *Bread-street*, *London*.

He went down frequently to *Church-Langton*, intending to resign it; but, queen *Mary* coming to the throne, he changed his mind, knowing that none but a papist would succeed him. In his way thither, he preached at *Northampton*, and, being filled with zeal for the truth, he bore a noble testimony against the errors of popery: Which (said he) are likely to spring up again, as a just visitation of God, for the little love that *England* hath borne to the truths and privileges of the gospel, so plentifully afforded her. He was apprehensive of the troubles that afterwards came to pass; and therefore applied himself, with all diligence, to confirm his people in the truth (notwithstanding the proclamation to the contrary) and to arm them against all false doctrines; but he was at length opposed, and finally hindered by open violence. He was then much advised to leave the kingdom, which he positively refused, and went straight for *London* to visit his flock in *Bread-street*. In his way, pretty near to town, he was overtaken by *Mordaunt*, the queen's counsellor, who asked, If he did not preach at such a time in *Bread-street*: He answered, yes: And will you, said *Mordaunt*, preach so again? Yes, said he, to-morrow you may hear me there; where I will confirm, by God's word, all I then preached. I would advise you, said *Mordaunt*, to forbear. Mr. *Saunders* said, If you will forbid me by lawful authority, I must then forbear.—Nay, said the other, I shall not forbid you: So they parted. The next day being *Sunday*, he expounded the eleventh chapter of the second epistle to the *Corinthians*; and in the afternoon, designing to give his people another exhortation, he went again to church; but when he came there, the bishop of *London*'s officer prevented him, by taking him before his lordship [*Bonner*], *Mordaunt*, and some of the bishop's chaplains.

The bishop charged him with treason, heresy, and sedition, and required of him his opinion about transubstantiation in writing; which being obliged to comply with, he said, “You seek my blood, and you shall have it: I pray God you may be so baptized in it, that you may hereafter loathe blood-sucking, and become a better man.” Bishop *Bonner* sent him to bishop *Gardiner*; where he was kept standing uncovered four hours at the door of the room, in which were sitting *Mordaunt* and some others; till at length the bishop, returning

from court, ordered him into a proper place for examination; and then interrogated him in the following manner. ‘How dare you to preach, notwithstanding the queen’s proclamation to the contrary?’ Mr. *Saunders* answered, “he was moved in his conscience so to do from the apostle’s command, *to obey God rather than man.*” ‘A goodly conscience surely,’ said the bishop, ‘which could make our queen a bastard, or misbegotten; is it not, I pray?’ Mr. *Saunders* said, “I do not say, or go about to make the queen base or misbegotten; but let those be careful about that matter, who have published the same to the world, to their shame and reproach.” (For it seems the bishop had prefaced the book of *true obedience*, in order to curry favor with *Henry VIII.* in which queen *Mary* was openly declared to be a bastard.) Mr. *Saunders* added, “We do only preach in sincerity the purity of the word; which although we are now forbid to do with our mouths; yet I doubt not, but that our blood hereafter shall more fully manifest the same.” Upon which the bishop cried out, to take away the frantic fool to prison. To which Mr. *Saunders* said, “I thank God, who has at last given me a place of rest and quietness, where I may pray for your lordship’s conversion.”

Mr. *Saunders* being sent to prison, and there confined a year and three months, wrote a letter to the bishop of *Winchester*, by way of answer to several particulars, with which the bishop had charged him. The following is all of the letter that has been preserved.

“Touching the cause of my imprisonment, I doubt whether I have broken any law or proclamation. In my doctrine I did not; for at that time it was permitted by the proclamation to use, according to our consciences, such service as was then established. My doctrine was then agreeable to my conscience and the same service then used. The act which I did (alluding to his expounding the scriptures in his own church in *Bread-street*) was such, as being indifferently weighed, founded to no breaking of the proclamation, or at least no wilful breaking of it; as I caused no bell to be rung, neither occupied I any place in the pulpit, after the order of sermons or lectures. But be it, that I did break the proclamation, this long imprisonment may be thought more than a sufficient punishment for such a fault.

“Touching

“ Touching the charge against me as to my religion,
 “ I say with *St. Paul*, *this I confess, that after the way*
 “ *which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fore-*
 “ *fathers, believing all things which are written in the law*
 “ *and the prophets, and have hope towards God, &c.* And
 “ herein I study to have always a clear conscience to-
 “ wards God and towards man: So that I call God to
 “ witness, I have a conscience. And this my conscience
 “ is not grounded upon vain fantasy, but upon the in-
 “ fallible verity of God’s word, with the testimony of
 “ his chosen church agreeable to the same.

“ It is easy for them that take *Christ* for their true
 “ pastor, and are the true sheep of his pasture, to discern
 “ the voice of their true shepherd, from the voice of
 “ wolves, hirelings, and strangers: For *Christ* saith,
 “ *My sheep hear my voice:* And are thereby given to
 “ know the voice of the true shepherd, and to follow
 “ him; as our Saviour also saith, *The sheep follow the*
 “ *shepherd, for they know his voice: A stranger they*
 “ *will not follow, but will flee from him; for they*
 “ *know not the voice of a stranger.* Such inward in-
 “ spiration doth the Holy Ghost put into the children
 “ of God, being indeed taught of God, but otherwise
 “ unable to understand the true way of their salvation.
 “ And although (as *Christ* saith) the wolf cometh in
 “ sheeps cloathing, he likewise adds, by their fruits ye
 “ shall know them. For there are certain fruits by
 “ which the wolf is bewrayed, notwithstanding, in out-
 “ ward appearances of holiness, he seems to be ever so
 “ true a sheep. That the *Romish* religion is ravening
 “ and wolfish, is evident from a variety of consider-
 “ ations; and especially from these three.

“ First, it robbeth God of his due and only honour.

“ Secondly, it taketh away the true comfort of con-
 “ science, in obscuring, or rather burying, of *Christ* and
 “ his office of salvation.

“ Thirdly, it spoileth God of his true worship and
 “ service in spirit and truth, which he requires and
 “ commands, and driveth men to that inconvenience,
 “ against which both *Christ* and the prophet *Isaiah* speak
 “ very sharply; *This people honoureth me with their lips;*
 “ *but their heart is far from me. In vain do they worship*
 “ *me, teaching, for doctrines, the commandments of men.*
 “ And in another place; *Ye cast aside the commandments of*
 “ *God, to maintain your own traditions,*

“ Wherefore I in conscience, weighing the *Romish*
 “ religion, and by a candid discussion thereof, finding
 “ the foundation unstedfast, and the building upon it
 “ but vain: And on the other hand, having my con-
 “ science framed after a right and uncorrupt religion,
 “ ratified and fully established by the word of God, and
 “ the consent of his true church; I neither may, nor do
 “ intend, by God’s gracious assistance, to be pulled one
 “ jot from the same; no, though an angel out of heaven
 “ should preach another gospel than that, which I have
 “ received of the Lord.

“ And though I have neither that deep knowledge nor
 “ profound judgement, nor that eloquence to utter what
 “ I know and judge, as may be required in an excellent
 “ clerk, in order sufficiently to answer and convince
 “ the gainfayer: Yet nevertheless this my protestation
 “ shall be premised, that with respect to the grounds and
 “ causes before considered, notwithstanding I cannot
 “ *explicitâ fide*, as they call it, conceive all that is to be
 “ conceived, neither can discuss all that is to be dis-
 “ cussed, nor express all that can be expressed, in the
 “ discourse of the doctrine of this most true religion
 “ which I profess: Yet do I bind myself, as by my
 “ humble sincerity, so by my *fidem implicitam*, that is,
 “ by faith in general (as they call it) to wrap up my
 “ belief in the credit of the same, that no authority of
 “ that *Romish* religion, repugnant thereunto, shall by any
 “ means remove me from the same, though it may come
 “ to pass that our adversaries will labour to beguile us
 “ through philosophy and deceitful vanity, after the
 “ traditions of men, and after the ordinances of the
 “ world, and not after *Christ*, &c.”

When Mrs. *Saunders* went first to the prison to see
 her husband, the keeper told her he had strict charge
 not to suffer any body to speak to him; but that, if she
 chose to stay at the gate, he would take the child, which
 she had in her arms, to its father: She consented; and
 the father rejoiced to see his son; and said, “ He had
 “ rather have such a boy than two thousand pounds:”
 And to some that stood by, who admired the child, he
 said; “ What man, that fears God, would not rather
 “ lose his life, than bastardize such a child, make his
 “ wife a whore, and himself a whore-monger? If there
 “ were no other reason, why a man of my estate should
 “ lose his life; yet who would not give it, to avouch
 “ this

“ this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy ? ”

Mr. *Saunders*, being confined a year and a quarter in prison, was at length sent for and examined, before the queen's council, bishop *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, and others, in the following manner :

Gard. ‘ It is well known that you have been a prisoner for the abominable heresies and false doctrine that you have sown ; and now it is thought good, that mercy be shewed to such as seek for it. Wherefore, if you will now conform, and come home again, mercy is ready. We must say ; that we have all fallen, but now are we risen again, and returned to the catholic church : You must therefore rise with us, and come home unto it. Give us then a direct answer.’

Saund. “ My lord, if it please your honours, give me leave to speak with deliberation.”

Gard. ‘ Leave off your painting and pride of speech ; for such is the fashion of you all, to please yourselves in your glorious words. Answer yea, or nay.’

Saund. “ My lord, it is not a time for me now to paint : And as for pride, I have no cause to be proud ; my learning I confess to be but little ; and as for wealth I have now none at all. Nevertheless, it behoves me to answer your demand cautiously ; seeing that one of these two extreme perils are likely to befall me : The losing of a good conscience, or my life. And I tell you the truth, I love both life and liberty, if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my conscience.”

Gard. ‘ Conscience ! you have none at all, but pride and arrogancy, dividing yourselves by singularity from the church.’

Saund. “ The Lord knows all men's consciences. And as to the charge of separation from the church, as I understand your lordship's meaning, I assure you I live in the faith in which I have been brought up ever since I was fourteen years of age ; being taught, that the power of the bishop of *Rome* is but usurped, with many consequent abuses. Yea, this have I received from YOUR hands that are here present, as a thing agreed upon by the catholic church and public authority.”

Gard. ‘ Yea, marry, but I pray you, have you received by consent and authority all your heresies of the blessed sacrament of the altar ? ’

Saund.

Saund. “ My lord, it is less offence to cut off an arm,
 “ hand, or joint of a man than to cut off the head; for
 “ a man may live with the loss of any one of these; but
 “ he cannot live without his head. But you, all the
 “ whole sort of you, have agreed to cut off the su-
 “ premacy of the bishop of *Rome*, whom now you will
 “ have again to be head of the church.”

Bishop of *London.* ‘ My lord, I have his own hand-
 ‘ writing against the blessed sacrament. What say you
 ‘ to that, *Saunders*?’

Saund. “ What I have written, I have written; and
 “ further I will not accuse myself. You can lay no-
 “ thing to my charge, for having broke any of your
 “ laws, since they were in force.”

Gard. ‘ Well, you are obstinate, and refuse liberty.’

Saund. “ My lord, I may not buy liberty at such a
 “ price: But I beseech your honours to obtain of the
 “ queen such a pardon for us, that we may live and
 “ keep our consciences unclogged; and we shall live as
 “ most obedient subjects. Or else, I must say for my-
 “ self, that, by God’s grace, I will abide the greatest
 “ extremity that man can do against me, rather than to
 “ act against my conscience.”

Gard. ‘ Ah, firrah! you will live as you list. The
 ‘ *Donatists* desired to live in singularity; but indeed they
 ‘ were not fit to live upon the earth: No more are you,
 ‘ and that you shall know within these seven days; and
 ‘ therefore away with him.’

Saund. “ Welcome be it, whatsoever the will of God
 “ shall be, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I
 “ have learned to die. But I exhort you to beware of
 “ shedding innocent blood. Truly it will cry aloud
 “ against you. The Spirit of God rest upon all your
 “ honours! amen.”

Mr. *Saunders* was then taken into an adjoining room
 till some others were examined, that they might be all
 led to prison together: And where finding a great num-
 ber of people, he spake to them freely; declaring what
 they deserved on account of their falling from *Christ* to
 antichrist; and exhorted them to repent and turn, and
 with a stronger faith embrace *Christ*, and confess him to
 the end, in defiance of antichrist and sin, death and the
 devil; and so live in the love and favor of God. He
 was afterwards taken to the prison in *Bread-street*, out
 of which he preached to his parishioners, as he had for-
 merly done out of the pulpit,

On the fourth day of *February*, the bishop of *London* went to him in the prison, and degraded him; upon which he said; "I thank God, I am none of your church." The next morning the sheriff of *London* delivered him up to some of the queen's guard, who were appointed to take him to *Coventry* to be burned there. They travelled no farther than *St. Alban's* the first night, where they were met by Mr. *Grimoald*, a man of greater gifts than constancy; to whom Mr. *Saunders* said, after giving him a lesson suitable to his revolting state, "Will you pledge me out of this cup which I will begin to drink of to you?" *Grimoald*, shrugging up his shoulders, answered, "I will pledge you out of that cup, which is in your hand, with all my heart; but of that other which you mean, I will not promise you." "Well, replied Mr. *Saunders*, my dear Lord *Jesus Christ* hath drank to me of a more bitter cup; and shall I not pledge my most precious Saviour? Yes, I hope I shall." At *Coventry*, he was put into the gaol amongst the common prisoners; where he slept very little, spending the night in prayer and in instructing others; and where to a friend he said, "Pray for me, for I am the most unfit for this high office of any one that was ever appointed to it; but my gracious God and dear Father is able to make me strong enough."

The next day, the eighth of *February*, 1555, they led him away to the place of execution, without the city; which when they were within sight of, the officer, appointed to see the execution done, said to Mr. *Saunders*, that he was one of the people that marred the queen's realm with false doctrine and heresy; and that therefore he deserved death: However, if he would revoke his heresies, he had orders with him for his pardon; but if not, added he, yonder is fire prepared for thee. To which Mr. *Saunders* answered, "It is not I, nor my fellow-preachers of God's truth, that have hurt the queen's realm, but it is yourself, and such as you are, that have always resisted God's holy word, that marr the queen's realm. I hold no heresies, but the doctrine of God, the blessed gospel of *Christ*; it is *that* I hold, it is *that* I believe, it is *that* I have taught, and it is *that* I will never revoke." Upon this, the other rejoined, "Away with him." And Mr. *Saunders* proceeded with much apparent comfort and resolution. When he came to the place, he fell to the ground and prayed; and then arose, and took the stake in

in his arms, to which he was to be chained, and kissed it, saying, "Welcome the cross of *Christ*; welcome everlasting life." He was fastened to the stake, and the fire was kindled; but the wood being green, they cruelly tormented him for a long time: Which gave an opportunity for a further proof of the covenant-faithfulness and love of HIM, who hath promised, that his grace *shall be sufficient*, and where afflictions abound, causeth the consolations of his Spirit much more to abound. This holy man, with the utmost fortitude and patience, endured his torments, and at length sweetly *fell asleep in JESUS*.

In the beginning of *Q. Mary's* reign, Mr. *Saunders* met with Dr. *Pendleton*, a man of learning and seeming zeal in preaching the gospel; and their conversation turning upon the times, and the probability of a very severe persecution, Mr. *Saunders* appeared weak in faith, and very fearful that he should not remain steadfast: But *Pendleton*, with an air of courage and zeal, said: 'What, man! there is much more cause for me to fear than you; for I have a very big, fat body; yet will I see the utmost drop of this grease of mine melted away, and the last gobbet of this flesh of mine consumed to ashes, before I will forsake *Jesus Christ*, and his truth which I have professed.'—It was not long after, that they were both put to the trial; when poor feeble, faint-hearted *Saunders*, always jealous of himself, by the power of divine grace, sealed the truth with his blood; and proud, self-sufficient *Pendleton* fell away and turned papist.—So true is it, that the most confident *in themselves*, are the nearest to apostacy; and that nothing can support the soul in trials, and carry it happily through them, but the omnipotent grace of an almighty Redeemer.

It has been observed, that nothing discovers the temper and mind of a person more than his letters. The letters of Mr. *Saunders* eminently discover the frame of his spirit; for which reason, we will add three or four of them.

A letter,

A letter, written on the thirty-first of *January*, 1555, after his condemnation, addressed to his wife, and other faithful friends.

“ THE grace of *Christ*, with the consolation of the Holy Ghost, to the keeping of the faith and a good conscience, confirm and keep you for ever vessels to God’s glory, amen.

“ Oh! what worthy thanks can be given to our gracious God for his unmeasurable mercies plentifully poured upon us! And I, most unworthy wretch, cannot but pour at this present, even from the bottom of my heart, the bewailing of my great ingratitude and unkindness towards so gracious so good a God and loving Father. I beseech you all, as for my other many sins, so specially for that sin of my unthankfulness, crave pardon for me in your earnest prayers, commending me to God’s great mercies in *Christ*.

“ To number these mercies in particular, were to number the drops of water which are in the sea, the sands on the shore, and the stars in the sky. O my dear wife, and ye the rest of my friends, rejoice with me; I say, rejoice with thanksgiving for this my present promotion, in that I am made worthy to magnify my God, not only in my life, by my slow mouth and uncircumcised lips, bearing witness unto his truth, but also by my blood to seal the same, to the glory of my God, and confirming of his true church: And as yet I testify unto you, that the comfort of my sweet *Christ* doth drive from my fantasy the fear of death. But if my dear husband *Christ* doth for my trial leave me alone a little to myself, alas! I know in what case I shall be then: But if for my proof he do so, yet I am sure he will not be long or far from me. Though he stand behind the wall and hide himself, (as *Solomon* saith in his mystical song,) yet will he peep in by a creft to see how I do. He is a very tender-hearted *Joseph*; though he speak roughly to his brethren, and handle them hardly; yea, threaten grievous bondage to his best-beloved brother *Benjamin*: Yet can he not contain himself from weeping with us and upon us, with falling on our necks, and sweetly kissing us. Such, such a brother is our *Christ* unto all. Wherefore hasten to go unto him as *Jacob* did with his sons and family, leaving their country and acquaintance. Yea, this our *Joseph* hath obtained for us, that *Pha-*

“ *raah* the infidel shall minister unto us chariots, wherein
 “ at ease we may be carried to come unto him: As we
 “ have experience how our very adversaries do help us
 “ unto our everlasting blifs by their speedy dispatch;
 “ yea, and how all things have been helpings thereunto;
 “ blessed be our God. Be not afraid of fray-bugs which
 “ lie in the way. Fear rather the everlasting fire: Fear
 “ the serpent which hath that deadly sting, of which by
 “ bodily death they shall be brought to taste which are
 “ not grafted in *Christ*, wanting faith and a good con-
 “ science, and so are not acquainted with *Christ*, the
 “ killer of death. But oh, my dear wife and friends!
 “ we, we whom God hath delivered from the power of
 “ darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of
 “ his dear son, by putting off the old man, and by faith
 “ putting on the new, even our Lord *Jesus Christ*, his
 “ wisdom, holiness, righteousness, and redemption; we,
 “ I say, have to triumph against the terrible, spiteful
 “ serpent the devil, sin, hell, death, and damnation.
 “ For *Christ* our brazen serpent hath pulled away the
 “ sting of this serpent, so that now we may boldly, in
 “ beholding it spoiled of its sting, triumph, and with our
 “ *Christ*, and all his elect, say, *Death, where is thy sting?*
 “ *Hell, where is thy victory?* Thanks be to God, who hath
 “ given (us) the victory, through our Lord *Jesus Christ*.

“ Wherefore be merry, my dear wife, and all my dear
 “ fellow heirs of the everlasting kingdom; always re-
 “ member the Lord. Rejoice in hope, be patient in
 “ tribulation, continue in prayer, and pray for us now
 “ appointed to the slaughter, that we may be unto our
 “ heavenly Father a fat offering, and an acceptable sa-
 “ crifice. I may hardly write to you: Wherefore let
 “ these few words be a witness of my commendations to
 “ you and all them which love us in the faith; and
 “ namely, unto my flock, among whom I am resident
 “ by God’s providence, but as a prisoner.

“ And although I am not so among them, as I have
 “ been, to preach to them out of a pulpit; yet doth God
 “ now preach unto them by me, by this my imprison-
 “ ment and captivity which now I suffer among them
 “ for *Christ*’s gospel sake, bidding them to beware of the
 “ *Romish* antichristian religion and kingdom, requiring
 “ and charging them to abide in the truth of *Christ*,
 “ which is shortly to be sealed with the blood of their
 “ pastor: Who, though he be unworthy of such a mi-
 “ nistry, yet *Christ* their high pastor is to be regarded;
 “ whose

“ whose truth hath been taught them by me, is witnessed
 “ by my chains, and shall be by my death, through the
 “ power of that high pastor. Be not careful, good wife;
 “ cast your care upon the Lord, and commend me unto
 “ him in repentant prayer, as I do you and our *Samuel*;
 “ whom, even at the stake, I will offer as myself unto
 “ God. Fare ye well all in *Christ*, in hope to be joined
 “ with you in joy everlasting. This hope is put up in
 “ my bosom, Amen, Amen, Amen, pray, pray.

Another letter to his wife, &c.

“ **G**RACE and comfort, &c. Wife, you shall do best
 “ not to come often unto the grate where the porter
 “ may see you. Put not yourself in danger where it
 “ needs not: You shall, I think, shortly come far enough
 “ into danger by keeping faith and a good conscience:
 “ Which, dear wife, I trust you do not slack to make
 “ reckoning and account upon, by exercising your in-
 “ ward man in meditation of God's most holy word,
 “ being the sustenance of the soul, and also by giving
 “ yourself to humble prayer: For these two things be
 “ the very means how to be made members of our *Christ*,
 “ meet to inherit his kingdom.

“ Do this, dear wife, in earnest, and not leaving off;
 “ and so we two shall, with our *Christ* and all his chosen
 “ children, enjoy the merry world in that everlasting
 “ immortality; whereas here will nothing else be found
 “ but extream misery, even of them which most greedily
 “ seek this worldly wealth: And so, if we two continue
 “ God's children grafted in our *Christ*, the same God's
 “ blessing which we receive shall also settle upon our
 “ *Samuel*. Though we do shortly depart hence and leave
 “ the poor infant (to our seeming) at all adventures, yet
 “ shall he have our gracious God to be his God: For
 “ so hath he said, and he cannot lye; *I will be thy God*,
 “ faith he, *and the God of thy seed*. Yea, if you leave
 “ him in the wilderness, destitute of all help, being called
 “ of God to do his will, either to dye for the confes-
 “ sion of *Christ*, or any work of obedience: That God
 “ which heard the cry of the little poor infant of *Agar*,
 “ *Sarah's* hand-maiden, and did succour it, will do the
 “ like to the child of you or any other fearing him, and
 “ putting your trust in him.

“ And if we lack faith, as we do indeed many times,
 “ let us call for it, and we shall have the increase both

“ of it, and also of any other good grace needful for us :
 “ And be merry in God, in whom also I am very merry
 “ and joyful. O Lord, what great cause of rejoicing
 “ have we, to think upon that kingdom which he vouch-
 “ safeth for his *Christ's* sake freely to give us, forsaking
 “ ourselves and following him. Dear wife, this is truly
 “ to follow him, even to take up our cross and follow
 “ him; and then, as we suffer with him, so shall we
 “ reign with him everlastingly; shortly. Amen.”

To his wife, a little before his burning.

“ **G**RACE and comfort in *Christ*, Amen. Dear wife,
 “ be merry in the mercies of our *Christ*; and also
 “ ye my dear friends. Pray, pray for us every body.
 “ We be shortly to be dispatched hence unto our good
 “ *Christ*; Amen, Amen. Wife, I would you sent me
 “ my shirt; which you know whereunto it is consecrated.
 “ Let it be sewed down on both sides, and not open.
 “ O my heavenly Father, look upon me in the face of
 “ thy *Christ*, or else I shall not be able to abide thy coun-
 “ tenance; such is my filthiness. He will do so, and
 “ therefore I will not be afraid what sin, death, hell and
 “ damnation can do against me. O wife, always re-
 “ member the Lord. God blefs you, yea, he will blefs
 “ thee, good wife, and thy poor boy also: Only cleave
 “ thou unto him, and he will give thee all things. Pray,
 “ pray, pray.”

To Mr. *Robert* and Mr. *John Glover*; his last letter,
 written on the morning, in which he was burnt.

“ **G**RACE and consolation in our sweet Saviour *Christ*.
 “ Oh my dear brethren whom I love in the Lord,
 “ being loved of you also in the Lord, be merry and
 “ rejoice for me, now ready to go up to that mine in-
 “ heritance, which I myself indeed am most unworthy
 “ of; but my dear *Christ* is worthy, who hath purchased
 “ the same for me with so dear a price. Make haste my
 “ dear brethren to come unto me, that we may be merry,
 “ *eo gaudio quod nemo tollet à nobis*; i. e. with that joy
 “ which no man shall take from us. O wretched sinner,
 “ that I am not thankful unto this my Father, who hath
 “ vouchsafed me to be a worthy vessel unto his honour.
 “ But, O Lord, now accept my thanks, though they
 “ proceed out of a not-enough circumcised heart. Sa-
 “ lute my good sisters your wives; and good sisters, fear
 “ the



“ the Lord. Salute all other that love us in the truth.
 “ God’s blessing be with you always, Amen. Even now
 “ towards the offering of a burnt sacrifice. O my *Christ*
 “ help, or else I perish !”

J O H N H O O P E R,

BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

THIS great Divine, who was born in 1495, was a native of *Somersetshire*, and received his academical education at *Merton-College* in *Oxford*, where he was sent in 1514, and placed under the tuition of his uncle *John Hooper*, who was made master-fellow of that house in 1513, and was also principal of *St. Alban’s-Hall*. In 1518, *John Hooper*, the nephew, was admitted bachelor of arts, which was the highest degree he took in this university, and about the same time completed it by determination. What became of him afterwards is not justly known: But it is reported, that he was one of the number of *Cistercians*, commonly called white monks, and continued so for some years, till he grew weary of a monastic life, and returned to *Oxford*, where he was converted by books brought from *Germany*, and soon became a zealous protestant.

In 1539, when the statute of the six articles was put in execution, he left *Oxford*, and got into the service of *Sir Thomas Arundel*, a *Devonshire* gentleman, to whom he became chaplain and steward of his estate. This gentleman was a *Roman catholic* knight, and was afterwards put to death with the protector, duke of *Somerset*, in the reign of *Edward VI.* He soon discovered that *Hooper* was a protestant, who thereby lost his protection, and was obliged to fly into *France*, where he continued some time among the reformed, till his dislike of some of their proceedings made him return to *England*. On his arrival in his native country, he lived with a gentleman of the name of

of *Seintlow*, where he became known, and was sought after to be apprehended. Upon this, he disguised himself like a sailor, hired a boat, and went to *Ireland*, from whence he went to *Holland*, and so on to *Switzerland*. *Bullinger* was then at *Zurick*, where he succeeded *Zuinglius* in the chair. He likewise had been obliged to forsake his country on account of religion, and therefore gave a very friendly reception to *Hooper*, who was remarkable for his knowledge in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* languages, and who, by *Bullinger's* advice, married a *Burgundian* lady during his residence in that country.

Edward VI. came to the crown, in 1547, and *Hooper* came to *England* again, when he settled in *London*, where he frequently preached to the people on several reformed doctrinal heads, and particularly against pluralities. He had a great sweetness of temper, and was much regarded by all the party of the Reformed, who inclined to a parity of church government. He resided so long in foreign parts, under the discipline of Reformers, who had abrogated every thing that appeared like the church of *Rome* in their constitution, that he came home with predilections less in favor of the establishment under *Cranmer*, than many other pious men of his time. He abhorred the very name and appearance of superstition, and conscientiously believed, that our Reformation should have gone many degrees farther from *Rome* even in its rites, than it actually did. He thought, that to do less, was only to temporize. The others, that is *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, believed, that if they could secure the main points of doctrine, other things might be borne as pardonable weaknesses, if not necessary forms at that time, when they had to do with a great and powerful opposition, and a very critical life to hope for in the king, with all the prospect of a popish successor. All of them undoubtedly acted from motives of piety; but some wished to mix greater portions of human prudence with it, than others could consider to be either right or religious. *Hooper* had all the qualifications of a gracious and great divine, and was loved and revered even by those who differed from him in lesser things. He was considered as a great acquisition to the Reformation. His learning, piety, and character would give strength and honor to any profession. He was now appointed chaplain to the duke of *Somerset*, and, perhaps, was more severely treated on that account, when his great patron lost the protectorship. In 1549, he became an accuser of bishop *Bonner*, when he was to be deprived of his bishopric,

bishopric, which made him fare the worse when queen *Mary* came to the crown.

After *Hooper* had practised himself in his popular and common kind of preaching, he was called to preach before the king, who, in 1550, made him bishop of *Gloucester*, and, about two years after, he had the bishopric of *Worcester* given him to keep in commendam with the former. The earl of *Warwick* recommended *Hooper* to this preferment, as a man who had all those virtues and qualities required by *St. Paul* in a good bishop, in his epistle to *Timothy*. But some disputes having arisen about the vestments or habits proper for the clergy, and *Hooper* among others wishing to proscribe as much as possible whatever had the appearance of *Romish* superstition, an unhappy controversy arose between other good men and himself upon the subject. It was customary to wear such garments and apparel as the popish bishops used: First a chymere, and under that a white rochet; then a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. *Hooper* was a man of learning, and of great parts, as well as piety: He thought that all these were mere human inventions, brought into the church by custom or tradition, and invented chiefly for celebrating the mass, and consecrated for that use, and that they were therefore among the ceremonies condemned by the apostle as beggarly elements. In answer to this, it was told him by archbishop *Cranmer*, and bishop *Ridley*, that though tradition in matters of faith was justly to be rejected; yet in rites and ceremonies which were indifferent, custom alone was a good argument for the continuance of that which had been long used. The archbishop therefore required *Hooper* to conform himself to the law: But he persisted in refusing a rochet, and *Cranmer* persisted in refusing to consecrate him without it. The earl of *Warwick*, who was then prevalent at court, wrote a letter to the archbishop, desiring him not to insist upon these ceremonies from the bishop elect of *Gloucester*; nor to 'charge him with an oath burthensome to his conscience.' It is said by some writers, that this was the oath of supremacy; but others, with more reason, conceive it the oath of canonical obedience to the archbishop, which consequently commanded such ceremonies as *Hooper* was willing to decline; for it is improbable, that the king would dispense with any person from taking the oath of supremacy, wherein his own dignity was so nearly concerned. *Warwick*

wick also prevailed on the king to write a letter to *Cranmer* in favor of *Hooper*, wherein his majesty told his grace, that ‘ he had chosen *Hooper* to be bishop of *Gloucester*, as
 ‘ well for his great learning, deep judgement, and long
 ‘ study, both in the scriptures, and other profound learn-
 ‘ ing; as also for his good discretion, ready utterance, and
 ‘ honest life for that kind of vocation. From consecrat-
 ‘ ing of whom, says the king, we understand you do stay,
 ‘ because he would have you omit, and let pass certain
 ‘ rites and ceremonies offensive to his conscience, whereby
 ‘ ye think, you should fall in præmunire of laws: We
 ‘ have thought good to dispense, and discharge you of all
 ‘ manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures, you should
 ‘ run into, and be in any manner of way, by omitting any
 ‘ of the same.’ This letter was dated the fifth of *August* 1550, and was signed by *Somerſet*, and five other lords of the council: But *Cranmer* insisted that *Hooper* should conform himself in all points, and denied him the liberty of the pulpit, while the council confined him to his house. *Cranmer* consulted *Bucer* and *Martyr* upon this occasion, who were also consulted by *Hooper*. *Hooper* continued strong in his prepossession; and many arguments were urged on both sides, which later ages have more amply enlarged and explained. *Hooper* then published a confession of his faith, in which he complained of the privy council. Upon this he was committed to the custody of the archbishop, who used all his endeavors to bring *Hooper* off from his opinion, but without effect. His grace then informed the council, that his prisoner was not content with his non-conformity, but had offered to prescribe rules on this head to the public; whereupon the council ordered his grace to send him to the Fleet, and he continued there till the next year.

At last the earl of *Warwick* deserted his chaplain; and the affair of *Hooper*, which had slept from *August* to *March* whilst he remained in the Fleet, was resumed. He was brought before the council, to explain himself on the difficulties which he had started. The objection he made to the oath was, the “swearing by God, the saints, and the holy
 “gospels,” when none but God himself ought to be appealed to in an oath. Upon this the king struck out those words with his own hand, and allowed that no creature ought to be sworn by. As to the point about the vestments, it was compromised on these conditions: He was to wear the episcopal habit which was prescribed, when he was consecrated, and when he preached before
 the

the king, or in his cathedral, and in any public place; and on other occasions he was dispensed with. On these terms he was consecrated in the usual form; by which he lost much of the popularity he had gained by his declamation against the established rites. Both parties had violently contended about this matter, which was the means of introducing a contention into *England*, that hath been pernicious to the interests of religion and the church.

Thus *Hooper* was consecrated bishop of *Gloucester*, on the eighth of *March*, 1551, and then preached before the king, in his episcopal habit. When he entered into his diocese, 'he left no pains untaken, nor ways unsought, 'how to train up the flock of *Christ* in the true word 'of salvation, continually labouring in the same.' He preached often, kept good hospitality for the poorer sort of people, and was beloved by all.

The see of *Gloucester* was looked upon as a poor pittance for so great a divine, and, on the twentieth of *May*, 1552, he was declared bishop of *Worcester*, in the room of *Heath*, who was then a prisoner in the *Fleet*, for refusing to agree with the book of ordinations. *Hooper* was permitted to hold *Worcester* in commendam with *Gloucester*; for which he was censured by the papists. 'But let such know, that the dioceses of *Gloucester* and ' *Worcester* lie contiguous: That many single bishoprics 'in *England* are larger than both, for extent in land, 'and number of parishes: That *Dunstan* had the bishopric of *Worcester* and *London* with it at the same time, 'being far more remote: That it is not having two bishoprics together, but the neglecting of one, is the 'sin; whereas *Hooper*, in preaching and visiting, afforded 'double diligence in his double diocese.'

The compliance of *Hooper* with the established religion was, at this time, of great service to the public: But this plurality conferred upon one prelate, is a proof how far the government began to deviate from the strict maxim it had laid down, of not suffering a bishop to keep even a parsonage in commendam. *Hooper* made a very good use of his power. He visited both sees, and did great services both to the church and state of *England*. He made to the king a deed of gift of his bishopric of *Gloucester*, and of all the lands and annuities he enjoyed by the same. Soon after, that bishopric was dissolved, or rather united with the see of *Worcester*, so that the jurisdiction of *Gloucester* ceased. In the act of his translation

to *Worcester*, he was made bishop of the same, during his natural life, 'provided he behaved so long well.' But it is probable, the new bishop enjoyed only a small part of the revenues, considering the daily growing practice of courtiers begging for ecclesiastical revenues.

When king *Edward* died, in 1553, religion was subverted, and this good bishop was one of the first that was sent for by queen *Mary* to be at *London*, to answer *Heath* the deprived bishop, and *Bonner* bishop of *London*, for being one of his accusers. *Hooper* was seasonably advised to make his escape: But he was determined to bear the storm, and said, "once I fled, and took me to my feet; now I will continue to live and die with my sheep." He was brought up to *London* by a pursuivant in *August*, and was very opprobriously received by the bishop of *Winchester*, who committed him prisoner to the *Fleet* on the first of *September* following. He remained there several months, during which time he was examined many times, and required to recant his opinions: But he stood constant and resolute to the articles of his faith. *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Latimer*, and *Ferrar*, were also imprisoned. The archbishop of *York*, and the bishops of *Bristol*, *Chester*, and *St. David's*, were deprived of their bishoprics, for having been married. The sees of *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, and *Gloucester*, were declared void, because those bishops had misbehaved themselves. Thus were seven bishops turned out all at once, by an authority which the bigotted queen herself thought sinful and schismatical; and their sees were filled with men in whom she confided.

The council proceeded with vigor in matters of heresy, and removed *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, to dispute with some members of the convocation at *Oxford*, where they all suffered martyrdom. There was a design of the same nature to be executed at *Cambridge*, over some other bishops and eminent clergy, who were in the several prisons of *Newgate*, the *Fleet*, and the *King's-bench*: But the prisoners set forth a declaration, signed by *Hooper*, *Ferrar*, *Coverdale* bishop of *Exeter*, and seven divines, that they would not dispute unless in writing, except it were before the queen and her council, or one of the houses of parliament. To this declaration they added a summary of their belief; for which, they said, they were ready to offer up their lives to the halter, or the fire, as it should please God to appoint. This prevented any farther public conferences in religion; and it was determined

mined to silence the protestants more effectually in another manner.

It would be disagreeable to particularize the numerous deprivations, hardships, expulsions, and imprisonments, which the protestants, both clergy and laity, women as well as men, underwent. The government had the parliament on its side, and drove on as furiously as could be wished. Nothing was to be heard but declamations, from their most florid preachers, in favor of their religion. Nothing was to be seen in the streets, but pageants exposed by papists, and pillories occupied by protestants: Yet no pomp could amuse, no severity could damp the spirit of the people.

Gardiner cheerfully undertook to put the laws in execution against heretics: But as the people could not be intimidated by his threats, or worked upon by his promises, the council sent for the most popular preachers that were in custody, to begin the severities upon them, according to *Gardiner's* plan. It was resolved that *Hooper*, as the most obnoxious to the government, if not the most popular, should be the leading sacrifice to popery. They called him before them on the twenty-first of *January*, 1555, and offered him a pardon by the name of *John Hooper* clerk, not acknowledging him to have been a bishop, if he would confess his heresies, and return to the church; which he absolutely refused. Three articles were then exhibited against him, for marrying, for allowing a divorce and second marriage in the case of fornication, and for denying the corporal presence of *Christ* in the sacrament. *Hooper* owned himself guilty of the accusation; but offered to defend himself against all who should maintain the contrary. He behaved with all humility to the bishops, who treated him with the utmost insolence, and remanded him back to prison.

The two bloody bishops of *London* and *Winchester* had a personal hatred to *Hooper*, who behaved with all the constancy of a primitive martyr. He had kept up a correspondence with *Bullinger*, and others of the reformed abroad, to whom he sent his wife *Anne*, and her children, who was herself a foreigner; and he was at very little pains to conceal his sentiments, none having been more active, or more successful, than he was in the cause of Reformation. *Bullinger* wrote him a long letter from *Zurich*, dated the tenth of *October*, 1554, wherein he desires *Hooper* to commend him to the most reverend fathers and holy confessors of *Christ*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*,
T t 2
and

and *Latimer*. He exhorts them all to be strong in the Lord, to fight a good fight, and to be faithful unto the end; as *Christ* was their captain; and all the prophets, apostles, and martyrs, their fellow soldiers.

The commissioners had declared that *Hooper* ought to be deprived of his bishopric, and he was brought before them again, on the twenty-second of *January*, at the bishop of *Winchester's* house at *St. Mary Overy's*. He was then asked to acknowledge the pope to be head of the church; which he denied, as the pope taught a doctrine directly contrary to the doctrine of *Christ*: Therefore, he would not condescend to any such usurped jurisdiction; neither esteemed he the church, of which they call him head, to be the catholic church of *Christ*: "For the church only heareth the voice of her spouse *Christ*, and fleeth the strangers." He was commanded back to the fleet, and brought before the commissioners again on the twenty-eighth of *January*, together with Mr. *John Rogers*, vicar of *St. Sepulchre's* and reader of *St. Paul's*. They were both examined, and sent away to be brought into court the next morning, to see if they would relent. They were conducted to the *Compter* in *Southwark*, by the sheriffs of *London*; and *Hooper* said to *Rogers*, as they walked through the street surrounded by the populace: "Come, brother *Rogers*, must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to fry these faggots?" *Rogers* answered: "Yes, sir, by God's grace." "Doubt not," replied *Hooper*, "but God will give grace."

The next morning they were brought again before the commissioners, who sat in judgement in *St. Mary Overy's* church. *Hooper* would by no means condescend to the commissioners, who condemned him, to be degraded, and ordered him to be carried to the *Clink*, a prison near the bishop of *Winchester's* house; from whence he was removed to *Newgate* the same night.

The people prayed for him as he was guarded through the streets; and he was kept close prisoner in *Newgate* six days. During this time he was frequently visited by *Bonner* and his chaplains, who vainly endeavored to make him a convert to their church. They offered him wealth and preferment, which he despised; and then they spread a report that he had recanted. This report soon came to his ears, at which he was greatly grieved; and, on the second of *February*, wrote a letter to disprove that false and malicious story; and to assure the world that he was more than ever confirmed in the protestant faith, saying,

saying, “I have taught the truth with my tongue and
 “with my pen heretofore, and hereafter shortly shall
 “confirm the same, by God’s grace, with my blood.”

The bishop of *London* came to *Newgate*, and degraded *Hooper*, after reading the sentence of his degradation, wherein *Hooper* is called a Presbyter, under the jurisdiction of the bishop of *Winchester*, by whose definitive sentence he was pronounced, ‘an open, obstinate, and
 ‘incorrigible heretic;’ and, as such, was to be degraded from his order, and for these demerits to be delivered to the secular power. ‘In degrading this blessed bishop,
 ‘they did not proceed against him as a bishop, but only
 ‘as against a priest, as they termed him; for such as he
 ‘was, these Balaamites accounted no bishop.’

Rogers was degraded at the same time, and died a martyr in *Smithfield*: But *Hooper* was impolitically sent by the government to die at *Gloucester*, that the hearers of his doctrine might be the witnesses of his sufferings. By the order that was sent to burn him at *Gloucester*, the sheriff was directed to call in some of reputation in the county to assist at his execution: And because he was, says the order, ‘a vain-glorious person, as all heretics
 ‘are,’ he was neither suffered to speak at large in going to his execution, nor at the place, for avoiding further infection. He was much pleased at being carried to *Gloucester*, that he might confirm with his death the truth which he had taught there in his life; not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to perform the same to his glory.

On the fifth of *February*, before daylight, he was brought by the sheriffs from *Newgate*, to a place appointed near *St. Dunstan’s* church in *Fleet-street*, where he was received by a body of the queen’s guards, who were to carry him to *Gloucester*. He eat a hearty breakfast, and leapt chearfully on horseback without help. On the seventh he arrived at *Gloucester*, where he found all the citizens assembled to see him, who cried and lamented for his condition.

The next morning some of his friends were permitted to see him, among whom was Sir *Anthony Kingston*, who found the good bishop at his prayers, and burst forth into tears, as he spoke in this manner: ‘I understand
 ‘you are come here to die: But, alas! consider that life
 ‘is sweet, and death is bitter: Therefore, seeing life
 ‘may be had, desire to live, for life hereafter may do
 ‘good.’ The bishop answered, “Indeed, I am come
 “here

“ here to end this life, and to suffer death, because I
 “ will not gainsay the former truth that I have taught
 “ in this diocese, and elsewhere. I do not so much re-
 “ gard this death, nor esteem this life; but have settled
 “ myself, through the strength of God’s Holy Spirit,
 “ patiently to pass through the torments and extremities
 “ of the fire now prepared for me, rather than deny the
 “ truth of his word.” The same night he was com-
 mitted by the guard to the custody of the sheriffs of
Gloucester, who, with the mayor and aldermen, attended
 him with great respect. He thanked them for their civi-
 lity, and requested the sheriffs, that “ there might be
 “ quick fire, shortly to make an end.” He told them,
 “ he was not come there as one compelled to die; for it
 “ was well known he might have had his life with
 “ worldly gain: But as one willing to offer and give his
 “ life for the truth; rather than consent to the wicked
 “ papistical religion of the bishop of *Rome*, received and
 “ set forth by the magistrates in *England*, to the high
 “ displeasure and dishonour of God: And he trusted,
 “ by God’s grace, the next day to die a faithful servant
 “ of God, and true obedient subject to the queen.” He
 was not carried to the common jail of the city called
North-gate; but lodged in the house of Mr. *Robert Ingram*,
 where he spent the night in devotion.

About eight the next morning, the commissioners, ap-
 pointed to see the execution, came to the house; and at
 nine the bishop was brought down from his chamber by
 the sheriffs, and led to the stake between them like a
 lamb going to the slaughter. It was market-day, and
 about seven thousand people were assembled on the occa-
 sion, which made him say, “ Alas! why are these people
 “ here? Perhaps they think to hear something of me
 “ now, as they have in times past; but, alas! speech is
 “ prohibited me. Notwithstanding the cause of my death
 “ is well known unto them. When I was appointed
 “ here to be their pastor, I preached unto them true and
 “ sincere doctrine out of the word of God: Because I
 “ will not now account the same to be heresy and un-
 “ truth, this death is prepared for me.”

He was dressed in a gown of his host’s; a hat on his
 head; and a staff in his hand to support him; as the
 sciatica, which he had contracted in prison, made him
 halt. The people mourned for him all the way, and he
 looked very chearfully upon such as he knew. He fre-
 quently lifted up his eyes towards heaven as he passed
 along;

along; and he was never known, since his being their bishop, to look with so lively and ruddy a countenance as he did at that time.

When he came to the stake, which was opposite the college of priests, where he used to preach, he beheld the preparation for his death with a composed and smiling countenance. When the iron work was brought to fasten him to the stake, he took an iron hoop and put it about his waist; and, bidding them take away the rest, he said, "I doubt not but God will give me strength to abide the extremity of the fire without binding." The place was surrounded with spectators, and the priests of the college were in the chamber over the college-gate. As the bishop was not permitted to speak to the people, he kneeled down to prayer, and beckoned to Mr. *Bridges*, whom he knew, to hear it, which he did with great attention, and reported that the prayer was made upon the whole creed, wherein the bishop continued about half an hour, and declared his faith in the form of a prayer. When he was in the middle of this prayer, a box was brought, and laid before him on a stool, with his pardon from the queen, if he would recant. When he saw it, he cried, "If you love my soul, away with it; if you love my soul, away with it." He was then permitted to proceed in prayer, which he concluded in these words: "Lord, I am hell; but thou art heaven. Thou art a gracious and merciful Redeemer: Have mercy therefore upon me, a most miserable and wretched offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thy inestimable goodness. Thou art ascended into heaven; receive me to be a partaker of thy joys there, where thou sittest in equal glory with thy Father. For well thou knowest wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked do persecute thy poor servant; not for my sins and transgressions committed against thee, but because I will not allow of their wicked doings, to the contaminating of thy blood, and the denial of the knowledge of thy truth, in which it pleased thee, by thy Holy Spirit, to instruct me. With as much diligence as so poor a creature could, being thereto called, I have set forth thy glory. Thou well seest, O Lord my God, what terrible torments and cruel pains are prepared for thy poor creature; even such, Lord, as, without thy strength, no one is able to bear or patiently to pass. But that which is impossible

“ impossible with man, is possible with thee: There-
 “ fore, strengthen me of thy goodness, that in the fire I
 “ break not the rules of patience; or else assuage the
 “ terror of the pains, as shall seem fittest for thy glory.”

When prayer was done, he prepared himself for the stake, and was undrest to his shirt, which he trussed between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity delivered him by the guard. A flood of tears burst from the eyes of the spectators as he was fastened to the stake, from whence he directed the executioner where to place the fire, which was soon kindled: But the wood burning ill, and the wind blowing away the flame that it did not rise up and suffocate him, nor destroy his vitals, he was for a long time in the utmost torment. He frequently called to the people, for the love of God, to bring him more fire; which, though it was renewed, was prevented by the wind from putting him out of his misery, till he had been near three quarters of an hour in burning. During this space, he frequently said, “ O Jesus, thou
 “ son of *David*, have mercy on me, and receive my
 “ soul!” The last words, he was heard to utter, were;
 “ Lord *Jesus*, receive my spirit!” The account given by *Fox* of his long excruciating torments is terrible to hear, who says, he patiently bore the extremity of the fire, ‘ neither moving forwards, backwards, or to any
 ‘ side; but having his nether parts burnt, and his bowels
 ‘ fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his bed:
 ‘ And he now reigneth as a blessed martyr in the joys of
 ‘ heaven, prepared for the faithful in *Christ* before the
 ‘ foundations of the world: For whose constancy all
 ‘ Christians are bound to praise God.’

This learned and pious prelate was thus cruelly martyred, like *Polycarp*, bishop of *Smyrna*, to whom he has been justly compared, on the ninth of *February*, 1555, and in the sixtieth year of his age.

In one of his letters, whilst he was in prison, he used these words; “ Imprisonment is painful; but liberty
 “ upon evil conditions is worse. The prison stinks; yet
 “ not so much as the sweet houses, where the fear of
 “ God is wanting. I must be alone and solitary: It is
 “ better so to be, and have God with me, than to be in
 “ company with the wicked. Loss of goods is great;
 “ but the loss of grace and God’s favour is greater. I
 “ cannot tell how to answer before great and learned
 “ men:

“men: Yet it is better to do that, than to stand naked
 “before God’s tribunal. I shall die by the hands of
 “cruel men. He is blessed, that loseth his life, and
 “findeth life eternal. There is neither felicity nor ad-
 “versity in this world, that is great, if it be weighed
 “with the joys and pains of the world to come.” Soon
 after he added; “I am a precious jewel now, and dain-
 “tily kept, never so daintily before; for neither my
 “own man, nor any of the servants of the house, may
 “come to me, but my keeper only, who is a simple rude
 “fellow: But I am not troubled thereat.”

He wrote twenty-four books and treatises when in prison: Besides he wrote of the Sacraments, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. His writings are mostly these: Answer to *Gardiner’s* book, entitled, A Detection of the Devil’s Sophistry: A Declaration of *Christ* and his Office: Lesson of the Incarnation of *Christ*: Sermons on *Jonas*: A godly Confession and Protestation of the Christian Faith: *Homily* to be read in the time of the Pestilence. All these were wrote from 1549, to 1553: And he afterwards wrote; *Epistola ad Episcopos*, &c. An Exhortation to Patience, sent to his wife: Sentences wrote in Prison: Comfortable Expositions on the twenty-third, sixty-second, seventy-third, and seventy-seventh *Psalms*: Annotations on the thirteenth Chapter to the *Romans*: Twelve Lectures upon the Creed: Declaration of the Ten Holy Commandments of Almighty God: And he also translated *Tertullian’s* second book to his wife, concerning the choice of a husband or wife.

The manner of his death being so very severe, very uncharitable reflexions were made upon it; as though he, who had kindled the fire of dissention about the vestments, had suffered thus uncommonly for that reason. *Ridley* and *Hooper* were not fully reconciled till the reign of *Mary*, when *Hooper* had the honor to offer the first agreement, which *Ridley* embraced with a brotherly love, and several letters passed between them on that occasion. They acknowledged their mutual faults in carrying things of such indifference to so great a length, and assured each other of their sincere love and affection. Happy would it have been for *England*, and much to the interest of religion, if the fires which consumed these pious men had put an end to such frivolous and idle contests! And if those who have since engaged in them with a furious zeal, would reflect more on the sense which

these good bishops had of them when they were on the verge of another world, than on the heats into which they put them, while they were in ease and security, it is probable they might be persuaded to a little more humility and moderation.

ROWLAND TAYLOR, D.D.

‘**O**F whom the world was not worthy’—is an observation made by the Divine Spirit of God’s people in general; but it is particularly said of those, who have had the invincible courage to suffer for his truth. It is eminently applicable to the excellent martyr, some account of whom we are now to submit to the Reader.

Rowland Taylor, doctor both in civil and canon laws, was a very uncommon man both for grace and gifts: He had the piety of *Calvin*, the intrepidity of *Luther*, and what was orthodox in both. He was rector of *Hadley*, in *Suffolk*; which was one of the first towns in *England* that received the gospel, by the preaching of Mr. *Thomas Bilney*: ‘By whose industry, says Mr. *Fox*, the gospel of *Christ* had such gracious success, and took such root there, that a great number in that parish became exceedingly well learned in the holy scriptures, as well women as men:’ So that one might have found amongst them many, who had often read the whole bible through, and who could have said great part of St. *Paul*’s epistles by heart; and very well and readily have given a scriptural and judicious answer in any matter of controversy. Their children and servants were also brought up with such care, and so diligently instructed in the right knowledge of God’s word, that the whole town seemed rather an university of the learned, than a town of cloth-making, or laboring, people: And, what is most to be commended, they were, for the most part, faithful followers of God’s word in holiness of life and conversation.

Dr. *Taylor* was no sooner presented to this benefice of *Hadley*, than he went and resided upon it; though he had the happiness of living at *Lambeth* with archbishop *Cranmer*. He not only labored abundantly in preaching the pure

pure doctrines of the gospel of *Jesus Christ*; but, as becomes every true pastor, he was an example to the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity; that in a little time, the people resorted to him as a father. ‘To the poor, says Mr. *Fox*, ‘that were blind, lame, sick, bed-rid, or that had many ‘children, he was indeed a father, a careful patron, and ‘diligent provider; and stirred up such parishioners, as ‘had it in their power, to make a general provision for ‘them; while he himself (beside the continual relief they ‘always found at his house) gave most liberally every ‘year to the common alm’s-box. His wife also was an ‘honest, discreet, and sober matron; and his children well ‘nurtured, and brought up in the fear of God and good ‘learning.’ He was of a meek and humble spirit, yet bold and faithful in reproofing sin, even in the greatest: And thus he continued, as a faithful and good shepherd, feeding, governing, and leading his flock through the wilderness of this evil world, all the days of good king *Edward*.

When queen *Mary* ascended the throne, one *Foster*, a steward and keeper of courts, and *John Clerk*, of *Hadley*, two papists, agreed together, by violence, to build up an altar in Dr. *Taylor*’s church, and to have mass said in it; and accordingly engaged *John Awerth*, minister of *Aldam*, a dissembling papist, to come with all the popish implements and garments, and to be their priest, having a band of papists with drawn swords to defend them. They proceeded to *Hadley* church in a body, and rang the bell; which Dr. *Taylor* hearing, as he sat at his studies, thought it was some parish-business that required his attendance, and therefore went to church; where, to his great surprise, he saw *Awerth*, in all his popish vestments, with a broad new shaved crown, ready to begin his popish sacrifice; and surrounded with armed men, lest any body should approach to disturb him; whom he thus addressed:

“Thou devil, who made thee so bold to enter into this
“church, to prophane and defile it with this abominable
“idolatry? I command thee, thou popish wolf, in the
“name of God, to avoid hence, and not to presume
“thus to poison *Christ*’s flock.” Then said *Foster*,
“Thou traitor, what doest thou here, to let and disturb
“the queen’s proceedings?” Doctor *Taylor* answered,
“I am no traitor, but I am the shepherd, that God my
“Lord *Christ* hath appointed to feed his flock; there-
“fore I have very good authority to be here.” Mrs.

Taylor, who had followed her husband into the church, kneeled down, and lifting up her hands, cried with a loud voice, ‘I beseech God, the righteous judge, to
 ‘avenge this injury, which this popish idolater doth this
 ‘day to the blood of *Christ*.’ They then thrust both the Doctor and her out of the church; and, in a day or two after, wrote to *Gardiner*, bishop of *Winchester* and lord chancellor, lodging in his court many false and heavy charges against him.

The bishop no sooner heard of it, than he sent letters missive to Dr. *Taylor*, commanding him within a certain time to come and appear before him, upon his allegiance, to answer such complaints as were made against him. When his friends knew this, they earnestly entreated him to fly; for there was no reason to expect he would meet either with justice or favor, but, on the contrary, imprisonment and death. To these he answered; “I
 “know my cause to be so good and righteous, and the
 “truth so strong on my side, that I will, by God’s
 “grace, appear before them, and to their face resist their
 “false doings; for I believe I shall never be able to do
 “God so good service as now; and that I shall never
 “have so glorious a calling, nor so much of the mercy
 “of God proffered me, as I have now: Therefore, pray
 “for me; and I doubt not but God will give me
 “strength, and his Holy Spirit, that all my adversaries
 “shall be ashamed of their doings.” And when they further urged, that he had sufficiently done his duty, and borne witness to the truth, both in his sermons and in resisting the popish priest; that our Saviour *Christ* says, *when they persecute you in one city, flee unto another*; and that, in fleeing from the present persecution, he might reserve himself for better times; he replied, “I am old,
 “and have already lived too long to see these terrible
 “and wicked days. You may act according to your
 “consciences; but I am resolved not to fly: God shall
 “hereafter raise up teachers, who shall teach with more
 “diligence and fruitfulness than I have done; for God
 “will not forsake his church, though for a time he trieth
 “and correcteth us, and that not without just cause.”

Dr. *Taylor* set out for *London*, attended by his own servant, *John Hull*, who, by the way, labored to persuade his master to fly, proffering him his service, though at the hazard of his life, in all the perils and dangers that might attend his flight. “Oh *John*! (answered the
 “good Doctor) shall I give place to this thy counsel
 “and

“and worldly persuasion, and leave my flock in this
 “danger? Remember the good shepherd *Christ*, who not
 “only fed his flock, but also died for it: Him I must,
 “and, by the grace of God, will follow. Therefore,
 “good *John*, pray for me; and if, at any time, thou seest
 “me weak, comfort me; but discourage me not in this
 “my godly enterprize and purpose.”

Dr. *Taylor*, upon his arrival at *London*, waited on the
 bishop, who, according to custom, reviled him, calling
 him *knave*, *traitor*, *heretic*, and much more of the same
 kind of language, which was usual with him; all which
 the doctor heard with great patience; and then said,
 “My lord, I am neither a traitor nor a heretic, but a
 “true subject, and a faithful Christian man; and am
 “come, according to your command, to know your
 “lordship’s pleasure in sending for me.” Then said the
 bishop, ‘Art thou come, thou villain? How darest thou
 ‘look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who
 ‘I am?’—“Yes, (answered the doctor) I know who
 “you are. You are Dr. *Stephen Gardiner*, bishop of
 “*Winchester*, and lord chancellor, and yet but a man, I
 “trow. But (continued the doctor) if you expect that
 “I should be afraid of your lordly looks; why do you
 “not fear God, the Lord of us all? How dare you for
 “shame look any Christian man in the face, seeing you
 “have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour *Christ* and
 “his word, and have done contrary to your own oath
 “and writing? With what countenance will you appear
 “before the judgement-seat of *Christ*, and answer to
 “your oath made, first unto king *Henry VIII.* and after-
 “ward unto king *Edward* his son?”—‘Tush, tush,
 ‘(cried the bishop) that was an *Herod’s* oath, unlawful;
 ‘and therefore worthy to be broken: I have done well
 ‘in breaking it;—and, I thank God, I am come home
 ‘again to our mother, the catholic church of *Rome*; and
 ‘so I would thou shouldest do.’

“But (said Dr. *Taylor*) you will not be discharged
 “before *Christ*, who doubtless will require it at your
 “hands, as a lawful oath made to our liege and sove-
 “reign lord the king, from whose obedience the pope
 “nor any other man can absolve you.”—‘I see, (said
 ‘the bishop) thou art an arrogant knave, and a very
 ‘fool.’—“My lord, (said the doctor) leave your un-
 “seemly railing at me; it is unbecoming a man in
 “authority as you are. I am a Christian man; and
 “you know, that *he that saith to his brother, Racha, is in*
 “danger

“ danger of the council; and he that saith, *Thou fool*, is in
 “ danger of hell-fire.”—“ Ye are false, (said the bishop)
 “ and liars all the sort of you.”—“ Nay, my lord, we
 “ are true men, (replied *Taylor*) and know that it is
 “ written, *The mouth that lieth, slayeth the soul*: And
 “ again, *Thou Lord God shalt destroy all that speak lies*.
 “ And therefore we abide by the truth of God’s word,
 “ which you, contrary to your consciences, deny and
 “ forsake.”

‘ Thou art a married man,’ said the bishop. “ Yes,
 “ my lord, (said the doctor) I thank God I am, and
 “ have had nine children, all in lawful matrimony;
 “ and blessed be God who has ordained matrimony, and
 “ commanded that every man, that had not the gift of
 “ continency, should marry a wife of his own, and not
 “ live in adultery or whoredom.”—“ But thou hast re-
 “ sisted the queen’s proceedings, in not suffering the
 “ minister of *Aldam* to say mass in *Hadley*.”—“ My lord,
 “ I am the minister of *Hadley*: And it is against all
 “ right, conscience, and law, that any man should come
 “ into my charge, and presume to infect the flock, com-
 “ mitted to my care, with the venom of the popish
 “ idolatrous mass.” With that, the bishop grew very
 angry, and said, ‘ Thou art a blasphemous heretic in-
 ‘ deed, that blasphemest the blessed sacrament, [and put
 ‘ off his cap] and speakest against the holy mass, which
 ‘ is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead.’—“ Nay,
 “ (says *Taylor*) I blaspheme not the blessed sacrament,
 “ which *Christ* instituted; but I reverence it as a *Chris-*
 “ tian ought to do, and confess, that *Christ* ordained
 “ the holy communion in remembrance of his death and
 “ passion; which, when we keep according to his ordi-
 “ nance, we, through faith, eat the body of *Christ*, and
 “ drink his blood, giving thanks for our redemption.
 “ That sacrifice, oblation, and atonement, which *Christ*
 “ made and offered in his own person once for all, was
 “ full, perfect, and sufficient for all them that believe in
 “ him; so that no priest can offer him again; nor need
 “ we any more propitiatory sacrifice: Therefore I say,
 “ with *Chrysostom*, and all the doctors, ‘ Our sacrifice is
 ‘ only memorative, in the remembrance of *Christ*’s death
 ‘ and passion, a sacrifice of thanksgiving;’ and therefore
 “ the fathers called it *eucharistia*: And any other sacrifice
 “ the church knows nothing of.”—“ True, (said the
 ‘ bishop) the sacrament is called *eucharistia*, a thank-
 ‘ giving, because we there give thanks for our redemp-
 ‘ tion;

tion; but it is also a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and dead, which thou shalt confess e'er thou and I have done.'—Then the bishop called his men, and said, 'Have this fellow hence, and carry him to the *King's Bench*, and charge the keeper that he be close confined.' Upon which Dr. *Taylor* kneeled down, and holding up both his hands, said, "Good Lord, I thank thee; and from the tyranny of the bishop of *Rome*, and all his detestable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliver us;"—and added, "God be praised for good king *Edward*!"

Dr. *Taylor*, being sent to prison, was confined almost two years; during which time he was frequently examined respecting his faith, and as often witnessed a good confession before his adversaries. But, as his examinations are substantially the same, we will lay before the Reader the following letter, written by the doctor to a friend, in which he gives an account of his examination on the twenty-second of *January*, before the chancellor and other commissioners.

A letter of Dr. Taylor, containing a conversation between him and the lord chancellor and other commissioners, the twenty-second of January.

"WHEREAS you would have me to write the talk between the king and queen's most honourable council and me on *Tuesday* the twenty-second of *January*, so far as I remember: First, my lord chancellor said, 'You among others are at this present time sent for, to enjoy the king and queen's majesties favour and mercy, if you will now rise again with us from the fall which we generally have received in this realm, from the which (God be praised) we are now clearly delivered, miraculously. If you will not rise with us now, and receive mercy now offered, you shall have judgement according to your demerit.' To this I answered, that so to rise, should be the greatest fall that ever I could receive: For I should so fall from my dear Saviour *Christ* to antichrist. For I do believe, that the religion set forth in king *Edward's* days, was according to the vein of the holy scripture, which containeth fully all the rules of our Christian religion, from the which I do not intend to decline so long as I live, by God's grace.

"Then master secretary *Bourn* said, 'Which of the religions mean ye of in king *Edward's* days? For ye know

“ know there were diverse books of religion set forth in
 “ his days. There was a religion set forth in a cate-
 “ chism by my lord of *Canterbury*. Do you mean that
 “ you will stick to that?”

“ I answered, my lord of *Canterbury* made a catechism
 “ to be translated into *English*, which book was not of
 “ his own making: Yet he set it forth in his own name;
 “ and truly that book for the time did much good. But
 “ there was, after that, set forth by the most innocent king
 “ *Edward* (for whom God be praised everlastingly) the
 “ whole church-service, with great deliberation, and the
 “ advice of the best learned men in the realm, and
 “ authorised by the whole parliament, and received and
 “ published gladly by the whole realm: Which book was
 “ never reformed but once, and yet by that one refor-
 “ mation it was so fully perfected, according to the rules
 “ of our Christian religion in every behalf, that no
 “ Christian conscience could be offended with any thing
 “ therein contained; I mean of that book reformed.

“ Then my lord chancellor said, ‘ Didst thou never
 “ read the book that I set forth of the sacrament?’

“ I answered, that I had read it.

“ Then he said, ‘ How likest thou that book?’ With
 “ that one of the council (whose name I know not) said,
 “ My lord, that is a good question: For I am sure, that
 “ book stoppeth all their mouths.’ Then said I, My
 “ lord, I think many things be far wide from the truth
 “ of God’s word in that book.

“ Then my lord said, ‘ Thou art a very varlet.’ To
 “ that I answered, That is as ill as *racha* or *fool*.
 “ Then my lord said, ‘ Thou art an ignorant beetle-
 “ brow.’

“ To that I answered, I have read over and over
 “ again the holy scriptures, and *S. Augustine’s* works
 “ through, *S. Cyprian*, *Eusebius*, *Origen*, *Gregory Nazi-*
 “ *anzene*, with divers other books through once; there-
 “ fore, I thank God, I am not utterly ignorant. Besides
 “ these, my lord, I professed the civil laws, as your lord-
 “ ship did, and I have read over the canon law also.

“ Then my lord said, ‘ With a corrupt judgement
 “ thou readest all things: Touching my profession, it is
 “ divinity, in which I have written divers books.’ Then
 “ said I, My lord, ye did write one book, *De verâ obe-*
 “ *dientiâ*; I would you had been constant in that: For
 “ indeed you never did declare a good conscience that I
 “ heard of, but in that one book.

“ Then

“ Then my lord said, ‘ tut, tut, tut, I wrote against
 ‘ *Bucer* in priests marriages: But such books please not
 ‘ such wretches as thou art, which hast been married
 ‘ many years.’

“ To that I answered, I am married indeed, and I
 “ have had nine children in holy matrimony, I thank
 “ God: And this I am sure of, that your proceedings
 “ now at this present in this realm against priests mar-
 “ riages, is the maintenance of the doctrine of devils,
 “ against natural law, civil law, canon law, general
 “ councils, canons of the apostles, antient doctors, and
 “ God’s laws.

“ Then spake my lord of *Durham*, saying, ‘ you have
 ‘ professed the civil law, as you say. Then you know
 ‘ that *Justinian* writeth, that priests should at their tak-
 ‘ ing of orders swear, that they were never married; and
 ‘ he bringeth in to prove that, *Canones Apostolorum*.’

“ To that I answered, that I did not remember any
 “ such law of *Justinian*. But I am sure, that *Justinian*
 “ writeth in *Titulo de indicta viduitate*, in cod. that if
 “ one would bequeath to his wife in his testament a
 “ legacy, under a condition that she should never marry
 “ again, and take an oath of her for accomplishing the
 “ same, yet she may marry again if he die, notwithstand-
 “ ing the aforesaid conditions, and oath taken and made
 “ against marriage: And an oath is another manner of
 “ obligation made to God, than is a papistical vow made
 “ to man.

“ Moreover, in the pandects it is contained, that if a
 “ man doth manumit his handmaid, under a condition
 “ that she shall never marry; yet she may marry, and her
 “ patron shall lose *Jus patronatus*, for his adding of the
 “ unnatural and unlawful condition against matrimony.

“ Then my lord chancellor said, ‘ thou sayest that
 ‘ priests may be married by God’s law. How provest
 ‘ thou that?’

“ I answered, by the plain words and sentences of St.
 “ *Paul*, both to *Timothy*, and to *Titus*, where he speaks
 “ most evidently of the marriage of priests, deacons and
 “ bishops. And *Chrysostom*, writing upon the epistle to
 “ *Timothy*, saith, it is an heresy to say that a bishop may
 “ not be married.

“ Then said my lord chancellor, ‘ thou lyeest of *Chry-*
 ‘ *stom*. But thou dost, as all thy companions do, bely
 ‘ ever without shame both the scriptures and the doctors.
 ‘ Didst thou not also say, that by the canon law priests
 ‘ may

“ may be married? which is most untrue, and the contrary is most true.”

“ I answered, we read in the decrees, that the four general councils, *Nicene*, *Constantinopolitan*, *Ephesine*, *Chalcedone*, have the same authority that the four evangelists have. And we read in the same decrees (which is one of the chief books of the canon law) that the council of *Nice*, by the means of one *Paphnutius*, did allow priests and bishops marriages: Therefore, by the best part of the canon law, priests may be married.

“ Then my lord chancellor said, ‘ thou falsifiest the general council; for there is express mention in the said decree, that priests should be divorced from their wives, which be married.’

“ Then said I, if those words be there, as you say, then am I content to lose this great head of mine. Let the book be fetched.

“ Then spake my lord of *Durham*, ‘ though they be not there, yet they may be in *Ecclesiastica Historia*, which *Eusebius* wrote, out of which book the decree was taken.’

“ To that said I, it is not like that the pope would leave out any such sentence, having such authority, and making so much for his purpose.

“ Then my lord chancellor said, ‘ *Gratian* was but a patcher, and thou art glad to snatch up such a patch as maketh for thy purpose.’

“ I answered, my lord, I cannot but marvel that you do call one of the chief papists that ever was, but a patcher.

“ Then my lord chancellor said, ‘ nay, I call thee a snatcher and patcher. To make an end, wilt thou not return again with us to the catholick church?’ And with that he rose.

“ And I said, by God’s grace I will never depart from *Christ’s* church. Then I required that I might have some of my friends to come to me in prison: And my lord chancellor said, thou shalt have judgment within this week; and so was I delivered again unto my keeper. My lord of *Durham* would that I should believe as my father and my mother did. I alledged *St. Augustine*, that we ought to prefer God’s word before all men.”

On the last day of *January*, Dr. Taylor was examined, for the last time, before the bishops of *Winchester*, *London*, *Norwich*, *Salisbury*, and *Durham*, who charged him with
heresy

heresy and schism; requiring at the same time a determinate answer, whether he would submit himself to the *Roman* bishop, and abjure his errors; or else they would proceed according to their laws [*ex post facto*, made since his confinement] to his condemnation. Dr. Taylor answered, with a great deal of courage and steadfastness, that he would not depart from the truth which he had preached in king *Edward's* days, neither would he submit himself to the *Romish* antichrist; but thanked God, who had so honored him, as to call him to suffer for his word and truth's sake. When the bishops saw him so bold, constant and immoveable, they read the sentence of death upon him; which when he had heard, he said, with a remarkable degree of fortitude, "I doubt not, but that God, the
 " righteous judge, will require my blood at your hands,
 " and that the proudest of you all shall repent this receiving again of antichrist, and the tyranny you now
 " shew against the flock of *Christ*."

He was remanded to prison; and the keeper was charged to confine him closer than ever. In his way back, the people crouded to see him; to whom he said, "God be
 " praised, good people, I am come away from them
 " undefiled, and will, by God's grace, confirm the truth
 " with my blood."

After he had been condemned about a week, *Bonner*, bishop of *London*, went to the prison to perform upon him the ceremony of degradation; and because the Dr. refused to put on the popish vestments, the bishop ordered those, who accompanied him, to put them on him by force; which done, he set his hands on his sides, and walking up and down the room said, "How say you,
 " my lord; am I not a goodly fool? How say you, my
 " masters; if I were in *Cheapside*, should I not have boys
 " enow to laugh at these apish toys, and toying trumpery?" Upon which the bishop fell to scraping his fingers, and thumbs, and the crown of his head; and cursed him again and again. "Though you curse me
 " (said the doctor) God doth bless me. I have the witness of my conscience, that ye have done me wrong
 " and violence: Nevertheless, I pray God, if it be his
 " will, to forgive you. But from the tyranny of the
 " bishop of *Rome*, and his detestable enormities, good
 " Lord deliver us."

After his degradation he was sent to the *King's Bench*, where he soon experienced (what at that time was remarkable) the difference between the keepers of the bishop's
 X x 2
 prisons,

prisons, and those of the king's; the former were wicked and cruel, like their merciless masters; but the latter were humane, and generally shewed all the favor in their power. Therefore Dr. Taylor obtained leave, through the courtesy of his new keeper, to have his wife, his son Thomas, and his servant John Hull, to sup with him the evening before he suffered. They came to him before supper-time, when he prayed with them, beginning with the litany. After supper, walking up and down the room, he gave God thanks for his grace, and for his effectual calling, and that he had given him strength to abide by his holy word: And then turning to his son Thomas, he thus addressed him;

“ My dear son, (said he) almighty God blefs thee, and
 “ give thee his Holy Spirit, to be a true servant of *Christ*,
 “ to learn his word, and constantly to stand by his truth
 “ all thy life long. And, my son, see that thou fear
 “ God always. Flee from all sin and wicked living: Be
 “ virtuous, serve God with daily prayer, and apply thy
 “ book. In any wise see that thou be obedient to thy
 “ mother; love her and serve her: Be ruled by her now
 “ in thy youth, and follow her good counsel in all things.
 “ Beware of lewd company, of young men that fear not
 “ God, but follow their lewd lusts and vain appetites.
 “ Fly from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remem-
 “ bering, that I thy father do die in the defence of holy
 “ marriage. Another day, when God shall blefs thee;
 “ love and cherish the poor people, and count that thy
 “ chief riches is, to be rich in alms: And when thy
 “ mother is waxed old, forsake her not; but provide for
 “ her to thy power, and see that she lack nothing: For
 “ so will God blefs thee, and give thee long life upon
 “ earth and prosperity: Which I pray God to grant
 “ thee.”

Then turning to his wife, “ my dear wife, (said he)
 “ continue stedfast in the fear and love of God; keep
 “ yourself undefiled from their popish idolatries and su-
 “ perstitions. I have been unto you a faithful Yoke-
 “ fellow, and so have you been unto me; for the which
 “ I pray God to reward you; and doubt not, dear wife,
 “ but God will reward it.

“ Now the time is come that I shall be taken from
 “ you, and you discharged of the wedlock-bond towards
 “ me; therefore I will give you my counsel what I think
 “ most expedient for you. You are yet a child-bearing
 “ woman, and therefore it will be most convenient for
 “ you

“ you to marry. For doubtless you shall never be at a
 “ convenient stay for yourself and our poor children, nor
 “ out of trouble till you be married; therefore, as soon
 “ as God will provide it, marry with some honest faith-
 “ ful man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will
 “ provide an honest husband for you, and he will be a
 “ merciful father to you and to my children: Whom I
 “ pray you to bring up in the fear of God, and in learn-
 “ ing, to the uttermost of your power, and keep them
 “ from this *Romish* idolatry.”

Having thus finished his last, parting advice, with the utmost tenderness and affection; they prayed together, embraced, and wept over each other, in a very affecting manner. He then gave his wife a book of *Common Prayer* published by king *Edward*, which he had taken with him to prison and occasionally used: And to his son *Thomas* he gave a *Latin* book of remarkable sayings of the antient martyrs, gathered out of ecclesiastical authors; and in the end of it wrote his last will: And so they took their leave of him.

The next morning, at two o'clock, came the sheriff and his officers, and led the doctor away to the sign of the *Woolpack*, without *Aldgate*. His wife, suspecting that in the night they would take him away somewhere or other, had watched all night in *St. Botolph's* church-porch beside *Aldgate*, with two children; one called *Elizabeth*, thirteen years of age, an orphan that they had brought up as their own from three years old; the other *Mary*, their own daughter. When the sheriff with his prisoner came opposite the church, *Elizabeth* cried, ‘O my dear father; mother, mother, here is my dear father led away.’ Then cried Mrs. *Taylor*, ‘*Rowland, Rowland*, where art thou?’ [for it was very dark, being in the month of *February*] Dr. *Taylor* answered, “Dear wife, I am here;” and stood. The sheriff’s men were for making him go on; but the sheriff said, ‘stay a little, and let him speak to his wife.’ He then took up his little daughter *Mary* in his arms, and kneeled down with his wife and *Elizabeth*, and prayed, saying the Lord’s Prayer, &c. which was so affecting a scene, that the sheriff and his officers melted into tears.

When they rose up from prayer, the doctor kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, saying, “farewel, my dear wife, be of good comfort; for I am quiet in my conscience.—God will raise up a father for my children.” He then kissed his daughter *Mary*, and said,
 “ God

“ God bleſs thee and make thee his ſervant :” And kiſſing *Elizabeth*, he ſaid, “ God bleſs thee. I pray you all “ ſtand ſtrong and ſtedfaſt unto *Chriſt* and his word, and “ keep you from idolatry.” Then ſaid his wife, ‘ God ‘ be with thee, dear *Rowland*; I will, with God’s help, ‘ meet thee at *Hadley*.’ But ſhe following them to the inn, and the ſheriff, ſeeing her there, ordered her to be taken away and confined, till he returned from the execution: So that ſhe ſaw not her ſuffering huſband, nor he her, any more in this vale of tears.

The doctor was put into a chamber, with a guard of four men, where he gave himſelf wholly to prayer, till eleven o’clock, when they put him on horſeback in the inn yard, and then opened the gates and led him forth. At the gates ſtood waiting his truſty ſervant *John Hull*, with his ſon *Thomas*; whom, when the doctor ſaw, he ſaid, “ come hither, my ſon *Thomas*,” and ſetting the child before him on his horſe, and taking off his hat, he ſaid to the numerous ſpectators, “ Good people, this is “ my own ſon, begotten of my body in lawful matri- “ mony; and God be bleſſed for lawful matrimony.” He then liſted up his eyes to heaven and prayed for his ſon, and bleſſed him, and delivered him to *John Hull*, whom he took by the hand and ſaid, “ Farewel *John* “ *Hull*, the faithfulleſt ſervant that ever man had.”

At *Burntwood*, by the way, they ſtopped and had a cloſe hood made for him, with holes for his eyes and one for his mouth. This was done to him and many others, becauſe it was underſtood that the meekneſs, patience and fortitude, which appeared in their countenances, tended very much to ſtrengthen the proteſtants in the faith of God’s word, and to increaſe their abhorrence of the cruelties of popery.

Notwithſtanding this kind of treatment, the doctor was exceeding chearful on the road; more like one going to a marriage-fupper, than one going to be burnt alive. He exhorted the ſheriff and his men to repent and forſake their wicked courſes of life in ſo earneſt and pathetic a manner, that they frequently wept. In the evening they were met by the ſheriff of *Suffolk*, at *Chelmsford*; where they all ſupped together. After ſupper, the ſheriff of *Effex*, ſuppoſing he could perſuade *Dr. Taylor* by fair words to abjure, thus addreſſed him.

‘ Good maſter doctor, we are right ſorry for you, con- ‘ ſidering what the loſs is of ſuch a perſon as you are, ‘ and might be, if you would. God hath given you great ‘ learning

‘ learning and wisdom, wherefore you have been in great
 ‘ favour and reputation in times past with the council,
 ‘ and people of the highest rank, in this realm. Besides
 ‘ this, you are a man of goodly personage, in your best
 ‘ strength, and by nature like to live many years; and
 ‘ without doubt, you would, in time to come, be in as
 ‘ good reputation as ever you was, or rather better. For
 ‘ you are well-beloved of all men, as well for your vir-
 ‘ tues as for your learning; and methinks it were great
 ‘ pity you should cast away yourself willingly, and so
 ‘ come to such a painful and shameful death. You would
 ‘ do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to
 ‘ the catholic universal church of *Rome*, acknowledge the
 ‘ pope to be head of the church, and reconcile yourself
 ‘ to him. You may do well yet, if you will: Nor need
 ‘ you doubt, but you will find favour at the queen’s
 ‘ hands; and I and all these your friends will be suitors
 ‘ for your pardon. This counsel I give you good master
 ‘ doctor, of a good heart, and a good will towards you;
 ‘ and thereupon I drink to you.’—‘ Upon that condition
 ‘ (said the others) we will all drink to you.’

When it came to the doctor’s turn to drink, he took
 the cup, and, after pausing a little, he said, “ Master
 “ sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you for
 “ your good will; I have hearkened to your words, and
 “ marked well your counsels. And to be plain with you,
 “ I do perceive, that I have been deceived myself, and
 “ am like to deceive a great many at *Hadley* of their ex-
 “ pectation.” The sheriff, hoping these words referred
 to a recantation, said, ‘ God’s blessing be on your heart,
 ‘ that is the most comfortable word we have heard you
 ‘ speak yet—but pray explain yourself.’ The doctor did
 so, by saying, “ I am a man of a very great carcase,
 “ which, I hoped, would have been buried in *Hadley*
 “ church-yard; but I see, I am deceived: And there is
 “ a great number of worms there, which should have
 “ had jolly feeding upon this carrion. But now both I
 “ and they shall be deceived of our expectation; for this
 “ carcase shall be burnt to ashes.” The sheriff was asto-
 nished at such an instance of fortitude in the approach of
 so shocking a death.

The sheriff of *Suffolk* stopped two days at *Lanham*, and
 was met by the magistrates and principal gentlemen of
 the county, who all labored to bring Dr. *Taylor* over to
 the *Romish* religion; promising him great promotion, even
 a bishopric, if he would accept of it: But he had not so
 learned

learned *Christ*. Within two miles of *Hadley*, he desired to alight, and being accordingly permitted, he fetched a leap or two, as men do in dancing; which was observed by the sheriff, who said, “Well, master doctor, how do you do now?” “Very well, never better”—and added, “God be praised, I am now almost at home, and have not more than two stiles to go over, before I am at my father’s house.” Being told he should go through *Hadley*, he said, “O good Lord, I thank thee, I shall yet once, e’er I die, see my flock, whom, thou Lord knowest, I have most heartily loved, and truly taught. Good Lord, bless them, and keep them stedfast in thy word and truth!”

The streets of *Hadley* were lined with men and women, both of the town and from the country round about, weeping, and lamenting their loss, and praying to God to strengthen and comfort him in the trying hour; to whom he frequently said, as he rode along; “I have preached to you God’s word and truth, and am come this day to seal it with my blood.” Passing the almshouses, where he was well-known, he distributed what little money he had left, taking his leave of them, with his prayers to God for them.

When he was come to *Aldham-common*, the place where he was to suffer, he said, “thanked be God, I am even at home;” and alighting from his horse, with both hands rent the hood from his head; when it appeared that he, who, with the utmost propriety, is called *BLOODY Bonner*, when he degraded Dr. *Taylor*, had with feminine envy endeavored to disfigure him by clipping off in places his fine hair, and by tying other parts of it into knots; which notwithstanding when the people saw again his venerable countenance with his long white beard, they burst out into tears and prayers, that God, for *Christ’s* sake, would strengthen, help, and comfort him. He then attempted to speak to the people, but as soon as he opened his mouth, immediately one or other thrust a tipstaff into it: He asked leave of the sheriff, but he denied him; bidding him remember his promise. “Well, said the doctor, promise must be kept*.” He then put off his cloaths to his shirt, and gave them away; and with a loud voice cried out, “Good people, I have taught you nothing but God’s holy word, and those lessons that I

* The promise was supposed to be given in consequence of a threat to cut out his tongue, if he attempted to speak.

“ have taken out of God’s blessed book, the holy bible.” With that, *Holmes*, one of the guard, who had behaved the most cruelly to the doctor all the way down, gave him a severe blow on the head with a waster, [or bludgeon], and said, ‘ Is this the keeping thy promise, thou heretic ?’

He then saw, that they would not allow him to speak ; and therefore he kneeled down and prayed. Rising from prayer, he went to the stake and kissed it, and stood in a pitch-barrel, set for that purpose, with his back upright against the stake, with his hands clasped together, and his eyes lifted up to heaven ; and so continued praying. One of the men, employed to make the fire, threw a faggot at him, which so wounded him that the blood ran down his face : To whom the doctor said, “ Friend, I have harm enough : What need of that ?” Another, hearing him say the Psalm *Miserere*, in *English*, struck him on the mouth ; saying, ‘ Knave, speak *Latin*, or I will make thee.’ The fire being kindled, he continued in the same posture, without moving at all, praying unto God, and saying, “ Merciful Father of heaven, for *Jesus Christ* my Saviour’s sake, receive my soul into thy hands !” At last, one with a halbert struck out his brains, and his body fell into the fire. Thus did this gracious man render his soul into the hands of his merciful God and Saviour, whom he most dearly loved, faithfully and zealously preached, obediently followed in his life, and constantly glorified in his death.

The last will and testament of doctor *Rowland Taylor*, parson of *Hadley*.

“ I Say to my wife, and to my children ; the Lord gave
 “ you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you,
 “ and you from me : Blessed be the name of the Lord.
 “ I believe that they are blessed which die in the Lord.
 “ God careth for sparrows, and for the hairs of our heads.
 “ I have ever found him more faithful and favourable,
 “ than is any father or husband. Trust ye therefore in
 “ him by the means of our dear Saviour *Christ*’s merits :
 “ Believe, love, fear, and obey him : Pray to him, for he
 “ hath promised to help. Count me not dead, for I shall
 “ certainly live, and never die. I go before, and you
 “ shall follow after, to our long home. I go to the rest
 “ of my children, *Susan, George, Ellen, Robert* and *Za-*
 “ *chary* : I have bequeathed you to the only Omnipotent.

“ I say to my dear friends of *Hadley*, and to all others
 “ which have heard me preach; that I depart hence with
 “ a quiet conscience, as touching my doctrine, for the
 “ which I pray you thank God with me. For I have,
 “ after my little talent, declared to others those lessons
 “ that I gathered out of God’s book, the blessed bible.
 “ Therefore if I or an angel from heaven should preach
 “ to you any other gospel than that ye have received,
 “ God’s great curse upon that preacher.

“ Beware for God’s sake that ye deny not God, neither
 “ decline from the word of faith, lest God decline from
 “ you, and so ye do everlastingly perish. For God’s sake
 “ beware of popery, for though it appear to have in it
 “ unity, yet the same is vanity and antichristianity, and
 “ not in *Christ*’s faith and verity.

“ Beware of the sin against the Holy Ghost, now after
 “ such a light opened so plainly and simply, truly, tho-
 “ roughly and generally to all *England*.

“ The Lord grant all men his good and holy Spirit,
 “ increase of his wisdom, contemning the wicked world,
 “ hearty desire to be with God and the heavenly company,
 “ through *Jesus Christ*, our only mediator, advocate,
 “ righteousness, life, sanctification, and hope: Amen,
 “ Amen. Pray, pray.”

R O B E R T F E R R A R,

B I S H O P O F S T. D A V I D’S.

WE cannot omit, in these memoirs of illustrious champions for the truth, some account of this great and good man; though history furnishes us with but little more of him, than the circumstances which occasioned, or immediately preceded, his death.

Mr. *Ferrar* received his education at *Oxford*, and was a canon regular of St. *Mary*’s, in that university. He also proceeded to the degree of bachelor in divinity.

It appears, that the great duke of *Somerset*, lord protector in the reign of *Edward* the sixth, and friend to the Reformation, was the patron of Mr. *Ferrar*, and thought him a proper instrument to assist in carrying on that im-
 portant

portant work. Accordingly, he procured for him the bishopric of St. *David's*, in *Wales*; to which he was consecrated on the ninth of *September*, 1547; where his zeal soon procured him many enemies among the papists and their adherents. And his patron soon after falling by the designs of an opposite party, these people gave him a great deal of trouble, and artfully and villainously (by means of two ungrateful officers of his own see) procured an attachment against him, by which, some time before the king's death, he was committed to prison under a debt, pretended to be due from his bishopric to the crown.

It may easily be supposed, that *such* a man could not expect a release in *such* a reign, as immediately followed. On the contrary, instead of the pretence of a *præmunire*, with which he had been before charged by those, who wished to displace him from his bishopric; he was now attacked upon the score of heresy by others, who hunted for his life.

On the fourth of *February*, 1555, he was brought, in the company of bishop *Hooper*, Mr. *Bradford*, Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Saunders*, and others, before that zealous persecutor, *Gardiner*, bishop of *Winchester* and lord chancellor; who, according to his custom, treated him and them with great asperity and very ill manners. He frequently taunted at this venerable man, though of his own rank and order in the church, and descended to such gross vulgarities, as to call him by the names of—*froward-fellow*—*false-knave*—*froward-knave*, &c.—terms, more scandalous to those who use them, than to those, to whom they are given. He also threatened to make *short work with him*; and, in this case, he was as good as his word; for the suffering bishop was hurried away to death, with very little formality or examination.

Under the liberty, both civil and religious, which we now enjoy; it may seem surprizing, that men were suffered to be condemned so arbitrarily and unformally, as we find them, in particular, throughout the short and bloody reign of queen *Mary*. But religious bigotry swallowed up all other considerations; and the powers of the crown were not so bounded and curtailed, as they have been in succeeding reigns. The general liberties of the subject were far less understood than they are at present; and the shackles of ecclesiastical tyranny were not thoroughly broken. The *abuse* of power led (as it always leads) to the due examination of its *foundation*: And men

never suffer extremities, but they set their wits, at least, to work for the discovery of some relief. Thus, the severe-persecution by the papists tended much more to the destruction of popery, than to the demolition of the protestant doctrine. Where brutal force is thought necessary, there must be a very low apprehension of the existence and power of truth.

To complete their enormous proceedings, *Gardiner* and his colleagues sent this worthy bishop down to his diocese, in order to be condemned—and can it be read without surprize?—by his *successor*, whose *interest* it was to condemn him. This new bishop's name was *Morgan*; and he seconded his friend's ideas of making *short work* with *Ferrar*, by all the diligence in his power. He condemned him, after two or three short examinations (for the sake of a plausible pretence) upon the articles—“ of allowing
“ the marriage of priests—of denying *Christ's* corporal
“ presence in the sacrament—of affirming, that the mass
“ is not a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and dead—
“ of declaring, that the host ought not to be elevated or
“ adored—and, of asserting, that man is justified by faith
“ alone”; all which *Morgan* pronounced to be damnable errors, heresies, and false opinions. He next degraded him from his ecclesiastical functions, and then delivered him to the secular power, the scandalous tool of their abominable malice and persecution.

The secular power, ready to follow the spiritual direction of the popish authority, soon brought this martyr forth, as a lamb to the slaughter. He was burned, on the south-side of the market-cross at *Carmarthen*, on *Saturday* the thirtieth of *March*, in the year 1555.

A little before this good bishop suffered, a Mr. *Richard Jones*, a young gentleman of family in the country, lamented to him the severity and painfulness of the kind of death, which he was to undergo. The bishop, with all the firmness which was celebrated in the primitive martyrs of the church, immediately answered in these words; “ If
“ you see me once to stir, while I suffer the pains of burn-
“ ing; then give no credit to the truth of those doctrines,
“ for which I die.”—Undoubtedly, it was by the grace and support of God, he was enabled to make good this assertion; ‘ for (says Mr. *Fox*) so patiently he stood, that
‘ he never moved; but even as he stood holding up his
‘ stumps, so still he continued, till one *Richard Gravel*,
‘ with a staff, dashed him upon the head, and so struck
‘ him down.’

Bishop

Bishop *Ferrar* was one of the committee (according to bishop *Burnet*) nominated to compile the *English* liturgy*. He also signed the brief *confession of faith*, in conjunction with other protestant bishops and martyrs imprisoned in *London*; which is composed in the following words:

‘ First, We confess and believe all the canonical books
‘ of the Old Testament, and all the books of the New
‘ Testament, to be the very true word of God, and to
‘ be written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and
‘ are therefore to be heard accordingly, as the judge in
‘ all controversies and matters of religion.

‘ Secondly, We confess and believe, that the catholic
‘ church, which is the spouse of *Christ*, as a most obedient
‘ and loving wife, doth embrace and follow the doctrine
‘ of these books in all matters of religion, and therefore
‘ is she to be heard accordingly: So that those who will
‘ not hear this church, thus following and obeying the
‘ word of her husband, we account as heretics and schis-
‘ matics, according to this saying, *If he will not hear the*
‘ *church, let him be unto thee as a heathen.*

‘ Thirdly, We believe and confess all the articles of
‘ faith and doctrine set forth in the symbol of the apostles,
‘ which we commonly call the creed, and in the symbols
‘ of the council of *Nice*, kept A. D. 432; of *Constantinople*,
‘ A. D. 384; of *Ephesus*, kept A. D. 432; of *Chalcedon*,
‘ kept A. D. 454; of *Toletum*, the first and fourth. Also
‘ in the symbols of *Athanasius*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and of
‘ *Damasus*, which was about the year of our Lord 376.
‘ We confess and believe (we say) the doctrine of the

* Probably the *correction* of the liturgy in the time of *Henry* the Eighth, about the year 1540. For as to the composition of a *new* liturgy, in 1547, in the first year of *Edward* the Sixth, the committee appointed were; 1. *Thomas Craumer*, archbishop of *Canterbury*; 2. *Thomas Goodrich*, bishop of *Ely*; 3. *Henry Holbeck*, bishop of *Lincoln*; 4. *George Day*, bishop of *Chichester*; 5. *John Skip*, bishop of *Hereford*; 6. *Thomas Thirlby*, bishop of *Westminster*; 7. *Nicholas Ridley*, bishop of *Rochester*; 8. *Dr. William May*, dean of *St. Paul's*; 9. *Dr. John Taylor*, dean of *Lincoln*; 10. *Dr. Simon Haynes*, dean of *Exeter*; 11. *Dr. John Redmayne*, master of *Trinity College, Cambridge*; 12. *Dr. Richard Cox*, dean of *Christchurch, Oxon*; 13. *Mr. Thomas Robertson*, archdeacon of *Leicester*. This liturgy was revised in the first year of *Q. Elizabeth*, by 1. *Dr. Matthew Parker*, afterwards archbishop of *Canterbury*; 2. *Dr. Richard Cox*, afterwards bishop of *Ely*; 3. *Dr. May*; 4. *Dr. Bill*; 5. *James Pilkington*, afterwards bishop of *Durham*; 6. *Sir Thomas Smith*; 7. *Mr. David Whitehead*; 8. *Mr. Edmund Grindall*, afterwards bishop of *London*, and then archbishop of *Canterbury*; 9. *Dr. Edwin Sandys*, bishop of *Worcester*; 10. and the learned *Edward Gueft*, afterwards a bishop. See *Whately's Illustration of the Common Prayer*, p. 25. 4th edit.

‘ symbols

‘ symbols, generally, and particularly; so that whosoever
 ‘ doth otherwise, we hold the same to err from the truth.

‘ Fourthly, We believe and confess, concerning justifi-
 ‘ cation, that as it cometh only from God’s mercy
 ‘ through *Christ*, so it is perceived and had of none, who
 ‘ be of years of discretion, otherwise than by faith only:
 ‘ Which faith is not an opinion, but a certain persuasion
 ‘ wrought by the Holy Ghost in the mind and heart of
 ‘ man; where through, as the mind is illuminated, so the
 ‘ heart is suppled to submit itself to the will of God un-
 ‘ feignedly; and so sheweth forth an *inherent* righteouf-
 ‘ ness, which is to be discerned in the article of justifi-
 ‘ cation from the righteoufness which God endueth us
 ‘ withal in justifying us; although inseparably they go
 ‘ together. And this we do, not for curiosity, or con-
 ‘ tention sake; but for conscience sake, that it might be
 ‘ quiet; which it can never be, if we confound, without
 ‘ distinction, forgiveness of sin and *Christ*’s justice im-
 ‘ puted to us, with regeneration and inherent righteouf-
 ‘ ness. By this, we disallow the papistical doctrine of
 ‘ free-will, of works of supererogation, of merits, of the
 ‘ necessity of auricular confession, and satisfaction to
 ‘ God-ward.

‘ Fifthly, We confess and believe, concerning the
 ‘ exterior service of God, that it ought to be according
 ‘ to the word of God. And therefore in the congrega-
 ‘ tion all things public ought to be done in such tongue
 ‘ as may be most to edify: And not in *Latin*, where the
 ‘ people understand not the same.

‘ Sixthly, We confess and believe, that God only,
 ‘ through *Iesus Christ*, is to be prayed unto and called
 ‘ upon. And therefore we disallow invocation or prayer
 ‘ to saints departed this life.

‘ Seventhly, We confess and believe, that as a man
 ‘ departeth this life, so shall he be judged in the last day
 ‘ generally, and in the mean season is entered, either into
 ‘ the state of the blessed for ever, or damned for ever:
 ‘ And therefore is either past all help, or else needeth no
 ‘ help of any in this life. By reason whereof we affirm
 ‘ purgatory, masses of *Scala Cæli*, trentals, and such suf-
 ‘ frages, as the popish church doth obtrude as necessary,
 ‘ to be the doctrine of antichrist.

‘ Eighthly, We confess and believe the sacraments of
 ‘ *Christ*, which be Baptism and the Lord’s Supper, that
 ‘ they ought to be ministered according to the institution
 ‘ of *Christ*, concerning the substantial parts of them:

‘ And

‘ And that they be no longer sacraments than they be
 ‘ had in use, and used to the end for which they were
 ‘ instituted.

‘ And here we plainly confess, that the mutilation of
 ‘ the Lord’s Supper, the subtraction of one kind from the
 ‘ lay people, is antichristian. And so is the doctrine of
 ‘ transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine
 ‘ after the words of consecration, as they be called. Item,
 ‘ the adoration of the sacrament with the honour due unto
 ‘ God, the reservation and carrying about of the same.
 ‘ Item, the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick
 ‘ and dead, or a work that pleaseth God. All these we
 ‘ confess and believe to be antichrist’s doctrine: As is
 ‘ the inhibition of marriage, as unlawful, to any state.

‘ And we doubt not, by God’s grace, but we shall be
 ‘ able to prove all our confession here, to be most true by
 ‘ the verity of God’s word, and consent of the catholic
 ‘ church; which followeth, and hath followed the go-
 ‘ vernance of God’s Spirit, and the judgement of his
 ‘ word. And this through the Lord’s help we will do,
 ‘ either in disputation by word before the queen’s high-
 ‘ ness and her council, either before the parliament
 ‘ houses (of whom we doubt not to be indifferently
 ‘ heard), either with our pens, whensoever we shall be
 ‘ thereto, by them that have authority, required and
 ‘ commanded.

‘ In the mean season, as obedient subjects, we shall
 ‘ behave ourselves toward all that be in authority, and
 ‘ not cease to pray to God for them; that he would go-
 ‘ vern them all, generally and particularly, with the
 ‘ spirit of wisdom and grace. And so we heartily desire,
 ‘ and humbly pray all men to do, in no point consenting
 ‘ to any rebellion or sedition against our sovereign lady
 ‘ the queen’s highness: But, where they cannot obey,
 ‘ but they must disobey God, there to submit themselves
 ‘ with all patience and humility, to suffer as the will and
 ‘ pleasure of the higher powers shall adjudge. The Lord
 ‘ of mercy endue us all with the spirit of his truth, and
 ‘ grace of perseverance therein unto the end. Amen.’

This remarkable confession was dated the eighth day of
 May, in the year 1554, and subscribed by

ROBERT FERRAR, late bishop of St. *David’s*.

ROWLAND TAYLOR, JOHN PHILPOT,

JOHN BRADFORD, LAURENCE SAUNDERS,

JOHN HOOPER, late bishop of *Worcester* and *Gloucester*.

EDWARD CROME, JOHN ROGERS,

EDMUND LAWRENCE. And J. P.—J. M.

To which was annexed the following declaration:

‘ To these things abovesaid, do I, *Miles Coverdale*,
 ‘ late bishop of *Exeter*, consent and agree with these mine
 ‘ afflicted brethren, being prisoners. Mine own hand.
 M. C.

J O H N B R A D F O R D.

DIVINE grace works in the souls of the faithful, and particularly of faithful ministers, a great variety of gifts and qualifications, suited to the work and business in the world, which they are appointed to fulfil. Though, perhaps, it gives no new faculty to the animal nature; yet it certainly corrects and improves whatever is bad in it, according to the measure of the heavenly gift. And if it does not absolutely destroy perverse dispositions and wrong habits, it keeps them down and will not suffer them to triumph and prevail. Some have boldness of natural spirit, as *Luther* had, which will appear even in the life of grace, and carry the man the more strenuously onward in what he conceives to be his duty. Others have a softness and meekness of heart, which seem more calculated to conciliate friends and build up professors in the faith, than to war against the powers of darkness or attack the strong holds of error. Both have their use, under the divine agency; and God makes use of both to accomplish his designs of salvation towards his people.

Of this last character was the subject of the present memoir. For the kindness and benevolence of his spirit, and for the circumspect purity of his life, he obtained the name of *Holy John Bradford*. His worst enemies could object nothing to his life and conversation; and they were obliged to give almost as poor an account of their fury against him, as the *Jews* had given before against his Saviour, *That they had a law, and by their law he ought to die*. They had indeed a power; but as to law, or the right use of that power, in slaying men like *Bradford*; we must examine ordinances very different from the word and will of God.



From an original Painting in the Possession of M^r Blyth.

John Bradford was born at *Manchester*, in *Lancashire*. His parents brought him up in learning from his infancy, and when he had attained to good knowledge in the *Latin* tongue, being apt and ready at his pen, he became fit for such business as might procure him an honest livelihood. He soon afterwards was employed by Sir *John Harrington*, knight, who was treasurer to the king's camps and buildings, in the reigns of king *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* Sir *John* had such early proofs of the dexterity and faithfulness of *Bradford*, both at home and abroad, that he trusted him with the management of the most weighty affairs, and owned they were better done than he could have transacted them himself.

Mr. *Bradford* continued in this situation for several years, in which he prospered, and gave such general satisfaction, that he was in the way to get an estate easily and honestly: But God set his heart upon the things of another world; and he had no sooner tasted that the Lord was gracious, than he was for publishing the gospel-salvation to all people. And therefore after he had given a just and clear account to his master of all he was intrusted with, he forsook all worldly affairs and the fair prospect of getting riches, and went from the *Temple*, in *London*, (where he had begun the study of the law) to the university of *Cambridge*, to meditate upon the word of God, and to study divinity; where he made such an uncommon progress in learning, and so pleased all by his godly and blameless conversation, that in less than a year the university thought proper to confer the degree of master of arts upon him.

Immediately after, the master and fellows of *Pembroke-hall* chose him to a fellowship in their college: And, that great and good man *Martin Bucer* so highly valued him, that he used many persuasions with him to preach; but Mr. *Bradford* for some time declined it, saying, that he had not learning enough. To which *Bucer* replied, 'If you have not fine manchet-bread, yet give the poor people barley-bread, or such as thou hast.' And while Mr. *Bradford* was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Dr. *Ridley*, bishop of *London*, made him a prebend of *St. Paul's*. He continued three years preaching in a most pathetic and godly manner, in reprovng sin sharply, yet sweetly preaching *Christ* crucified, and defending the truth against errors and heresies. And even after queen *Mary* came to the crown, he still went on preaching as before,

before, till those in power unjustly persecuted him, and sent him prisoner to the tower of *London*.

On *Sunday*, the thirteenth of *August*, in the first year of queen *Mary's* reign, Dr. *Bourne*, then bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, made a sermon at *Paul's-cross*, in which he railed against pious king *Edward*, then deceased, and so reviled the Reformation and Reformers, that the common people began to lose their patience, and from a great murmuring there arose a greater uproar among the multitude, in so much that the lord mayor and all his officers could not silence the tumult, which was so enraged, that one of the people threw a dagger at the preacher's head, which narrowly missed him; and, we are told, that the mob would certainly have torn him in pieces, had not this Mr. *Bradford*, who then sat behind him, stood up at the earnest intreaty of Dr. *Bourne* himself, to appease the people: And the people heard him gladly, while *Bourne* was glad to sit down, and hide his head to save his life. Mr. *Bradford* preached so long upon peace and quietness, that the multitude became quiet; and when the sermon was ended, they went peaceably away. Yet, notwithstanding the mob was greatly dispersed, Dr. *Bourne* was still afraid to shew his head, till Mr. *Bradford*, and Mr. *Rogers*, vicar of *St. Sepulchre's*, undertook to conduct him, at the hazard of their own lives, to the grammar-school, which was hard by; which they did by screening him with their gowns. For which charity they were soon afterwards rewarded by popish gratitude, with fire and faggot.

Among the company at *St. Paul's-cross* at that time, there was one who said these words; 'Ah, *Bradford*,
' *Bradford*, thou savest him that will burn thee; I give
' thee his life: If it were not for thee, I would, I assure
' thee, have run him through with my sword.' The same day in the afternoon, Mr. *Bradford* preached at *Bow-church* in *Cheapside*, and sharply reprov'd the people for their seditious behaviour.

Yet, notwithstanding this benevolent conduct, about three days after, he was sent to the tower of *London*, where the queen then resided, and was ordered to appear before the council. He was charged with sedition at *Paul's-cross*, though he had been the means of saving *Bourne*, and also for preaching. He was first committed to the *Tower* as aforesaid, and was afterwards harrassed about almost two years, from prison to prison, till the flames

flames deprived him of his body, and dismissed his soul to heaven.

Mr. *Bradford* was sent from the *Tower* to the *King's-Bench* in *Southwark*: And after his condemnation he was sent to the *Poultry-Compter* in *London*: And while he remained in each of these two last places he preached twice a day, unless prevented by sickness. In the same places, he would often celebrate the Lord's Supper; and the keepers were so kind as to permit many people to come both to the sermon and the sacrament; so that his chamber was on these occasions commonly filled with serious Christians. Preaching, reading, and praying, was the chief business of his whole life. He did not eat more than one meal a-day, and that a sparing one, and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of his dinner he was wont to meditate with his hat over his eyes, from whence would often shed abundance of tears. Very gentle he was both to man and child, and in so good credit with his keeper, that he had liberty to go abroad any evening without any guard, on his promise that he would return again the same night; which he always punctually did, and rather before than after the hour appointed.

He was of person somewhat tall and slender, spare of body, of a faint sanguine color, with a dark-brown beard. He would seldom sleep above four hours in the night. He would never waste his time in any sort of gaming, but his chief recreation was in Christian conversation with his family; wherein he usually spent some time after dinner at his table; and then to prayer and his book again. He accounted that time lost which was not spent in doing good, either with his pen, study, or in exhorting of others, &c. He was no niggard of his purse, but would liberally communicate a part of what he had to his fellow-prisoners. And commonly once a week he visited the thieves, pick-pockets, and such others as were with him in prison; to whom he would give pious exhortations, and afterwards distribute money among them for their subsistence.

While he was in the *King's-Bench*, and Mr. *Laurence Saunders* in the *Marshalsea*, both prisoners, and afterwards martyrs; on the back-side of these two prisons they met many times, and conferred together as often as they would: And Mr. *Bradford* was so trusted by his keeper, and had such liberty in the back-side of the prison, that

any day he might easily have escaped if he would; but the Lord had another work for him to do.

One of his old friends once came to him in prison, and said, ‘ Suppose I should make intercession for you, and get you out of prison, what would you do, or whither would you go?’ To which he answered, as though he did not care whether he had his liberty or no: But being further pressed to know what he would do, if such a thing should be brought about; he then said that he would marry, and still abide in *England*, teaching the people secretly, till the Lord’s providence should so order it, that he should do it in a more public manner.

He was so well respected by all good men, that many, who knew no more of him than the report only, much lamented his death: Yea, and great numbers of the papists themselves also heartily wished, that he might have been spared. Bishop *Ridley* spoke of him in these terms; ‘ In my conscience, says he, I judge Mr. *Bradford* more worthy to be a bishop, than many of us, who are bishops already, to be parish-priests.’—This character was given of him by *Ridley* in the days of king *Edward*, upon recommending him to preferment.

The Lord was pleased so to bless his company to others, that there were but few to be found in the prisons where he had been, who had not received some advantage from his pious conversation: A singular and eminent instance of which here follows. Bishop *Ferrar* being prisoner in the *King’s-Bench*, was prevailed upon by the papists to receive the sacrament in one kind. But, by the providence of God, Mr. *Bradford* was brought to the same prison the very day before he was to have done it; and he was made instrumental in saving the good bishop from such a base and unworthy action.

The night before he was removed to *Newgate*, he was somewhat disturbed in his sleep, by dreaming, that the chain for his burning was brought to the *Compter-gate*; that the next day he must go to *Newgate*; and, that the day after he was to be burnt in *Smithfield*: Which came to pass accordingly.

One afternoon, as he and his bedfellow were walking together in the keeper’s chamber, the keeper’s wife came up in much grief, and said, ‘ Oh Mr. *Bradford*, I come to bring you heavy news!’ “What is that?” said he; ‘ Indeed, quoth she, to-morrow you are to be burned. Your chain is now preparing: And you must presently go

‘go to *Newgate*.’ On this Mr. *Bradford* put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, “I thank God for it; I have looked for this a long time, and therefore it cometh not unexpectedly, but as a thing waited for daily and hourly; the Lord make me worthy of it!” And, after thanking her for her good-will, he repaired to his chamber, and prayed in secret for a long time; which when he had done, he came to his friend, and took several writings and papers, and told him what he would have to be done with them; and having thus settled his affairs in the afternoon, at night half-a-dozen of his friends came to see him; with whom he spent all the evening in prayer, and devout exercises.

A little before he went out of the *Compter*, he prayed very affectionately, which produced a number of tears, and greatly affected the hearts of the hearers. And when he stripped himself to his shirt, in which he was to suffer, he made another excellent prayer upon the wedding-garment. When he went out of the chamber, he prayed again; and gave money to every servant and officer in the house; exhorting them all to serve and fear the Lord. And the prisoners, to all of whom he had been profitable in one shape or other, were in tears on their parting with him.

About eleven or twelve o’clock in the night, when they thought no body would be stirring, the officers carried him to *Newgate*; but, contrary to their expectations, the streets between the *Compter* and *Newgate* were crouded with people, who waited to see him, and bid him farewell with prayers and many tears; and he took his leave of them in the same affectionate manner, praying that the Lord would bless them and keep them in his truth.

Whether it was a command from the queen and her council, or from *Bonner* and his adherents, or whether it was devised by the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of *London*, or not; there was a strong rumour all over the city the night before, that Mr. *Bradford* was to be burnt the next morning at four o’clock in *Smithfield*. There were different opinions about this report: Some thought that it was for fear of a tumult; others conjectured, that the papists were afraid that his behaviour would so work upon the minds of the people, as to do their cause much damage. However the true cause of this contrivance never came to light.

At four o’clock in the morning *Smithfield* was full of people, though Mr. *Bradford* was not brought thither before

before nine. Going through *Newgate*, he espied an old friend, to whom he called, and gave him his velvet-cap, an handkerchief, &c. And when he departed, one Mr. *Roger Beswick*, brother-in-law to Mr. *Bradford*, came up and shook him by the hand; for which Mr. *Woodrooffe* the sheriff, like a rough rude man, broke Mr. *Beswick's* head, so that the blood flew about; and as they could not change many words together, Mr. *Bradford* took his leave of him, desiring to be recommended to his mother and his friends, and advised him to go directly to a surgeon.

He was taken into *Smithfield* with a strong guard of armed men. When he came to the place, where he was to suffer, he fell on his face and prayed. After which he took a faggot and kissed it, and the stake likewise. Then having put off his clothes, he stood by the stake, and lifting up his eyes and hands towards heaven, said; "O *England, England*, repent of thy sins, repent of thy sins, beware of idolatry: Beware of antichrists; take heed they do not deceive thee!" Then he turned his face to *John Leaf*, a young man about twenty years old, who suffered with him, and said; "Be of good comfort, brother, for we shall sup with the Lord this night." He then embraced the reeds, and said, "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, that leadeth to life eternal; and few there be that find it." After which he was fastened to the stake and burnt, on the first of *July*, in the year of our Lord 1555. He ended his life like a lamb, without the least alteration of countenance, and in the prime of his days.

We shall now give some farther account of the troubles and examination of this worthy martyr, Mr. *John Bradford*, which began on the twenty-second of *January*, 1555, when he was commanded to appear before *Stephen Gardiner*, bishop of *Winchester*, and other commissioners appointed by the queen for that purpose.

When he came into the presence of the council, the lord chancellor told him, "that he had been a long time in prison for his seditious behaviour at *Paul's-cross*, and for his false preaching and arrogancy, in taking upon him to preach without authority. But the time of mercy is come, if you will accept it on the queen's terms. If you will do as we have done, you shall find as we have found, I warrant you."

After reverent and lowly obedience first made, Mr. *Bradford* thus answered, "My lord, and lords all, I
" confess

“ confess that I have been long imprisoned, and, with
 “ humble reverence be it spoken, unjustly; in so much
 “ that I did nothing seditiously, falsely, or arrogantly,
 “ by word or fact, by preaching or otherwise; but
 “ rather sought truth, peace, and godly quietness, as
 “ an obedient faithful subject, both in saving the life
 “ of him who is now bishop of *Bath*, namely *Dr. Bourne*,
 “ who was then preacher at the cross, and in preaching
 “ for quietness accordingly.”

At these words the lord chancellor, the famous *Gardiner*, bishop of *Winchester*, gave him the lye; ‘ for, said
 ‘ he, the fact was seditious, as my lord of *London* can bear
 ‘ witness.’

Bonner. ‘ You say true, my lord, I saw him with my
 ‘ own eyes, when he took upon him to rule and head the
 ‘ people impudently, thereby declaring that he was the
 ‘ author of the sedition.’

Bradford. “ My lords, notwithstanding my lord bi-
 “ shop’s seeing and saying; yet the truth I have told, as
 “ one day the Lord God Almighty shall reveal to all the
 “ world, when we shall all stand before him. In the
 “ mean season, because I cannot be believed by you, I
 “ must and am ready to suffer as now your sayings be,
 “ whatsoever God shall permit or license you to do
 “ to me.”

Lord Chancellor. ‘ I know thou hast a glorious tongue,
 ‘ and goodly shews thou makest; but all is lies thou
 ‘ speakest. And again, I have not forgot how stubborn
 ‘ thou wast, when thou wast before us in the *Tower*,
 ‘ whereupon thou wast committed to prison concerning
 ‘ religion: I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk,
 ‘ for which cause thou hast been kept in prison, as one
 ‘ who would have done more hurt than I will speak on.’

Bradford. “ My lord, as I said, I say again; that I
 “ stand, as before you, so before God, and one day we
 “ shall all stand before him: The truth then will be
 “ the truth, though we will not so take it. Yea, my
 “ lord, I dare say that my lord of *Bath*, *Dr. Bourne*,
 “ will witness with me, that I sought his safeguard with
 “ the peril of mine own life: I thank God therefore.”

Bonner. ‘ That is not true: For I myself did see thee
 ‘ take upon thee too much.’

Bradford. “ No, I took nothing upon me undesired,
 “ and that of *Dr. Bourne* himself; as, if he were present,
 “ I dare say he would affirm. [However *Bourne* had the
 “ ingratitude to keep out of the way.] For he desired
 “ me

“ me to help him, to pacify the people, and also not to
 “ leave him till he was in safety. And as for my beha-
 “ viour in the *Tower*, and talk before your honours; if I
 “ did or said any thing that did not beseem me, if your
 “ lordship would tell me wherein it was, I would shortly
 “ make you an answer.”

Lord Chancellor. ‘ Well, to leave this matter: How
 ‘ sayest thou now? wilt thou return again, and do as we
 ‘ have done, and thou shalt receive the queen’s mercy
 ‘ and pardon?’

Bradford. “ My lord, I desire mercy with God’s
 “ mercy; but mercy, with God’s wrath, God keep me
 “ from: Although, I thank God therefore, my con-
 “ science doth not accuse me, that I did speak any thing
 “ that I should not receive the queen’s mercy or pardon.
 “ For all that ever I did or spake, was both agreeable to
 “ God’s laws, and the laws of the realm at present, and
 “ did make much to quietness.”

Lord Chancellor. ‘ Well, if thou make this babbling,
 ‘ rolling thy eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether
 ‘ ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive mercy
 ‘ offered to thee; know for truth, that the queen is
 ‘ minded to make a purgation of all such as thou art.’

Bradford. “ The Lord, before whom I stand, as well
 “ as before you, knoweth what vain-glory I have sought,
 “ and seek in this behalf: His mercy I desire, and also
 “ would be glad of the queen’s favour, to live as a sub-
 “ ject without a clog of conscience. But otherwise, the
 “ Lord’s mercy is better to me than life; and I know to
 “ whom I have committed my life, even into his hands
 “ who will keep it, so that no man may take it away
 “ before it be his pleasure. There are twelve hours in
 “ the day, and as long as they last no man shall have
 “ power thereon. Therefore, his good-will be done; life
 “ in his displeasure is worse than death; and death, with
 “ his true favour, is true life.”

Lord Chancellor. ‘ I know well enough, that we shall
 ‘ have glorious talk enough with thee: Be sure, that as
 ‘ thou hast deceived the people with false and devilish
 ‘ doctrine, so shalt thou receive.’

Bradford. “ I have not deceived the people, nor taught
 “ any other doctrine, than by God’s grace I am, and
 “ hope shall be, ready to confirm with my life. And
 “ as for the devilishness and falseness of the doctrine, I
 “ should be very sorry if you could prove it.”

Durham.

Durham. ‘Why, tell me; what say you by the ministration of the communion, as now you know it is?’

Bradford. “My lord, here I must desire of your lordship and all your honours a question, before I dare make you an answer to any interrogatory or question, where-
“with you now begin. I have been six times sworn,
“that I shall in no wise consent to the practising of any
“jurisdiction, or any authority, on the bishop of *Rome’s*
“behalf, within this realm of *England*. Now, before
“God, I humbly pray your honours to tell me, whether
“you ask me this question by his authority, or no? If
“you do, I dare not, nor may answer you any thing in
“his authority, which you shall demand of me, except
“I would be forsworn, which God forbid!”

Secretary Bourne. ‘Hast thou been sworn six times?
‘what office hast thou borne?’

Bradford. “Forsooth, I was thrice sworn in *Cambridge*,
“when I was admitted master of arts, when I was ad-
“mitted fellow of *Pembroke-hall*; and when I was there,
“the visitors came thither and sware the university.
“Again, I was sworn when I entered into the ministry,
“when I had a prebend given me, and when I was sworn
“to serve the king a little before his death.”

Lord Chancellor. ‘Tush, *Herod’s* oaths a man should
‘make no conscience at.’

Bradford. “My lord, these were no *Herod’s* oaths, no
“unlawful oaths, but oaths according to God’s word,
“as you yourself have well affirmed in your book, *De*
“*verâ obedientiâ*.*”

Secretary Bourne. ‘Yea, it was reported this parlia-
‘ment time, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and
‘exhorting those that have come to him in religion, than
‘ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his
‘letters, he curseth all that teach any false doctrine (for
‘so he calleth that, which is not according to that he
‘taught), and most heartily exhorteth them, to whom
‘he writeth, to continue still in that they have received
‘by him, and such like as he is.’ All which words several
of the council affirmed, to which he added, saying; ‘How
‘say you, sir, have you not thus seditiously written and
‘exhorted the people?’

* This book, *Of true Obedience*, was written by *Gardiner* in the time of Henry VIII. against the pope’s supremacy, and prefaced with a recommendation by *Bonner*.—Both these gentlemen perceived, that, at that time, such opinions opened the way for preferment.

Bradford. “ I have not written nor spoken any thing
“ seditiously; neither (I thank God therefore) have I ad-
“ mitted any seditious thought, nor I trust ever shall do.”

Secretary Bourne. ‘ Yea, thou hast written letters.’

Lord Chancellor. ‘ Why speakest thou not? hast thou
‘ not written as he saith?’

Bradford. “ That I have written, I have written.”

Southwell. ‘ Lord God, what an arrogant and stubborn
‘ boy is this, that thus stoutly and dallyingly behaveth
‘ himself before the queen’s council!’

Bradford. “ My lords and masters, the Lord God, who
“ is, and will be judge to us all, knoweth, that as I am
“ certain, I now stand before his majesty; so with re-
“ verence in his sight I stand before you, and to you
“ accordingly in words and gesture I desire to behave
“ myself. If you otherwise take it, I doubt not but God
“ in his time will reveal it: In the mean season, I shall
“ suffer with all due obedience your sayings and doings
“ too, I hope.”

Lord Chancellor. ‘ These be gay and glorious words of
‘ reverence, but as in all other things, so herein also thou
‘ dost nothing but lye.’

Bradford. “ Well, I would God the author of truth
“ and abhorror of lyes, would pull my tongue out of
“ my mouth before you all, and shew a terrible judge-
“ ment on me here present, if I have purposed, or do
“ purpose to lye before you, who either can lay my
“ letters to my charge or no: If you lay any thing to
“ my charge that I have written, and if I deny it, then
“ I am a liar.”

Lord Chancellor. ‘ We shall never have done with thee,
‘ I perceive now: Be short, be short, wilt thou accept
‘ of mercy now?’

Bradford. “ I pray God give me his mercy, and if
“ therewith you will extend yours I will not refuse it;
“ but otherwise I will have none.”

Here arose a great noise; some said one thing, and some another; while others again accused him of arrogancy in refusing the queen’s pardon, which her majesty in her great clemency had reached towards him.

To this proposal of life, *Mr. Bradford* answered meekly and plainly thus: “ My lord, if I may live as a quiet
“ subject without clog of conscience, I shall heartily
“ thank you for your pardon; if I behave myself other-
“ wise, then am I in danger of the law: In the mean
“ time, I ask no more than the benefit of a subject till I
be

“ be convinced of transgressions; if I cannot have this,
 “ as hitherto I have not had, God’s good will be done.”

Upon these words, the lord chancellor began a tedious tale about the false doctrine in king *Edward’s* days, and how the people were deceived thereby; and at the conclusion he turned to Mr. *Bradford* and said, how sayest thou?

Bradford. “ My lord, the doctrine taught in king *Edward’s* days was God’s pure religion; [the first book of homilies in the church of *England* was then made and confirmed] which, as I then believed, so do I now more believe it than ever I did, and therein I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it by God’s grace, even as he will, to the world, than I was when I first came into prison.”

Durham. “ What religion mean you in king *Edward’s* days? What year of his reign?”

Bradford. “ Forsooth even the same year, my lord, that the king died, and I was a preacher.”

After some small pause, the lord chancellor began again to declare, that the doctrine taught in king *Edward’s* days was heresy, though he pretended not to prove his assertion either by scripture or reason; but cunningly made use of this observation, that it ended with treason and rebellion, so that, said he, the very end were enough to prove that doctrine to be naught.

Bradford. “ Ah, my lord! that you could enter into God’s sanctuary, and mark the end of this present doctrine that you so magnify.”

Lord Chancellor. “ What meanest thou by that? I am of opinion we shall have a snatch of rebellion even now.”

Bradford. “ My lord, I mean no such end as you would gather: I mean an end which no man seeth, but such as enter into God’s sanctuary. If a man look on present things, he will soon destroy himself.”

Here my lord chancellor offered mercy; and Mr. *Bradford* answered as before: “ Mercy, with God’s mercy, should be welcome; but otherwise he would have none.”

Whereupon the chancellor rang a little bell to call somebody in; for there were but very few present at that time besides the bishop of *Worcester*.—And when one was come in, Mr. secretary *Bourne* said, “ it is best for you, my lord, to give the keeper an extraordinary charge of this fellow.” Then the under-marshal was called in.

Lord Chancellor. “ Ye shall take this man to you, and keep him close without conference of any man, but by your knowledge, and suffer him not to write any letters,

‘ &c. for he is of another manner of charge to you than he was before.’

And so they departed, *Bradford* looking as chearful as any man could do; declaring thereby how willing he was even to give his life for the confirmation of his faith and doctrine.

On the twenty-ninth of *January*, 1555, the lord chancellor and other bishops were in *St. Mary-Overy’s* church in *Southwark*, when *Mr. Bradford* was sent for; and they proceeded to a second examination of him, but he by his proper answers manifested, that he was well established in the truths of the gospel. *Mr. Bradford* was several times examined by the lord chancellor and the bishops, by two *Spanish* friars who came to him in the *Compter*; and by *Dr. Weston*, dean of *Westminster*, who came to visit *Mr. Bradford* in prison, and had much conversation with him; but in his conferences with them all he answered in a steady and uniform manner, becoming a man, who knew in whom he believed, and like a Christian champion for the truths of God; though, naturally, he was (as *Mr. Edward Leigh* says of him) ‘ a man of a humble, melting spirit.’

He lived under so strong a sense of his corruptions, that he subscribed some of his letters from prison in the following words:—“ The most miserable, hard-hearted, unthankful sinner, *John Bradford*. The sinful *John Bradford*.”

We are informed by *Mr. Fox*, that he wrote many treatises, especially during his confinement, of which the following have been published.—Two sermons; the first of repentance, on *Matth. iv. 17.* the second of the Lord’s Supper. 2. Letters to his fellow martyrs. 3. An answer to two letters, upon the lawfulness of attending mass. 4. The danger of attending mass. 5. His examination before the officers. 6. Godly meditations made in prison, called his short prayers. 7. Truth’s complaints. 8. A translation of *Melancthon* upon prayer. 9. A dialogue of predestination and free-will.

It is no wonder that *Bradford’s* letters made such a noise among the papists, since they were highly spiritual, and tended to establish the people of God under the severity of their persecution. They are so truly excellent, that, notwithstanding the rude style of those times, they are read with delight and edification even to this day. We will select two or three of them for our Readers, to shew his manner and spirit, and refer them for the rest to *Fox’s Acts and Monuments*,

“ To

“ To my dear fathers, Dr. *Cranmer*, Dr. *Ridley*, and
 “ Dr. *Latimer*.

“ **J**ESUS *Emmanuel*! My dear fathers in the Lord,
 “ I beseech God, our sweet Father through *Christ*, to
 “ make perfect the good he hath begun in us all. Amen.

“ I had thought that every of your staves had stood next
 “ the door, but now it is otherwise perceived. Our dear
 “ brother *Rogers* hath broken the ice valiantly, as this
 “ day (I think) or to-morrow at the uttermost, hearty
 “ *Hooper*, sincere *Saunders*, and trusty *Taylor*, end their
 “ course, and receive their crown. The next am I, which
 “ hourly look for the porter to open me the gates after
 “ them, to enter into the desired rest. God forgive me
 “ mine unthankfulness for this exceeding great mercy,
 “ that amongst so many thousands it pleaseth his mercy
 “ to chuse me to be one, in whom he will suffer. For
 “ although it be most true, that *justè patior*, i. e. I justly
 “ suffer (for I have been a great hypocrite, and a griev-
 “ ous sinner, the Lord pardon me, yea, he hath done it,
 “ he hath done it indeed) yet *hic autem quid mali fecit?*
 “ i. e. what evil hath he done? *Christ*, whom the prelates
 “ persecute, his verity which they hate in me, hath done
 “ no evil, nor deserveth death. Therefore ought I most
 “ heartily to rejoyce of this dignation and tender kindness
 “ of the Lord's towards me, who useth remedy for my
 “ sin as a testimonial of his testament, to his glory, to
 “ my everlasting comfort, to the edifying of his church,
 “ and to the overthrowing of antichrist and his kingdom.
 “ Oh what am I, Lord, that thou shouldest thus magnify
 “ me, so vile a man and wretch, as always I have been?
 “ Is this thy wont, to send for such a wretch and an hy-
 “ pocrite as I have been, in a fiery chariot, as thou didst
 “ for *Helias*? Oh dear fathers, be thankful for me, that
 “ I still might be found worthy in whom the Lord would
 “ sanctify his holy name. And for your part, make you
 “ ready: For we are but your gentlemen-ushers. *Nuptiæ*
 “ *Agni paratæ sunt, venite ad nuptias*: i. e. the marriage of
 “ the Lamb is prepared, come unto the marriage. I now
 “ go to leave my flesh there, where I received it. I shall
 “ be conveyed thither, as *Ignatius* was at *Rome*, *Leopar-*
 “ *dis*; by whose evil I hope to be made better. God
 “ grant, if it be his will that I ask, it may make them
 “ better by me. Amen.

“ For my farewell therefore, I write and send this unto
 “ you, trusting shortly to see you where we shall never
 “ be

“ be separated. In the mean season I will not cease, as
 “ I have done, to commend you to our Father of heaven;
 “ and that you would so do by me, I most heartily pray
 “ every one of you: You know now I have most need.
 “ But *fidelis est Deus, qui nunquam sinet nos tentari supra id*
 “ *quod possumus*; i. e. faithful is God, which will not
 “ suffer us to be tempted above our strength. He never
 “ did it hitherto, nor now; and I am assured he will
 “ never. Amen. *A dextris est mihi, non movebor. Propter*
 “ *hoc lætabitur cor meum, quia non derelinquet animam meam*
 “ *in inferno, nec dabit me, sanctum suum, per gratiam in*
 “ *Christo, videre corruptionem. E carcere raptim, expectans*
 “ *omni momento carnificem*; i. e. he is on my right hand,
 “ therefore I shall not fall: Wherefore my heart shall
 “ rejoice, for he shall not leave my soul in hell; neither
 “ shall suffer me his holy one, by his grace in *Christ*, to
 “ see corruption. Out of prison in haste, looking for the
 “ tormentor, the eighth of *February*, 1555.”

To a faithful woman in her heaviness and trouble.

“ **G**OD our good Father, for his mercies sake in *Christ*,
 “ with his eternal consolation so comfort you, as I
 “ desire to be comforted of him in my most need: Yea,
 “ he will comfort you (my dear sister) only cast your care
 “ upon him, and he never can nor will forsake you. For
 “ his calling and gifts be such, that he can never repent
 “ him of them. Whom he loveth, he loveth to the end;
 “ none of his chosen can perish: Of which number I know
 “ you are, my dearly beloved sister. God increase the
 “ faith thereof daily more and more in you; may he give
 “ unto you to hang wholly on him and on his providence
 “ and protection: For whoso dwelleth under that secret
 “ thing, and help of the Lord, he shall be cock-sure for
 “ evermore. He that dwelleth, I say; for if we be flit-
 “ ters and not dwellers, as was *Lot* a flitter from *Segor*,
 “ where God promised him protection, if he had dwelled
 “ there still; we shall remove to our loss, as he did into
 “ the mountains.

“ Dwell therefore; that is, trust, and that finally unto
 “ the end, in the Lord, (my dear sister) and you shall be
 “ as mount *Sion*. As mountains compass *Jerusalem*, so
 “ doth the Lord all his people. How then can he forget
 “ you, which are as the apple of his eye, for his dear
 “ Son's sake? Ah dear heart, that I were now but one
 “ half hour with you, to be a *Simon* to help carry your
 “ cross

“ cross with you. God send you some good *Simon* to be
“ with you, and help you.

“ You complain in your letters of the blindness of your
“ mind, and the troubles you feel. My dearly beloved,
“ God make you thankful for that which God hath given
“ unto you; may he open your eyes to see what and how
“ great benefits you have received, that you may be less
“ covetous, or rather impatient, for so (I fear me) it should
“ be called, and more thankful. Have you not received
“ at his hands sight to see your blindness, and thereto a
“ desirous and seeking heart to see where he lieth in the
“ mid-day, as his dear spouse speaketh of herself in the
“ *Canticles*? Oh *Joyce*, my good *Joyce*, what a gift is this?
“ Many have some sight, but none this sobbing and sigh-
“ ing, none this seeking which you have, I know, but
“ such as he hath married unto him in his mercies. You
“ are not content to kiss his feet with the *Magdalen*, but
“ you would be kissed even with the kiss of his mouth,
“ *Canticles*, i. You would see his face with *Moses*, for-
“ getting how he biddeth us seek his face, *Psalms* xxvii.
“ Yea, and that for ever, *Psalms* cv. Which signifieth
“ no such sight, as you desire to be in this present life,
“ which would see God now face to face; whereas he
“ cannot be seen, but covered under something, yea,
“ sometime in that which is (as you would say) clean
“ contrary to God; as to see his mercy in his anger. In
“ bringing us to hell, faith seeth him to bring us to
“ heaven; in darkness it beholdeth brightness: In hid-
“ ing his face from us, it beholdeth his merry counte-
“ nance. How did *Job* see God, but (as you would say)
“ under Satan’s cloak? For who cast the fire from heaven
“ upon his goods? Who overthrew his house, and stirred
“ up men to take away his cattel, but Satan? and yet
“ *Job* pierced through all these, and saw God’s work, say-
“ ing, *the Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken away, &c.*

“ In reading of the *Psalms*, how often do you see that
“ *David* in the shadow of death saw God’s sweet love?
“ And so, my dearly beloved, I see that you in your
“ darkness and dimness by faith do see clarity and bright-
“ ness. By faith, I say, because faith is of things absent,
“ of things hoped for, of things which I appeal to your
“ conscience, whether you desire not. And can you de-
“ sire any thing which you know not? And is there of
“ heavenly things any other true knowledge than by
“ faith?

“ Therefore

“ Therefore (my dear heart) be thankful, for (before
 “ God I write it) you have great cause. Ah, my *Joyce*,
 “ how happy is the stay wherein you are? Verily you
 “ are even in the blessed state of God’s children; for they
 “ mourn, and do not you so? And that not for worldly
 “ weal, but for spiritual riches, faith, hope, charity, &c.
 “ Do you not hunger and thirst for righteousness? And
 “ I pray you, faith not *Christ*, who cannot lye, that happy
 “ are such? How should God wipe away the tears from
 “ your eyes in heaven, if now on earth ye shed no tears?
 “ How could heaven be a place of rest, if on earth ye
 “ find it? How could ye desire to be at home, if in your
 “ journey you found no grief? How could you so often
 “ call upon God, and talk with him, as I know you do,
 “ if your enemy should sleep all the day long? How
 “ should you elsewhere be made like unto *Christ*, I mean
 “ in joy, if in sorrow you sobbed not with him? If you
 “ will have joy and felicity, you must first needs feel
 “ sorrow and misery. If you will go to heaven, you
 “ must sail by hell. If you would embrace *Christ* in his
 “ robes, you must not think scorn of him in his rags.
 “ If you would sit at *Christ*’s table in his kingdom, you
 “ must first abide with him in his temptations. If you
 “ will drink of his cup of glory, forsake not his cup of
 “ ignominy.

“ Can the head corner-stone be rejected, and the other
 “ more base stones in God’s building be in this world set
 “ by? You are one of his lively stones; be content there-
 “ fore to be hewn and snagged at, that you might be made
 “ more meet to be joined to your fellows which suffer
 “ with you Satan’s snatches, the world’s wounds, con-
 “ tempt of conscience, and threats of the flesh, where-
 “ through they are enforced to cry, Oh wretches that we
 “ are, who shall deliver us? You are of God’s corn,
 “ fear not therefore the flail, the fan, millstone, nor oven.
 “ You are one of *Christ*’s lambs, look therefore to be
 “ fleeced, haled at, and even slain.

“ If you were a market-sheep, you should go in more
 “ fat and grassie pasture. If you were for the fair, you
 “ should be stall-fed, and want no weal. But because
 “ you are of God’s own occupying, therefore you must
 “ pasture on the bare common, abiding the storms and
 “ tempests that will fall. Happy, and twice happy are
 “ you (my dear sister) that God now haleth you whither
 “ you would not, that you might come whither you would.
 “ Suffer a little and be still. Let Satan rage against you,

“ let the world cry out, let your conscience accuse you,
 “ let the law load you and press you down, yet shall
 “ they not prevail, for *Christ* is *Emmanuel*, that is, God
 “ with us. *If God be with us, who can be against us?*
 “ The Lord is with you; your Father cannot forget you;
 “ your Spouse loveth you. If the waves and surges arise,
 “ cry with *Peter*, *Lord, I perish*; and he will put out
 “ his hand and help you. Cast out your anchor of hope,
 “ and it will not cease for the stormy surges, till it take
 “ hold on the rock of God’s truth and mercy.

“ Think not that he who hath given you so many
 “ things corporally, as inductions of spiritual and hea-
 “ venly mercies, and that without your deserts or desire,
 “ can deny you any spiritual comfort, desiring it. For
 “ if he give to desire, he will give you to have and en-
 “ joy the thing desired. The desire to have, and the
 “ going about to ask, ought to certify your conscience,
 “ that they be his earnest of the thing which, you asking,
 “ he will give you; yea, before you ask, and whilst you
 “ are about to ask, he will grant the same, as *Isaiah* saith,
 “ to his glory and your eternal consolation. He that
 “ spared not his own Son for you, will not nor cannot
 “ think any thing too good for you, my heartily beloved.

“ If he had not chosen you, (as most certainly he hath)
 “ he would not have so called you; he would never have
 “ justified you; he would never have so glorified you
 “ with his gracious gifts, which I know, praised be his
 “ name therefore; he would never have so exercised your
 “ faith with temptations, as he hath done and doth; if
 “ (I say) he had not chosen you. If he hath chosen you
 “ (as doubtless, dear heart, he hath done in *Christ*, for
 “ in you I have seen his earnest, and before me and to
 “ me you could not deny it, I know both where and
 “ when) if, I say, he hath chosen you, then neither can
 “ you, nor ever shall you perish: For if you fall, he put-
 “ teth under his hand. You shall not lie still; so care-
 “ ful is *Christ* your keeper over you. Never was mother
 “ so mindful over her child, as he is over you. And
 “ hath not he always been so?

“ Speak, woman, when did he finally forget you?
 “ And will he, now trow you, in your most need do
 “ otherwise, you calling upon him, and desiring to please
 “ him? Ah (my *Joyce*) think you God to be mutable?
 “ Is he a changling? Doth not he love to the end them
 “ whom he loveth? Are not his gifts and calling such,
 “ that he cannot repent him of them? For else were he

“ no God. If you should perish, then wanted he power;
 “ for I am certain his will towards you is not to be
 “ doubted of. Hath not the Spirit, which is the Spirit
 “ of truth, told you so? And will you now hearken with
 “ *Eve* to the lying spirit which would have you not to
 “ despair (no, he goeth more craftily to work, howbeit
 “ to that end, if you should give ear unto it, which God
 “ forbid) but to doubt and stand in aammering, and
 “ so should you never truly love God, but serve him of
 “ a servile fear, lest he should cast you off for your un-
 “ worthiness and unthankfulness; as though your thank-
 “ fulness or worthiness were any cause with God, why
 “ he hath chosen you, or will finally keep you.

“ Ah mine own dear heart, *Christ* only, *Christ* only,
 “ and his mercy and truth. In him is the cause of your
 “ election. This *Christ*, this mercy, this truth of God,
 “ remaineth for ever, is certain for ever; I say, for ever.
 “ If an angel from heaven should tell you the contrary,
 “ accursed be he. Your thankfulness and worthiness are
 “ fruits and effects of your election; they are no causes.
 “ These fruits and effects, shall be so much more fruitful
 “ and effectual, by how much you waver not.

“ Therefore (my dearly beloved) arise, and remember
 “ from whence you are fallen. You have a shepherd
 “ who never slumbereth nor sleepeth; no man nor devil
 “ can pull you out of his hands. Night and day he com-
 “ mandeth his angels to keep you. Have you forgotten
 “ what I read to you out of the Psalm, *The Lord is my*
 “ *shepherd, I can want nothing.* Do you not know that
 “ God spared *Noah* in the ark on the outside, so that he
 “ could not get out? So hath he done to you (my good
 “ sister) so hath he done to you. Ten thousand shall fall
 “ on your right hand, and twenty thousand on your left
 “ hand, yet no evil shall touch you. Say boldly there-
 “ fore, *Many a time from my youth up have they fought*
 “ *against me, but they have not prevailed;* no, nor never
 “ shall prevail; for the Lord is round about his people,
 “ And who are the people of God, but such as hope in
 “ him? Happy are they that hope in the Lord, and you
 “ are one of those, my dear heart, for I am assured you
 “ have hoped in the Lord; I have your words to shew
 “ most manifestly, and I know they were written un-
 “ feignedly. Indeed not to say, that even before God
 “ you have simply confessed to me, and that oftentimes
 “ no less. And if once you had this hope, as you doubt-
 “ less had it, though now you feel it not, yet shall you
 “ feel

“ feel it again : For the anger of the Lord lasteth but a
 “ moment, but his mercy lasteth for ever. Tell me (my
 “ dear heart) who hath so weakened you? Surely not
 “ a persuasion which came from him who called you.
 “ For why should you waver, and be so heavy hearted?
 “ Whom look you on? On yourself? On your worthi-
 “ ness? On your thankfulness? On that which God
 “ requireth of you, as faith, hope, love, fear, joy, &c.?
 “ Then can you not but waver indeed: For what have
 “ you as God requireth? Believe you, hope you, love
 “ you, &c. as much as you should do? No, no, nor ever
 “ can in this life. Ah, my dearly beloved, have you so
 “ soon forgotten that which ever should be had in me-
 “ mory? Namely, that when you would and should be
 “ certain and quiet in conscience, then should your faith
 “ burst throughout all things not only that you have in
 “ you, or else are in heaven, earth or hell, until it come
 “ to *Christ* crucified, and the eternal sweet mercies and
 “ goodness of God in *Christ*? Here, here is the resting
 “ place; here is your Spouse’s bed; creep into it, and in
 “ your arms of faith embrace him: Bewail your weak-
 “ ness, unworthiness, your diffidence, &c. and you shall
 “ see he will turn to you. What said I, you shall see?
 “ Nay, I should have said, you shall feel he will turn to
 “ you. You know that *Moses*, when he went to the
 “ mount to talk with God, he entered into a dark cloud;
 “ and *Helias* had his face covered when God passed by.
 “ Both these dear friends of God heard of God, but they
 “ saw him not; but you would be preferred before them.
 “ See now (my dear heart) how covetous you are. Ah
 “ be thankful; be thankful. But God be praised, your
 “ covetousness is *Moses*’s covetousness. Well, with him
 “ you shall be satisfied: But when? Forsooth when he
 “ shall appear. Here is not the time of seeing, but as it
 “ were in a glass. *Isaac* was deceived, because he was
 “ not content with hearing only.

“ Therefore to make an end of these many words,
 “ wherewith I fear me I do but trouble you from better
 “ exercises; inasmuch as you are indeed the child of God,
 “ elect in *Christ* before the beginning of all times; inas-
 “ much as you are given to the custody of *Christ*, as one
 “ of God’s most precious jewels; inasmuch as *Christ* is
 “ faithful, and hitherto hath all power, so that you shall
 “ never perish, ~~no~~, one hair of your head shall not be
 “ lost: I beseech you, I pray you, I desire you, I crave
 “ at your hands with all my very heart; I ask of you with

“ hand, pen, tongue and mind, in *Christ*, through *Christ*,
 “ for *Christ*, for his name, blood, mercies, power, and
 “ truth’s sake, (my most entirely beloved sister) that you
 “ admit no doubting of God’s final mercies towards you,
 “ howsoever you feel for yourself; but to complain to
 “ God, and crave of him, as of your tender and dear
 “ father, all things; and in that time which shall be
 “ most opportune, you shall find and feel far above that
 “ your heart or the heart of any creature can conceive,
 “ to your eternal joy. Amen, Amen, Amen.

“ The good Spirit of God always keep us as his dear
 “ children; may he comfort you, as I desire to be com-
 “ forted, my dearly beloved, for evermore. Amen.

“ I break up thus abruptly, because our common prayer
 “ time calleth me. The peace of *Christ* dwell in both
 “ our hearts for ever. Amen.

“ As for the report of *W. Po.* if it be as you hear,
 “ you must prepare to bear it. It is written on heaven’s
 “ door, *Do well, and bear evil.* Be content therefore to
 “ hear whatsoever the enemy shall imagine to blot you
 “ withal. God’s holy Spirit always comfort and keep
 “ you. Amen, Amen. This eighth of *August*, by him
 “ that in the Lord desireth to you, as well and as much
 “ felicity as to his own heart.”

His last letter to his mother, a little before he was burned.

“ **G**OD’s mercy and peace in *Christ*, be more and more
 “ perceived of us. Amen.

“ My most dear mother, in the bowels of *Christ* I
 “ heartily pray and beseech you to be thankful for me
 “ unto God, who thus now taketh me unto himself:
 “ I die not, my good mother, as a thief, a murderer, an
 “ adulterer, &c. but I die as a witness of *Christ*, his gos-
 “ pel and verity, which hitherto I have confessed (I thank
 “ God) as well by preaching, as by imprisonment, and
 “ now even presently I shall most willingly confirm the
 “ same by fire. I acknowledge that God most justly might
 “ take me hence simply for my sins (which are many,
 “ great, and grievous: But the Lord for his mercy in
 “ *Christ*, hath pardoned them all, I hope) but now dear
 “ mother, he taketh me hence by this death, as a con-
 “ fessor and witness, that the religion taught by *Christ*
 “ *Jesus*, the prophets, and the apostles, is God’s truth.
 “ The prelates do persecute in me *Christ* whom they hate,
 “ and his truth which they may not abide, because their
 “ works are evil, and may not abide the truth and light,

“ lest men should see their darknes. Therefore, my good
 “ and most dear mother, give thanks for me to God, that
 “ he hath made the fruit of your womb to be a witness
 “ of his glory, and attend to the truth, which (I thank
 “ God for it) I have truly taught out of the pulpit of
 “ *Manchester*. Use often and continual prayer to God
 “ the Father, through *Christ*. Harken, as you may, to
 “ the scriptures: Serve God after his word, and not after
 “ custom: Beware of the *Romish* religion in *England*;
 “ defile not yourself with it: Carry *Christ*'s cross as he
 “ shall lay it upon your back: Forgive them that kill
 “ me: Pray for them, for they know not what they do:
 “ Commit my cause to God the Father: Be mindful of
 “ both your daughters, and help them as you can.

“ I send all my writings to you and my brother *Roger*;
 “ do with them as you will, because I cannot as I would:
 “ He can tell you more of my mind. I have nothing to
 “ give you, or to leave behind me for you: Only I pray
 “ God my Father, for his *Christ*'s sake, to bless you, and
 “ keep you from evil. May he give you patience, may he
 “ make you thankful, as for me, so for yourself, that he
 “ will take the fruit of your womb to witness his verity:
 “ Wherein I confess to the whole world, I die and depart
 “ this life, in hope of a much better: Which I look for
 “ at the hands of God my Father, through the merits of
 “ his dear Son *Jesus Christ*.

“ Thus, my dear mother, I take my last farewell of you
 “ in this life, beseeching the almighty and eternal Father
 “ by *Christ*, to grant us to meet in the life to come, where
 “ we shall give him continual thanks and praise for ever
 “ and ever. Amen. Out of prison the twenty-fourth
 “ of *June*, 1555. Your son in the Lord.”

J U S T U S J O N A S.

THIS famous *German* divine, was born at *Northausen*
 in *Thuringia*, on the fifth of *June*, 1493, where
 his father was chief magistrate; who, falling sick of the
 plague, and having applied an onion to the sore, took it
 off and laid it by; which young *Jonas*, coming in, took
 up and eat; but, through the goodness of God, received
 no

no hurt. He applied himself first to the study of the civil law, and made good proficiency in it; but, quitting that study, he devoted his whole attention to theology, and proceeded to the degree of doctor immediately. This was about the first dawning of the true light of the gospel, of which *Jonas* was not only an hearer and observer; but soon afterwards a principal instrument in promoting. For he was almost always present at the several synods and meetings of divines, which were held to settle the matters of religion, in those days. He united in one person the characters of a most able divine and learned civilian; and as the state of religion at that time was unavoidably connected with human politics, he became a very necessary man to the protestants, in being a skilful politician. He assisted *Luther* and *Melancthon* in the assembly at *Marpurg*, in 1529; and was afterwards with *Melancthon* at the famous convention at *Augsburg*, in which he was a principal negotiator. With these two great men he was extremely intimate, and particularly with *Melancthon*.

In the year 1521, he was called to a pastoral charge at *Wittenberg*, and made principal of the college and professor in that university. He, with *Spalatinus* and *Amstdorf*, was employed by the elector of *Saxony* to reform the churches in *Misnia* and *Thuringia*: From thence he was called to *Hall* in *Saxony*, where he also exceedingly promoted the work of the Reformation. *Luther* sometimes resorted thither to him; and took him with him in his last journey to *Isleben*, where he died in his arms.

After *Luther's* death, he continued some time in the duke of *Saxony's* court, and was a constant companion of *John Frederick's* sons in all their afflictions. He was at length set over the church in *Eisfield*, where he ended his days in much peace and comfort, on the ninth of *October*, in the year 1555, and in the sixty-third year of his age.

He was one of those, who might be called moderate Reformers, wishing to make no further alteration in the established modes of worship, and even doctrine, than was absolutely necessary for the introduction of piety and truth. Hence the Lutheran churches have departed least of any, in external ceremonies, from the corruptions of the church of *Rome*. The motive of *Luther*, *Jonas*, and other Reformers of that cast, was undoubtedly good; but the effect was not answerable. The danger, in such cases, is, that the great bulk of the people, seeing such stress laid upon outward observances, will fall into the error of leaning entirely upon them, and so make that, which perhaps

perhaps might be originally intended for an *help* to devotion, the whole *end* and *purpose* of their attention.

Jonas's death was exceedingly regretted by all the good men of that time; for such a loss to the church of *Christ* was not easily to be repaired. None but almighty grace could effect it; which has promised not to leave the church without faithful witnesses to the end of time. *Siperus*, in his epitaph, said of him;

— *fleat ademtum*
Omnes judicii elegantioris,
Et bonique viri piique: cœlo
Ille, colloquio Dei, receptus,
Et Christi fruitur beatus ore.

— the heavy loss

‘ All men bewail’d of pious mind,
 ‘ All men of sentiments refin’d :
 ‘ To heav’n he flew, at God’s behest;
 ‘ And joyful there, among the blest,
 ‘ He views his Saviour face to face,
 ‘ And triumphs in redeeming grace.’

He wrote, among other treatises, in defence of the marriage of priests, against *Faber*; upon the study of divinity; notes upon the acts of the apostles; upon the death of *Luther*, against *Wicelius*; and he translated into *Latin* several of *Luther's* works.

About this period, the gospel flourished in what is now called *Prussia*, under the ministry of three very great and excellent divines, *Paulus Speratus*, *Poliander*, and *Brismann*. This last was a particular friend of *Luther*, and with the other two, his colleagues, fed the flock of *Christ*, and superintended the churches in *Prussia*, above twenty years. About the latter end of their ministry, *Osiander*, who during *Luther's* life harmonized in all the great points with the other Reformers, left *Norimberg*, where he had long preached, and came into *Prussia*. Here he started some opinions of his own upon the doctrine of justification, asserting, that man is not justified by faith, but by the righteousness of *Christ* dwelling in us. Matters were carried so high, that *Albert*, duke of *Prussia*, who had embraced *Osiander's* opinion, banished the other Reformers from his dominions. *Osiander* was justly censured by most of the protestants for making this breach in a most unseasonable time, and particularly for his ill treatment of *Melancthon*, to whom he returned abuse and harshness

ness for mildness and reason. The truth is, that *Osiander*, with all his learning and abilities, appears to have been a very vain and intemperate man, affecting high-flown language and manners, instead of that simplicity which becomes the gospel. He died at *Koningsberg*, in *Prussia*, on the very same day that the excellent *Caspar Hedio* departed this life at *Strasburgh*. After his death, duke *Albert*, whether from a wish to heal the differences occasioned by *Osiander* and his sectaries, or from the suggestions of some great and good men, caused a public agreement to be made about the year 1556; and so the church in that part of the world was settled in peace.

HUGH LATIMER,

BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

OF this plain and pious, as well as most zealous, divine, it may be said, that he was one of the first and most useful Reformers of the church of *England*. He was descended of mean but honest parents at *Thirkeffon*, or *Thurcaston*, near *Mount Sorrel*, in *Leicestershire*, where his father lived in good reputation; and though he had no land of his own, but rented a small farm of four pounds a year at the utmost, yet, by frugality and industry, and the advantage of a good bargain, he brought up a large family of six daughters, besides this his only son.*

* In one of his court sermons, in king *Edward's* time, our author, inveighing against the nobility and gentry, and speaking of the moderation of landlords a few years before, and the plenty in which their tenants lived, tells his audience, in his familiar way, that upon a farm of four pounds a year, at the utmost, his father tilled as much ground as kept half a dozen men; that he had it stocked with a hundred sheep and thirty cows; that he found the king a man and horse, himself remembering to have buckled on his father's harness, when he went to *Blackheath*; that he gave his daughters five pounds a-piece at marriage; that he lived hospitably among his neighbors, and was not backward in his alms to the poor. "And all this (said he) he did of the said farm: Whereas he, that now hath it, pays sixteen pounds by the year, or more, and is not able to do any thing for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor."—What would *Latimer* have said of our present rack-renting landlords, who not only do not relieve, but procure means to grind the face of, the poor?

Hugh,



Hugh, who was born in the farm-house about the year 1470, in the eleventh year of king *Edward* the Fourth, and put to the grammar-school at *Thurcaston*, and afterwards at *Leicester*, took his learning so well, that it was determined to breed him to the church. With this view, as soon as he was fit, he was sent to *Cambridge*, in 1484, where, at the usual time, he took his degrees in arts, and, entering into priest's orders, behaved with remarkable zeal and warmth in defence of popery, his religion, against the reformed opinions, which had lately discovered themselves in *England*. He heard those new teachers with high indignation: He inveighed, publicly and privately, against the Reformers. He looked upon them in so bad a light, that he declared he was of opinion, the last times, the day of judgement, and the end of the world, were now approaching. "Impiety, he said, was gaining ground apace; and what lengths may not men be expected to run, when they begin to question even the infallibility of the pope?" If any, inclined to the Reformation, and particularly good Mr. *Stafford*, divinity-lecturer in *Cambridge*, read lectures in the schools, Mr. *Latimer* was sure to be there to drive out the scholars; and, when he commenced batchelor of divinity, (which was in the year 1515, when he was forty-five years of age) he took occasion to give an open testimony of his dislike to their proceedings, in an oration, which he made against *Philip Melancthon*, whom he treated with great severity, for his "impious innovations (as he called them) in religion." His zeal was so much taken notice of in the university, that he was elected, in the next year, into the office of cross-bearer in all public processions; an employment which he accepted with reverence, and discharged with becoming solemnity for the space of seven years.

Among those, who about this period favored the Reformation, the most considerable was Mr. *Thomas Bilney*, whose life we have related to our Readers.

It was Mr. *Latimer's* happiness to be well acquainted with this good man, who had indeed long conceived very favorable sentiments of him. He had known *Latimer's* life in the university to be a life strictly moral and devout; he ascribed his failings to the genius of his religion, and, notwithstanding his more than ordinary zeal in the profession of that religion, he could observe in him a very candid temper, prejudiced by no sinister views, and an integrity, which gave him great hopes of his reformation.

mation. Induced by these favorable appearances, Mr. *Bilney* failed not, as opportunities offered, to suggest many things to him about corruptions in religion in general, whence he used frequently to drop a hint concerning some in the *Romish* church in particular, till having prepared the way by degrees, he at length made an earnest persuasion, that his friend would only endeavor to divest himself of his prejudices, and place the two sides of the question before him. How Mr. *Latimer* at first received these few declarations, and by what steps he came to be settled in the truth of the gospel, we have no particular account; only we find in general, that his friend's application had its desired effect. This was in the year 1523, when *Latimer* had nearly attained the fifty-third year of his age.

Mr. *Latimer* no sooner ceased from being a zealous papist, than he became, with the same zeal and integrity, a zealous protestant, very active in supporting and propagating the reformed doctrine, and assiduous to make converts both in the town and university. He preached in public, exhorted in private, and every-where pressed the necessity of true faith and holiness, in opposition to those outward performances, which were then esteemed the very essentials of religion. A behavior of this kind was immediately taken notice of; *Cambridge*, no less than the rest of this kingdom, was entirely popish; every new opinion was watched with the utmost jealousy; and Mr. *Latimer* soon perceived, how obnoxious he had made himself. The first remarkable opposition he met with from the popish party, was occasioned by a course of sermons he preached, during the Christmas holidays, before the university; in which he spoke his sentiments with great freedom upon many opinions and usages maintained and practised in the *Romish* church, and particularly insisted upon the great abuse of locking up the scripture in an unknown tongue. Few of the tenets of popery were then questioned in *England*, but such as tended to a relaxation of manners; transubstantiation, and other points rather speculative, still held their dominion; Mr. *Latimer* therefore chiefly dwelt upon those of immoral tendency. He shewed what true religion was; that it was seated in the heart; and that, in comparison with it, external appointments were of no value. Great was the outcry occasioned by these discourses.

The state of religion at that time is well described, in the following words, gathered from the ecclesiastical historians

torians of the reign of king *Henry* the Eighth. 'The
 ' cathedral clergy (say they) throughout the kingdom
 ' gave themselves up wholly to idleness and pleasure;
 ' they decried and discouraged learning; affirming, that
 ' learning would bring in heresy and all manner of mis-
 ' chief. The rural and parochial clergy were universally
 ' ignorant, slothful, idle, superstitious, proud, and vicious;
 ' preaching, most of them, but once a quarter on a *Sun-*
 ' *day*, and, but few, more than once a month, on the
 ' first *Sunday* thereof. In Lent, sermons were more fre-
 ' quent; but these usually turned on abstinence, con-
 ' fession, the necessity of corporal severities, pilgrimages,
 ' the enriching of the shrines, and the relics of the saints,
 ' and the great use of indulgences. No pains were taken
 ' to inform the people of the hatefulnes of vice, the
 ' excellency of holiness, or the wonderful love of *Christ*.
 ' It was far otherwise on the holy or saints' days; for on
 ' them the monks, and the friars, and others, would ascend
 ' the pulpit, and, instead of sermons, harangue the peo-
 ' ple on the merits, supererogations, and miracles, of the
 ' saints, to the memory of whom the days were dedicated;
 ' magnifying their relics, which they always took care to
 ' inform them were laid up in such and such places.—
 ' The clergy in general were so proud and insolent, that,
 ' if any man denied them any part of that respect, or of
 ' those advantages to which they pretended, he was pre-
 ' sently brought under the suspicion of heresy, and vexed
 ' with imprisonments; and articles in the spiritual courts
 ' were exhibited against him.'

Learning was at a very low ebb, in both the univer-
 sities, in the year 1526. *Cambridge* was then the seat and
 asylum of ignorance, bigotry, and superstition; and every
 reformed opinion and person was persecuted with the most
 inveterate hatred and zeal. *Latimer* had, by this time,
 through his daily and indefatigable searching of the scrip-
 tures of the Old and New Testaments, made himself a
 complete master of all the scriptural arguments, proper
 to confute the reigning errors of the church of *Rome*.—
 He spoke largely against the abominable superstition and
 idle usage of saying mass in an unknown tongue, and
 gave the most solid reasons, why the scriptures of the
 Old and New Testaments should be translated into *Eng-*
lish, printed, and put into the hands of the most illiterate.
 This preaching of his had a very great effect; and, with
 great truth, it may be said, that we greatly owe, under
 God,

God, to Mr. *Latimer* the inestimable blessing of reading the bible in our own tongue.

Mr. *Latimer* now became a preacher of particular eminence, and displayed a remarkable address in adapting himself to the capacities of the people. The orthodox clergy, observing him thus followed, thought it high time to oppose him openly. This task was undertaken by Dr. *Buckingham*, or *Buckenham*, prior of the *Black-Friars*, who appeared in the pulpit against him, and with great pomp and prolixity, shewed the dangerous tendency of Mr. *Latimer's* opinions; particularly, he inveighed against his heretical notions of having the scriptures in *English*; laying open the ill effects of such an innovation. 'If that heresy, said he, prevail, we should soon see an end of every thing useful among us. The plough-man, reading that if he put his hand to the plough, and should happen to look back, he was unfit for the kingdom of God, would soon lay aside his labour; the baker likewise reading, that a little leaven will corrupt his lump, would give us very insipid bread: The simple man also finding himself commanded to pluck out his eyes, in a few years we should have the nation full of blind beggars.' Mr. *Latimer* could not but smile at this ingenious reasoning; and promised to balance accounts with the prior on the next *Sunday*, and to expose this solemn trifler. The whole university accordingly met together on the next *Sunday*; as the news was generally spread, that Mr. *Latimer* would preach. That vein of pleasantry and humour which ran through all his words and actions, would here, it was imagined, have its full scope: And, to say the truth, the preacher was not a little conscious of his own superiority. To complete the scene, just before the sermon began, prior *Buckingham* himself entered the church with his cowl about his shoulders, and seated himself with an air of importance, before the pulpit. Mr. *Latimer*, with great gravity, recapitulated the learned doctor's arguments, placed them in the strongest light, and then rallied them with such a flow of wit, and at the same time with so much good humour, that, without the appearance of ill-nature, he made his adversary in the highest degree ridiculous. He then, with great address, appealed to the people; descanted upon the low esteem in which their holy guides had always held their understandings; expressed the utmost offence at their being treated with such contempt, and wished his honest countrymen might only have the

use of the scripture, till they shewed themselves such absurd interpreters, as the prior had seemed to make them. He concluded his discourse with a few observations upon scripture metaphors. "A figurative manner of speech," he said, was common in all languages." Representations of this kind were in daily use, and generally understood. "Thus, for instance, continues he, (addressing himself to that part of the audience where the prior was seated) when we see a fox painted preaching in a friar's hood, no body imagines that a fox is meant, but that craft and hypocrisy are described, which are so often found disguised in that garb."—This pointed ridicule exposed the poor prior to the laughter and contempt of every body; and, though we do not approve of humor or drollery in such places, and upon such solemn occasions, as the professed worship of God, yet certainly he deserved it. And it is probable, Mr. *Latimer* himself thought this levity unbecoming: For when one *Venetus*, a foreigner, not long after, attacked him again upon the same subject, and in a manner the most scurrilous and provoking, we find him using a graver strain. He answers, like a scholar, what is worth answering, and, like a man of sense, leaves the absurd part to confute itself. Whether he ridiculed, however, or reasoned; with so much of the spirit of true oratory, considering the times, were his harangues animated, that they seldom failed of their intended effect: His raillery shut up friar *Buckingham* within his monastery; and his arguments drove *Venetus* from the university.

These advantages increased the credit of the protestant party in *Cambridge*, of which *Bilney* and *Latimer* were at the head. The meekness, gravity, and unaffected piety of the former, and the chearfulness, good-humour, and eloquence of the latter, wrought much upon the junior students.

These things greatly alarmed the popish clergy: Of this sort were all the heads of colleges, and indeed the senior part of the university. Frequent convocations were held, tutors were admonished to have a strict eye over their pupils, and academical censures of all kinds were inflicted. But academical censures were found insufficient. Mr. *Latimer* continued to preach, and heresy (as they called it) to spread. The heads of the popish party applied to the bishop of *Ely*, as their diocesan; but that prelate was not a man for their purpose; he was a papist indeed, but moderate. He came to *Cambridge*,
however;

however; examined the state of religion; and, at their intreaty, preached against heretics; but he would do nothing farther. Only indeed he silenced Mr. *Latimer*. This occurred in the year 1529. But it gave no great check to the Reformers. There was at that time a protestant prior in *Cambridge*, Dr. *Barnes**, of the *Austin-Friars*: His monastery was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, and being a great admirer of Mr. *Latimer*, he boldly licensed him to preach there. Hither his party followed him; and the late opposition having greatly excited the curiosity of the people, the friars chapel was soon incapable of containing the crouds that attended. Among others, it is remarkable that the aforesaid bishop of *Ely* was often one of his hearers, and had the ingenuoufness to declare, that Mr. *Latimer* was one of the best preachers he had ever heard, and that he wished, he had the same grace and abilities for himself.

The credit to the protestant cause, which our preacher had thus gained in the pulpit, he maintained by a holy life out of it. Mr. *Bilney* and he did not satisfy themselves with acting unexceptionably, but were daily giving instances of goodness, which malice could not scandalize, nor envy misinterpret. They visited the prisoners, relieved the poor, and fed the hungry. They were always together concerting their schemes. The place where they used to walk, was long afterwards known by the name of the *Heretics-Hill*. *Cambridge*, at that time, was full of their good works; their charities to the poor, and friendly visits to the sick and unhappy, were common topics of discourse.

But these served only to increase the heat of persecution from their adversaries. Impotent themselves, and finding their diocesan either unable or unwilling to work their purposes, they determined upon an appeal to the higher powers; and heavy complaints were carried to court of the increase of heresy, not without formal depositions against the principal abettors of it.

The principal persons, at this time concerned in ecclesiastical affairs, were cardinal *Wolsey*, *Warham*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Tunstal*, bishop of *London*; and as *Henry VIII.* was now in expectation of having the business of his divorce ended in a regular way at *Rome*, he was careful to observe all forms of civility with the

* We have mentioned this excellent person in the life of *Luther*, p. 224. He loved the truth, and suffered for it with great boldness and constancy.

pope. The cardinal therefore erected a court, consisting of bishops, divines, and canonists, to put the laws in execution against heresy: Of this court *Tunstal* was made president; and *Bilney*, *Latimer*, and one or two more, were called before him. *Bilney* was considered as the heresiarch, and against him chiefly the rigor of the court was levelled, and they succeeded so far that he was prevailed upon to recant; accordingly he bore his faggot (a token of recantation and penance), and was dismissed. As for Mr. *Latimer*, and the rest, they had easier terms. *Tunstal* omitted no opportunities of shewing mercy, and was dextrous in finding them. The heretics, upon their dismissal, returned to *Cambridge*, where they were received with open arms by their friends. Amidst this mutual joy, *Bilney* alone seemed unaffected; he shunned the sight of his acquaintance, and received their congratulations with confusion and blushes. In short, he was struck with remorse for what he had done, grew melancholy, and after leading a life for two years in all the severity of an ascetic, he resolved (as we have seen above) to acknowledge the truth unto death.

Bilney's sufferings, far from shocking the Reformation at *Cambridge*, inspired the leaders of it with new courage. Mr. *Latimer* began now to exert himself more than he had yet done, and succeeded to that credit, which Mr. *Bilney* had so long supported. He constantly preached in Dr. *Barnes's* church, and assisted him in the discharge of his pastoral duty. Among other instances of his zeal and resolution, he gave one which was indeed very remarkable: He had the courage to write to the king against a proclamation then just published, forbidding the use of the bible in *English*, and other books on religious subjects. He had preached before his majesty once or twice at *Windsor*, and had been taken notice of by him in a more affable manner, than that monarch usually indulged towards his subjects. But whatever hopes of preferment his sovereign's favor might have raised in him, he chose to put all to the hazard, rather than omit what he thought his duty. He was generally considered as one of the most eminent of those, who favored protestantism; and therefore thought it became him to be one of the most forward in opposing popery. His letter is the picture of an honest and sincere heart; it was chiefly intended to point to the king the bad intention of the bishops in procuring the proclamation, and concluded in these terms: "Accepted, gracious sovereign, without displeasure, what I
" have

“ have written; I thought it my duty to mention those
 “ things to your majesty. No personal quarrel, as God
 “ shall judge me, have I with any man; I wanted only
 “ to induce your majesty to consider well what kind of
 “ persons you have about you, and the ends for which
 “ they counsel. Indeed, great prince, many of them,
 “ or they are much slandered, have very private ends.
 “ God grant your majesty may see through all the de-
 “ signs of evil men, and be in all things equal to the
 “ high office with which you are intrusted. Wherefore,
 “ gracious king, remember yourself, have pity upon
 “ your own soul, and think that the day is at hand,
 “ when you shall give account of your office, and of
 “ the blood that hath been shed by your sword: In the
 “ which day, that your grace may stand stedfastly, and
 “ not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckon-
 “ ing, and have your pardon sealed with the blood of
 “ our Saviour *Christ*, which alone serveth at that day, is
 “ my daily prayer to HIM, who suffered death for our
 “ sins. The Spirit of God preserve you!”

Though the influence of the popish party then pre-
 vailed so far, that this letter produced no effect: Yet the
 king, no way displeased, received it not only with tem-
 per, but with great condescension, graciously thanking
 him for his well-intended advice. The king loved sin-
 cerity and openness; and Mr. *Latimer*'s plain and simple
 manner had before made a favorable impression upon him,
 which this letter contributed not a little to strengthen;
 and the part he acted in promoting the establishment of
 the king's supremacy, in 1535, rivetted him in the royal
 favor. Dr. *Butts*, the king's physician, being sent to
Cambridge on that occasion, and upon the affair of the
 king's divorce, began immediately to pay his court to the
 protestant party, from whom the king expected most
 unanimity in his favor. Among the first, he made his
 application to Mr. *Latimer*, as a person most likely to
 serve him; begging that he would collect the opinions
 of his friends in the case, and do his utmost to bring
 over those of most eminence, who were still inclined to
 the papacy. Mr. *Latimer*, being a thorough friend to
 the cause he was to solicit, undertook it with his usual
 zeal, and discharged himself so much to the satisfaction
 of the doctor, that, when that gentleman returned to
 court, he took Mr. *Latimer* along with him, in the
 design, no doubt, of procuring him a proper consi-
 deration.

About this time a person was rising into power, who became his chief friend and patron—the lord *Cromwell*, who, being a friend to the Reformation, encouraged of course such churchmen, as most inclined towards it. Among those was Mr. *Latimer*, for whom his patron very soon obtained the benefice of *West-Kingston*, in *Wiltshire*, whither he resolved, as soon as possible, to repair, and keep a constant residence. His friend Dr. *Butts*, surprised at this resolution, did what he could to dissuade him from it: ‘ You are deserting, said he, the fairest opportunities of making your fortune: The prime minister intends this only as an earnest of his future favours, and will certainly in time do great things for you. But it is the manner of courts to consider them as provided for, who seem to be satisfied; and, take my word for it, an absent claimant stands but a poor chance among rivals, who have the advantage of being present.’ Thus the old courtier advised. But these arguments had no weight. He was heartily tired of the court, where he saw so much debauchery and irreligion, without being able to oppose them; having neither authority nor talents, he thought, to reclaim the great. The great design, however, of lord *Cromwell* and Dr. *Butts* in procuring *Latimer* this provision was, to encourage him in assisting them by his oratory among the people, in their business of rendering the king’s supremacy and divorce acceptable to the public. He was then the most diligent and popular preacher in the kingdom, and they wished for the exercise of his talents in and about *London*. But *Latimer*’s views were of another kind. He thirsted for the salvation of souls; and, next to that consideration, he wished to retire from the bustle of a court, where he had with the deepest concern beheld every vice triumphant, and malice, envy, detraction, and vanity, carrying all before them.

He left the palace, therefore, and entered immediately upon the duties of his parish. Nor was he satisfied within those limits; he extended his labors throughout the county, where he observed the pastoral care most neglected, having for that purpose obtained a general licence from the university of *Cambridge*. As his manner of preaching was very popular in those times, the pulpits every where were gladly opened for him; and at *Bristol*, where he often preached, he was much countenanced by the magistrates. But this reputation was too much for the popish clergy to suffer; and their opposition first broke out at *Bristol*. The mayor had appointed him to preach

there on *Easter-day*. Public notice had been given, and all people were pleased; when suddenly there came out an order from the bishop, prohibiting any one to preach there without his licence. The clergy of the place waited upon Mr. *Latimer*, informed him of the bishop's order, and, knowing that he had no such licence, 'were extremely sorry, that they were, by that means, deprived of the pleasure of hearing an excellent discourse from him.' Mr. *Latimer* received their compliment with a smile; for he had been apprized of the affair, and well knew, that *these* were the very persons who had written to the bishop against him.

Their opposition became afterwards more public; the pulpits were made use of to spread their invectives against him, and such liberties were taken with his character, that he thought it necessary to justify himself, and accordingly called upon his maligners to accuse him publicly before the mayor of *Bristol*: And, with all men of candor, he was justified; for when that magistrate convened both parties, and put the accusers upon producing legal proof of what they had said, nothing of that kind appeared; but the whole accusation was left to rest upon the uncertain evidence of some hearsay information.

His enemies however were not thus silenced. The party against him became daily stronger, and more inflamed. It consisted, in general, of the country priests in those parts, headed by some divines of more eminence. These persons, after mature deliberation, drew up articles against him, extracted chiefly from his sermons; in which he was charged with speaking lightly of "the worship of saints;" with saying, "there was no material fire in hell," and that "he would rather be in purgatory than in *Lollard's* tower." This charge being laid before the bishop of *London*, that prelate cited Mr. *Latimer* to appear before him; and, when he appealed to his own ordinary, a citation was obtained out of *Warham's* (the archbishop's) court, where the bishop of *London* and some other bishops were commissioned to examine him.

An archiepiscopal citation brought him necessarily to a compliance. His friends would have had him fly from it; but their persuasions were in vain. He set out for *London* in the depth of winter, and under a severe fit of the stone and cholic, and in the sixty-sixth year of his age; but he was more distressed at the thoughts of leaving his parish exposed to the popish clergy, who he feared might undo in his absence and detention, what he had hitherto

hitherto done. On his arrival at *London*, a court of bishops and canonists were ready to receive him; where, instead of being examined, as he expected, about his sermons, a paper was put into his hands, which he was ordered to subscribe, declaring his belief in the efficacy of masses for the souls in purgatory, of prayers to the dead saints, of pilgrimages to their sepulchres and relics, the pope's power to forgive sins, the doctrine of merit, the seven sacraments, and the worship of images: And, when he refused to sign it, the archbishop, with a frown, begged he would consider what he did. 'We intend not,' says he, Mr. *Latimer*, to be hard upon you; we dismiss you for the present; take a copy of the articles, examine them carefully, and God grant that, at our next meeting, we may find each other in better temper.' The next and several succeeding meetings, the same scene was acted over again. *He* continued inflexible; and *they* continued to distress him. Three times every week they regularly sent for him, with a view either to draw something from him by captious questions, or to teize him at length into compliance. Of one of these examinations he gives us the following account: "I was brought out," says he, to be examined in the same chamber as before; but, at this time, it was somewhat altered: For, whereas, before, there was a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the chimney, and the table stood near the chimney's end. There was, among these bishops that examined me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and whom I took for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the table-end. Then, among other questions, he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one; and when I should make answer: 'I pray you, Mr. *Latimer*, said he, speak out, I am very thick of hearing, and there be many that sit far off.' I marvelled at this, that I was bidden to speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney; and there I heard a pen plainly scratching behind the cloth.—They had appointed one there to write all my answers, that I should not start from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me answers; I could never else have escaped them." At length he was tired out with such usage; and, when he was next summoned, instead of going himself, he sent a letter to the archbishop; in which, with great freedom, he tells him, that the treatment he had of late met with, had fretted him into such a disorder, as rendered him unfit

to attend that day—that, in the mean time, he could not help taking this opportunity to expostulate with his grace, for detaining him so long from the discharge of his duty—that it seemed to him most unaccountable, that they, who never preached themselves, should hinder others—that, as for their examination of him, he really could not imagine what they aimed at; they pretended one thing in the beginning, and another in the progress—that, if his sermons were what gave offence, which he persuaded himself were neither contrary to the truth, nor to any canon of the church, he was ready to answer whatever might be thought exceptionable in them—that he wished a little more regard might be had to the judgement of the people; and that a distinction might be made between the ordinances of God and man—that if some abuses in religion did prevail, as was then commonly supposed, he thought preaching was the best means to discountenance them—that he wished all pastors might be *obliged* to perform their duty; but that, however, liberty might be given to those who were *willing*—that, as for the articles proposed to him, he begged to be excused from subscribing them; while he lived, he never would abet superstition; and that, lastly, he hoped the archbishop would excuse what he had written—he knew his duty to his superiors, and would practise it; but, in that case, he thought a stronger obligation laid upon him.

The bishops still continued their persecution, till their schemes were frustrated by an unexpected hand. The king being informed, most probably by lord *Cromwell's* means, of Mr. *Latimer's* ill usage, interposed in his behalf, and rescued him out of the hands of his enemies. A figure of so much simplicity, and such an apostolic appearance as his at court, did not fail to strike queen *Ann Boleyn*, who was the favorite wife of *Henry*, and a great friend to the reformed religion. This unfortunate queen mentioned him to her friends, as a person, in her opinion, as well qualified, as any she had seen, to forward the Reformation; the principles of which she had imbibed from her youth. Lord *Cromwell* raised our preacher still higher in her esteem, and they both joined in an earnest recommendation of him for a bishopric to the king, who remembering probably the sincerity of his letter to him did not want much solicitation in his favor. It happened that the sees of *Worcester* and *Salisbury* were at that time vacant, by the deprivation of *Ghinuccii* and *Campegio* two *Italian* bishops, who fell under the king's displeasure

upon his rupture with *Rome*. The former of these was offered to *Latimer*; and, as he had been at no pains to procure this promotion, he looked upon it as the work of providence, and accepted it without much persuasion. Indeed he had met with so very rough a check already, as a private clergyman, and saw before him so hazardous a prospect in his old station, that he thought it necessary, both for his own safety, and for the sake of being of more service to the gospel, to avail himself of such an acquisition of refuge and of power. Accordingly, his enemies were disconcerted in their malevolence, and *Latimer* being out of their power, they quitted all thoughts of molestation for the present.

All the historians of these times mention him as a person remarkably zealous in the discharge of his new office, and tell us, that, in overlooking the clergy of his diocese, he was uncommonly active, warm and resolute, and presided in his ecclesiastical court in the same spirit. In writing, he was frequent and observant; in ordaining strict and wary; in preaching indefatigable; in reproof and exhorting severe and persuasive. Thus far he could act with authority; but in other things he found himself under difficulties. The popish ceremonies gave him great offence; and he neither durst, in times so dangerous and unsettled, lay them entirely aside, nor, on the other hand, was he willing entirely to retain them. In this dilemma, his address was admirable; he inquired into their origin, and when he found any of them, as some were, derived from a good meaning, he took care to inculcate their original, though itself a corruption, in the room of a more corrupt practice. Thus, he put the people in mind, when holy bread and water were distributed, that these elements, which had long been thought endowed with a kind of magical influence, were nothing more than appendages to the two sacraments of the Lord's Supper and Baptism. The former, he said, reminded us of *Christ's* death; and the latter was only a simple representation of being purified from sin. By thus reducing popery to its first principles, he improved in some measure, a bad stock, by lopping from it some fruitless excrescences.

While his endeavors to reform were thus confined to his diocese, he was called upon to exert them in a more public manner, by a summons to parliament and convocation, in 1536. This session was thought a crisis by the protestant party; at the head of which stood the lord *Cromwell*, whose favor with the king was now in its meridian.

ridian. Next to him in power was *Cranmer*, archbishop of *Canterbury*; after whom our bishop of *Worcester* was the most considerable man; to whom were added the bishops of *Ely*, *Rochester*, *Hereford*, *Salisbury*, and *St. David's*. On the other hand, the popish party was headed by *Lee*, archbishop of *York*, *Gardiner*, *Stokesley*, and *Tunstal*, bishops of *Winchester*, *London*, and *Durham*.

The convocation was opened on the ninth of *June*, and, as usual, by a sermon, or rather an oration, spoken at the appointment of *Cranmer* by our good bishop of *Worcester*, whose eloquence was at this time every where famous. Many warm debates passed in this assembly, the result whereof was, that four sacraments out of the seven were concluded to be insignificant. But, as the bishop of *Worcester* made no figure in them, for debating was not his talent; it is beside the purpose of this memoir to enter into a detail of the several transactions of it. We shall only add, that an animated attempt was at this time made to get him and *Cromwell* stigmatized by some public censure; but they were too well established to fear any open attack from their enemies.

In the mean while, the bishop of *Worcester*, highly satisfied with the prospect of the times, repaired to his diocese, having made no longer stay in *London* than was absolutely necessary. He had no talents, and he knew he had none, for state affairs; and therefore he meddled not with them. It is upon that account, that bishop *Burnet* speaks in a very slight manner of his public character at this time: But it is certain, that he never desired to appear in any public character at all. His whole ambition was to discharge the pastoral functions of a bishop, neither aiming to display the abilities of a statesman, nor those of a courtier. How very unqualified he was to support the latter of the characters, will sufficiently appear from the following story.—It was the custom in those days for the bishops to make presents to the king on new-year's-day, and many of them would present very liberally, proportioning their gifts to their expectancies. Among the rest, the bishop of *Worcester*, being at this time in town, waited upon the king with his offering; but, instead of a purse of gold, which was the common oblation, he presented a New Testament, with a leaf doubled down, in a very conspicuous manner, to this passage: *Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge*.

Henry VIII. made as little use of a good judgement, as any man ever did. His whole reign was one continued
rotation

rotation of violent passions, which rendered him a mere machine in the hands of his ministers; and he among them, who could make the most artful address to the passion of the day, carried his point. *Gardiner*, bishop of *Winchester*, was just returned from *Germany*, having successfully negotiated some commissions, which the king had greatly at heart. In 1539, when the parliament was called to confirm the seizure and surrendry of the monasteries, that subtle minister took his opportunity, and succeeded in prevailing upon his majesty to do something towards restoring the old religion, as being most advantageous for his views in the present situation of *Europe*.

In this state of affairs, the bishop of *Worcester* received his summons to parliament, and, soon after his arrival in town, he was accused before the king of preaching a seditious sermon. The sermon was preached at court; and the preacher, according to his custom, had been unquestionably severe enough (or rather conscientiously faithful) against whatever he observed amiss. The king had called together several bishops, with a view to consult them upon some points of religion. When they had all given their opinions, and were about to be dismissed, the bishop of *Winchester* (for it was most probably he) kneeled down and accused the bishop of *Worcester* as above mentioned. The bishop being called upon by the king, with some sternness, to vindicate himself, was so far from denying, or even palliating, what he had said, that he boldly justified it; and turning to the king, with that noble unconcern, which a good conscience inspires, made this answer: "I never thought myself worthy, nor did I ever sue to be a preacher before your grace; but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you dislike it, to give place to my betters; for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room, than I am. And if it be your grace's pleasure to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire you to give me leave to discharge my conscience, and to frame my doctrine, according to my audience. I had been a very dolt indeed, to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace." The greatness of this answer baffled his accuser's malice; the severity of the king's countenance changed into a gracious smile, and the bishop was dismissed with that obliging freedom, which this monarch never used but to those whom he esteemed.

In

In the year 1538, the bible was published, by the royal authority, in *English*; and as our bishop daily preached up the necessity of a translation in the vulgar tongue, we may justly conclude, he had no little hand in it. The king commissioned only *Grafton* the printer to print it, and he printed fifteen hundred of them at his own charge; and the king by proclamation, according to the advice of archbishop *Cranmer*, and also of *Latimer*, allowed every one to read it. *Cromwell* procured this great privilege; and ‘*Cranmer* publicly rejoiced to see this day of Reformation, which he concluded was risen now in *England*, since the light of God’s word did shine over it without any cloud.’ This he declared in a letter to *Cromwell*.

Latimer was a true bishop indeed! for he not only preached the gospel of *Christ* faithfully and diligently, but he watched over his diocese, and took care, if possible, to right all those poor persons who were imposed upon or hardly used by their great and wealthy overbearing neighbors. It seems, says *Fox*, there lived a certain gentleman in *Warwickshire*, in that part of it which lies within the diocese of *Worcester*, who had wronged a poor man his neighbor, though he had kept within the literal sense of the law. The gentlemen had a large estate in the county, and his brother was also in the commission of the peace; and these two over-awed and cowed the whole neighborhood, for many miles round. The poor man, not knowing what to do, at length applied to his own diocefan, told him the whole story, and the manner in which he was oppressed. *Latimer* heard, pitied the poor man’s case, and promised him he would, if possible, see him redressed. Whereupon *Latimer* wrote a very long letter to the parties, reproved them sharply for the injury they had done the man, and required them speedily to do him justice. They replied to the bishop, and told him; ‘They had done only what was right, and would abide by it: That as for the sufferer the law was open; and as for his lordship, they could not but think he interfered very impertinently in an affair which did not concern him.’ *Latimer* never espoused a cause but he would go through with it; and therefore, finding that the gentlemen did not proceed readily to right his client, as we may call the poor man, he sent them a second letter, acquainting them in few words: “That if the cause of complaint was not forthwith removed, he certainly would himself lay the whole affair before the king.” This *Latimer* certainly would have done, (as he was then going

going to *London* on the following occasion) if he had not been prevented, by their making the poor man that restitution and satisfaction he required.

As *Latimer* was the champion of the doctrine of the king's supremacy, he was, about this time, sent for to *London*, in order to reclaim one *Forrest*, an observant friar, who had denied the king's supremacy, and also the gospel. *Latimer* did all that lay in his power, and studied every way he could imagine to cause the friar to recant; for, it seems, *Henry* had, till he denied his supremacy, a very great respect for him. However, *Forrest* could not by any arguments or persuasions be induced to recant, and therefore the day came when he was to be put to death in *Smithfield*. The lords of the council came thither, on the day, to offer *Forrest* his pardon, if he would abjure. *Latimer* also, on this occasion, preached a sermon, wherein he endeavored to confute his errors, and begged of him to recant; but he continued still in his former opinions. He was hanged to the stake with a great chain about his middle, and so was burnt.

About this time *Latimer*, together with eighteen other bishops, all that were then in *England*, drew up and signed a declaration against the pope's ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which concludes with these words: 'That the people ought to be instructed, that *Christ* did expressly forbid his apostles or their successors to take to themselves the power of the sword, or the authority of kings; and that if the bishop of *Rome*, or any other bishop, assumed such power, he was a tyrant and an usurper of other men's rights, and a subverter of the kingdom of *Christ*.'

Soon after another declaration was drawn up and signed by our bishop and seven others, to shew, 'That, by the commission which *Christ* gave to churchmen, they were only ministers of his gospel, to instruct the people in the purity of the faith: But that, by other places of scripture, the authority of Christian princes, over all their subjects, as well bishops and priests, as others, was also clear. And that the bishops and priests have charge of souls within their cures; power to administer sacraments, and to teach the word of God: To the which word of God, Christian princes acknowledge themselves subject; and that in case the bishops be negligent, it is the Christian prince's office to see them do their duty.'

This year also the priory of *Great Malverne* (now written *Malverin* major in *Eaton*) in *Worcestershire*, was suppressed. At the suppression, *Latimer* with an earnest desire recommended to *Cromwell*, who was the king's vicar-general, that that house might stand, not in monkery, but so as to be converted to preaching, study and prayer. And the good prior was willing to compound for his house by a present of five hundred marks to the king, and of two hundred to *Cromwell*. He is commended for being an old worthy man, a good house-keeper, and one that daily fed many poor people. To this *Latimer* adds, his farther desire and recommendation to the vicar-general, "Alas, my good Lord! shall we not see two or three in every shire, changed to such remedy." He wished, but in vain; the monastries were dissolved, and the money misapplied. Indeed *Cranmer* and *Latimer* wanted their lands and riches to be applied to found seminaries in every cathedral, for the training up youth for the ministry, under the eye and tuition of every bishop, to be transplanted into the several cures in each diocese as occasion served.

In this parliament passed the famous act, as it was called, of the six articles; which was no sooner published, than it gave an universal alarm to all favorers of the Reformation*; and, as the bishop of *Worcester* could not give his vote for the act, he thought it wrong to hold any office in a church, where such terms of communion were required. He therefore resigned his bishopric†, and retired into the country, where he resided during the heat of that persecution which followed upon this act; and thought of nothing for the remainder of his days but a sequestered life. He knew the storm, which was up, could not soon be appeased, and he had no inclination to trust himself in it. But, in the midst of his security, an unhappy accident carried him again into the tempestuous

* These articles were, 1. In the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remains no substance of bread and wine, but the natural body and blood of *Christ*. 2. Vows of chastity ought to be observed. 3. The use of private masses is to be continued. 4. Communion in both kinds is not necessary. 5. Priests must not marry. 6. Auricular confession is to be retained in the church.

† It is related of him, that when he came from the parliament-house to his lodgings, he threw off his robes, and leaping up, declared to those who stood about him, that he thought himself lighter than ever he found himself before. The story is not unlikely, as it is much in character; a vein of pleasantry and good humour accompanying the most serious actions of his life.

weather that was abroad. He received a bruise by the fall of a tree, and the contusion was so dangerous, that he was obliged to seek out for better assistance than could be afforded him by the unskilful surgeons of those parts. With this view he repaired to *London*; where he had the sorrow to see the fall of his patron, the lord *Cromwell*; a loss which he was soon made sensible of. *Gardiner's* emissaries quickly found him out in his concealment, and something, that *somebody* had *somewhere* heard him say against the six articles, being alledged against him, he was sent to the tower; where, without any judicial examination, he suffered, through one pretence or another, a cruel imprisonment for the remaining six years of king *Henry's* reign.

He was now in the seventy-first year of his age. Here *Latimer* was confined, together with the bishop of *Chichester*, but not so strictly as that his friends might not come and see, and converse with him. Neither *Henry*, nor *Gardiner*, had any design on his life; but the king had done with him, that is to say, *Latimer* had served his majesty's purpose in establishing the grand and fundamental doctrine of his supremacy in *England* over all persons as well ecclesiastical as civil; and this prince was of so ungrateful a temper that he cared not afterwards for the man who had faithfully served him; and this doth most flagrantly appear in his beheading Sir *Thomas More*, his cruel usage of *Wolsey*, and his barbarous, illegal and unjust treatment of *Cromwell*.

Our good bishop therefore, considering the disposition of king *Henry*, had mild usage; but here he lived himself, he says, "in the daily expectation of being called to be put to death, because at this time there was held a session in *Newgate* once every three weeks, and executions were as frequent." This he tells us in his fourth sermon preached before king *Edward VI.* at which time he begs of the king, that as there was then no particular person, as he whom we now call ordinary, to instruct and pray with the unhappy criminals, there might be some one appointed thereto of learning and diligence; for, continues he, "many of them are cast away for want of instruction, and die in misery for lack of preaching." And on this occasion, and in this reign, a chaplain was appointed to do the abovementioned duties; and therefore it may justly be concluded, that this office was constituted pursuant to his advice.

In the discharge of his episcopal duty, we are told by the historians of this time, that he was remarkably and exemplarily zealous. He was a right bishop, a *Paul*, a *Timothy*, a *Titus*, and as such he continually overlooked his clergy, exciting them to perform the duties of their functions, and he took care, at least, to oblige them to a legal performance of preaching, administration of the sacraments, visitation of the sick, and prisoners, &c.—There was no part of his diocese but he visited, not in a superficial and customary manner, but rather in the primitive and apostolic mode. With the same resolution he presided in his own courts, and he either rooted out such crimes as were there cognizable, or drove them into holes and corners. He never ordained any person to the sacred offices, but such as he examined himself, and knew to be duly qualified.

Immediately upon the change of government under king *Edward VI.* he and all others, who were imprisoned in the same cause, were set at liberty; and bishop *Latimer*, whose old friends were now in power, was received by them with every mark of affection; and he would have found no difficulty in dispossessing *Heath*, in every respect an insignificant man, who had succeeded to his bishopric: But he had other sentiments; he neither would make suit himself, nor suffer his friends to make any for his restoration. However, this was done by the parliament, who, after settling the national concerns, sent up an address to the protector to restore him. The protector was very well inclined, and proposed the resumption to Mr. *Latimer*, as a point which he had very much at heart; but *Latimer* persevered in the negative, alledging his great age, and the claim he had from thence to a private life. And it may be readily believed, that no man ever said *Nolo episcopari*, with more sincerity.

Having thus rid himself of all entreaty on this head, he accepted an invitation from his friend archbishop *Cranmer*, and took up his residence at *Lambeth*, where he led a very retired life, being chiefly employed in hearing the complaints and redressing the injuries of poor people. And indeed his character, for services of this kind, was so universally known, that strangers from every part of *England* would resort to him; so that he had as crowded a levee as a minister of state. And sure no one was better qualified to undertake the office of redressing injuries: His free reproofs, joined to the integrity of his life, had a great effect upon those in the highest stations; while
his

his own independence and backwardness of asking any favor for himself, allowed him greater liberty in asking for others.

In these employments he spent more than two years, interfering as little as possible in any public transaction, only he assisted the archbishop in composing the homilies which were set forth by authority in the first year of king *Edward*: He was also appointed to preach the lent sermons before his majesty; which office he performed during the three first years of his reign.

As to his sermons, which are still extant, they are indeed far enough from being exact pieces of composition; yet his simplicity and low familiarity, his humor and glib drollery, were well adapted to the times; and his oratory, according to the mode of eloquence at that day, was exceedingly popular. His action and manner of preaching too were very affecting; and no wonder, for he spoke immediately from his heart. His abilities, however, as an orator, made only the inferior part of his character as a preacher: What particularly recommends him is that noble and apostolic zeal, which he exerts in the cause of truth.

But in the discharge of this duty a slander passed upon him, which being taken up by a low historian of those times, hath found its way into these. The matter of it is, that, after the lord high admiral's attainder and execution, which happened about this time, he publicly defended his death in a sermon before the king; that he aspersed his character; and that he did it merely to pay a servile compliment to the protector. The first part of the charge is true; but the second and third are false. As to his aspersing the admiral's character; his character was so bad, there was no room for aspersion: His treasonable practices too were notorious, and though the proceeding against him by a bill in parliament, according to the custom of those times, may be deemed inequitable; yet he paid no more than a due forfeit to the laws of his country. However, his death occasioned great clamour, and was made use of by the lords of the opposition (for he left a very dissatisfied party behind him) as a handle to raise a popular odium against the protector, for whom Mr. *Latimer* had always a high esteem. He was mortified, therefore, to see so invidious and base an opposition, thwarting the schemes of so public-spirited a man; and endeavored to lessen the odium, by shewing the admiral's character

character in its true light, from some anecdotes not commonly known.

Upon the revolution which happened at court, after the death of the duke of *Somerſet*, *Latimer* ſeems to have retired into the country, and made uſe of the king's licence as a general preacher in thoſe parts, where he thought his labors might be moſt ſerviceable. He was thus employed during the remainder of that reign, and continued in the ſame courſe, for a ſhort time, in the beginning of the next*; but as ſoon as the introduction of popery was reſolved on, the firſt ſtep towards it was the prohibition of all preaching throughout the kingdom, and a licenſing only ſuch as were known to be popiſhly inclined. Accordingly, a ſtrict inquiry was made after the more forward and popular preachers; and many of them were taken into cuſtody. The biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who was now prime miniſter, having proſcribed Mr. *Latimer* from the firſt, ſent a meſſage to cite him before the council. He had notice of this deſign, ſome hours before the meſſenger's arrival; but he made no uſe of the intelligence. The meſſenger found him equipped for his journey; at which expreſſing his ſurprize, Mr. *Latimer* told him, that he was as ready to attend him to *London*, thus called upon to answer for his faith, as he ever was to take any journey in his life; and that he doubted not but that God, who had enabled him to ſtand before two princes, would enable him to ſtand before a third, either to her comfort or diſcomfort eternally. The meſſenger then acquainting him, that he had no orders to ſeize his perſon, delivered a letter, and departed. Hence ſome have imagined, that the ſecret deſign of thus ſerving on him a citation was to drive him out of the kingdom, that ſo they might get rid of him, 'left (ſays Mr. *Fox*) his firmneſs and conſtancy ſhould deface them in their popery, and confirm the godly in the truth.'

* Mr. *Fox* ſays, that in all king *Edward's* days, he travelled up and down, preaching for the moſt part twice every Sunday, to the no ſmall ſhame of all other loitering and unpreaching prelates, who occupy great rooms, and do little good: He took little eaſe and care of ſparing himſelf, to do the people good. And notwithstanding his great age, he would, in the purſuit of his private ſtudies, every morning, commonly through winter and ſummer, ariſe and moſt diligently apply himſelf thereto. At king *Edward's* death, which occurred on the ſixth of *July*, 1553, *Latimer* was in the country preaching there as opportunity and occaſion led him; going about, in imitation of the apoſtles, ſtrengthening the people every where in the proteſtant faith and principles.

Mr.

Mr. *Latimer*, however, opening the letter, and finding it to contain a citation from the council, resolved to obey it. He set out therefore immediately, and as he passed through *Smithfield*, where heretics were usually burnt, he said chearfully, “*Smithfield* hath long groaned for me.” The next morning he waited upon the council, who, having treated him rudely, and loaded him with many severe reproaches, sent him to the *Tower*.

This was but a repetition of a former part of his life; only he *now* met with harsher treatment, and had more frequent occasion to exercise his resignation, which perhaps few men possessed in a larger measure; nay, even the usual chearfulness of his disposition did not now forsake him, of which we have one instance still remaining. A servant leaving his apartment in the *Tower*, Mr. *Latimer* called after him, and bade him tell his master, that unless he took better care of him, he would certainly escape him. Upon this message, the lieutenant, with some discomposure in his countenance, came to Mr. *Latimer*, and desired an explanation. “Why, you expect, I suppose, sir, replied Mr. *Latimer*, that I should be burnt; but if you do not allow me a little fire this frosty weather, I can tell you, I shall be starved to death with cold.”

Cranmer and *Ridley* were also prisoners in the same cause with *Latimer*; and when it was resolved to have a public disputation at *Oxford*, between the most eminent of the popish and protestant divines; these three were appointed to manage the dispute on the part of the protestants. Accordingly, they were taken out of the *Tower*, where they had lain all the winter of 1553, and sent to *Oxford*, in the spring of 1554; where they were closely confined in the common prison; and they might easily imagine how free the disputation was likely to be, when they found themselves denied the use even of books and pen and ink.

Mr. *Fox* has preserved a conference, afterwards put into writing, which was held at this time between *Ridley* and *Latimer*, which sets our author's temper in a strong light. The two bishops are represented sitting in their prison, ruminating upon the solemn preparations then making for their trial, of which, probably, they were now first informed. *Ridley* first. “The time (said he) is now come; we are now called upon, either to deny our faith, or to suffer death in its defence. You, Mr. *Latimer*, are an old soldier of *Christ*, and have frequently

quently withstood the fear of death; whereas I am raw in the service and unexperienced.' With this preface he introduces a request, that Mr. *Latimer*, whom he calls his father, would hear him propose such arguments, as he thinks it most likely his adversaries would urge against him, and assist him with providing himself with proper answers to them.

To this, Mr. *Latimer*, in his usual strain of good humour, replied; that he fancied the good bishop was treating him; as he remembered Mr. *Bilney* used formerly to do; who, when he wanted to teach him, would always do it under colour of being taught himself. "But, in the present case; (said he) my lord, I am determined to give them very little trouble; I shall just offer them a plain account of my faith, and shall say very little more; for I know any thing more will be to no purpose. They talk of a free disputation; but I am well assured their grand argument will be, as it once was their forefathers, *We have a law, and by our law ye ought to die.*"—Bishop *Ridley* having afterwards desired his prayers, that he might trust wholly upon God. "Of my prayers, (replied the old bishop) you may be well assured; nor do I doubt but I shall have yours in return: And indeed prayer and patience should be our great resources. For myself, had I the learning of *St. Paul*, I should think it ill laid out upon an elaborate defence: Yet our case, my lord, admits of comfort. Our enemies can do no more than God permits; and God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength. Be at a point with them; stand to that; and let them say and do what they please. To use many words would be vain: Yet it is requisite to give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you. For other things, in a wicked judgement-hall, a man may keep silence after the example of *Christ*. As for their sophistry, you know falsehood may often be displayed in the colours of truth. But, above all things, be upon your guard against the fear of death: This is THE GREAT ARGUMENT you must oppose.—Poor *Shaxton*! it is to be feared, this argument had the greatest weight in his recantation. But let us be steadfast and unmoveable, assuring ourselves, that we cannot be more happy, than by being such *Philippians*, as not only believe in *Christ*, but dare to suffer for his sake." Agreeably to this noble fortitude did our martyr behave himself, through this dispute; wherein,

wherein, though much artifice was used for the purpose, he never could be drawn into any formal reasoning with his adversaries. Mr. *Addison* greatly admires his behavior on this occasion, but does not assign the true cause of it. ‘ This remarkable old man (says he) knowing how his abilities were impaired by age, and that it was impossible for him to recollect all those reasons which had directed him in the choice of his religion, left his companions, who were in the full possession of their parts and learning, to baffle and confound their antagonists by the force of reason: As for himself, he only repeated to his adversaries the articles in which he firmly believed, and in the profession of which he was determined to die.’—The truth is, he knew it would answer no end to be more explicit.

However, he answered their questions as far as civility required, and in these answers it is observable he managed the argument much better than either *Ridley* or *Cranmer*, who, when they were pressed in defence of transubstantiation, with some passages from the fathers, instead of disavowing an insufficient authority, weakly defended a good cause, evading and distinguishing after the manner of schoolmen. Whereas, when the same proofs were multiplied upon *Latimer*, he told them plainly, that such proofs had no weight with him; that the fathers, no doubt, were often deceived, and that he never depended upon *them*, but when *they* depended upon scripture. ‘ Then you are not of St. *Chrysostom*’s faith, (replied his antagonist) nor of St. *Austin*’s.’—“ I have told you (says Mr. *Latimer*) I am not; except they bring scripture for what they say.” The dispute being ended, sentence was passed upon him in the beginning of *October*; and he and *Ridley* were executed on the sixteenth. When they came to the stake, *Latimer* lift up his eyes with a sweet and amiable countenance, saying, *Fidelis est Deus*, &c. i. e. God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted above that which we are able. When they were brought to the fire, on a spot of ground on the north side of *Baliol College*; where, after an abusive sermon, being told by an officer they might now make ready for the stake, Mr. *Latimer*, having thrown off his prison attire, appeared in a shroud prepared for the purpose; ‘ and whereas before (says Mr. *Fox*) he seemed a withered and crooked old man, he stood now bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold.’ Being thus ready, he recommended his soul to God, and delivered

vered himself to the executioner, saying to the bishop of *London*, "We shall this day, brother, light such a candle in *England*, as shall never be put out."

It is said, that as he was burning, the blood ran from his heart in such abundance, that it astonished the spectators, and brought to mind what he had before wished, that he might be so happy as to shed his heart's blood for the truth. When the fire was first kindled, he cried, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul;" and so receiving the flame, and (as it seemed) embracing it, and having stroked his face with his hands and bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died without the least appearance of suffering pain.

Such was the death of *Hugh Latimer*, bishop of *Worcester*, one of the leaders of that noble army of martyrs, who introduced the Reformation in *England*. He had a happy temper, improved by the best principles; and such was his chearfulness, that none of the circumstances of life were seen to discompose him. Such was his Christian fortitude, that not even the severest trials could unman him; he had a collected spirit, and on no occasion wanted a resource; he could retire within himself, feel the support of a gracious Master, and hold the world at defiance.

And, as danger could not daunt, so neither could ambition allure him. Though conversant in courts, and intimate with princes, he preserved to the last a rare instance of moderation in his original plainness. In his profession he was indefatigable: And, that he might bestow as much time as possible on the active part of it, he allowed himself only those hours for his private studies, when the busy world is at rest; constantly rising, at all seasons of the year, by two in the morning. How conscientious he was in the discharge of the public parts of his office, we have many examples. No man could persuade more forcibly; no man could exert, on proper occasions, a more commanding severity. The wicked, in whatever station, he rebuked with dignity, and awed vice more than a penal law.

He was not esteemed a very learned man, for he cultivated only useful learning, and that he thought lay in a very narrow compass. He never engaged in worldly affairs, thinking that a clergyman ought to employ himself *only* in his profession. Thus he lived, rather a good, than what the world calls a great man. He had not those commanding talents which give superiority in business; but, for honesty and sincerity of heart, for true simplicity

of



From an original Painting.

of manners, for apostolic zeal in the cause of religion, and for every virtue, both of a public and private kind, that should adorn the life of a Christian; he was eminent and exemplary beyond most men of his own or of any other time; well deserving that evangelical commendation, *with the testimony of a good conscience in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, he had his conversation in the world.*

NICHOLAS RIDLEY,

BISHOP OF LONDON.

THIS most learned of all our *English* martyrs, was born, of an antient and worthy family at *Willymondswyke*, in *Northumberland*. He was educated in grammatical learning at *Newcastle upon Tyne*; from thence he was removed to *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge*, at the expence of his uncle *Dr. Robert Ridley*, about the year 1518, when *Luther* was preaching against indulgences in *Germany*. Here he acquired a great proficiency in the *Latin* and *Greek* tongues, and in the other learning of that time. His reputation was such, as to procure him the esteem of the other university, as well as of his own; for in the beginning of 1524, the master and fellows of *University College*, in *Oxford*, invited him to accept of an exhibition, founded by *Walter Skyrley*, bishop of *Durham*, which he declined. The next year he took his master's degree, and was appointed by the college their general agent in some causes relating to it.

His uncle was now willing to add to his attainments, the advantages of travel, and the improvement of foreign universities; and as his studies were now directed to divinity, he sent him to spend some time among the doctors of the *Sorbonne* at *Paris*, (which was then the most celebrated university in *Europe*) and afterwards among the professors of *Louvain*. Having staid three years abroad, viz. the years, 1527, 1528, 1529, he returned to *Cambridge*, and pursued his theological studies; and as his safest guide in them, diligently applied himself to the read-

ing of the scriptures in the original; and in a walk in the orchard at *Pembroke-Hall*, which is to this day called *Ridley's-Walk*, he got to repeat without book almost all the epistles in *Greek*.

His behavior here was very obliging, and very pious, without hypocrisy or monkish austerity: For very often he would shoot in the bow, or play at tennis: And he was eminent for the great charities he bestowed. He was senior proctor of the university, when the important point of the pope's supremacy came before them to be examined upon the authority of scripture: And their resolution, after mature deliberation, 'That the bishop of *Rome* had 'no more authority or jurisdiction derived to him from 'God, in this kingdom of *England*, than any other foreign bishop,' was signed in the name of the university by *Simon Heynes*, vice chancellor, *Nicholas Ridley*, *Richard Wilkes*, proctors. He lost his uncle in 1536, but the education he had received, and the improvements he had made, soon recommended him to another and greater patron, *Cranmer*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, who appointed him his domestic chaplain, and collated him to the vicarage of *Herne* in *East Kent*. He bore his testimony in the pulpit here against the act of the six articles; and instructed his charge in the pure doctrines of the gospel, as far as they were yet discovered to him; but transubstantiation was at this time an article of his creed. During his retirement at this place, he read a little treatise written seven hundred years before, by *Ratramus* or *Bertram*, a monk of *Cerbey*. This first opened *Ridley's* eyes, and determined him more accurately to search the scriptures on this article, and the doctrine of the primitive fathers. His discoveries he communicated to his patron, and the event was the conviction of them both, that this doctrine was novel and erroneous.

After he had staid about two years at *Herne*, he was chosen master of *Pembroke-Hall*, and appointed chaplain to the king; and the cathedral church of *Canterbury* being made collegiate, he obtained the fifth prebendal stall in it; and such was his courage and zeal for the Reformation, that, next to the archbishop, he was thought to be its greatest support among the clergy. In the succeeding reign of *Edward VI.* when a royal visitation was resolved on through the kingdom, he attended the visitors of the northern circuit as their preacher, to instruct that part of the nation, in the principles of religion. 'His character, at this time, (says his biographer *Dr. Ridley*)

‘ was that of a celebrated disputant, a favourite preacher,
 ‘ undoubting in the article of transubstantiation, a zeal-
 ‘ ous scripturist, and particularly well acquainted with
 ‘ the fathers.’

It was not before the year 1545, that *Ridley* was convinced of the error, which prevailed, concerning *Christ's* corporal presence in the sacrament. The sufferings and arguments of *Frith*, *Tindale*, *Lambert*, and others, made such strong impressions, during his retirement at *Herne* about this time, that, by the grace of God, they ended in his conviction of the truth of their doctrine.

He was made chaplain to king *Edward VI.* consecrated bishop of *Rochester* in 1547, and translated to *London* on the deprivation of *Bonner* in 1550: But he died in the flames at *Oxford* in 1555.

Ridley, of all the reforming divines of that time, approached the nearest to the church of *England* in her present doctrines and discipline. His notions of ecclesiastical polity were high, but in general just; and, in the œconomy of the church, he allowed an equitable regard to the authority of the state. He saw, and avoided, but could bear with the errors of all parties among the reformed; while the dignity, the affability, and the modesty of his behavior, gave him a general esteem with all ranks of men.

The church of *Rome* had laid such a stress on the indispensable necessity of the sacraments, that the people were taught to believe, that by the very action itself, without the inward grace, they were sufficient to justification, unless the receiver himself prevented it; and this seems to have given rise to the homilies about justification. Public disputations were held in both universities, between the Reformers and the papists, concerning the real presence of *Christ* in the sacrament. *Ridley* was sent to *Cambridge*, with some other delegates, where a disputation was held for three days together, to prove, that transubstantiation was not to be found in the plain and manifest words of scripture, nor could necessarily be collected from it, nor confirmed by the consent of the antient fathers; and that there is no other sacrifice and oblation in the Lord's Supper, than of a remembrance of *Christ's* death, and of thanksgiving. The debate was summed up with a great deal of temper and learning by bishop *Ridley*, in a strong determination against the corporal presence. The truth is, he was then master of that subject more than any man of the age; for having met with a book of *Ber-*
tram's

tram's in the ninth century, in which he, who was much esteemed, had confuted this notion of the presence of *Christ's* real flesh and blood in the sacrament, the bishop concluded (as we have observed before) that it was not the antient doctrine of the church, but had been introduced with other errors and superstitions in the later centuries. He communicated this discovery to his friend archbishop *Cranmer*, soon afterwards, and they set themselves to examine it with more than common care; making great collections out of the fathers, and other antient writers, to prove the novelty and the absurdity of the opinion. They shewed, that all the high expressions which were to be found in *Chrysostom*, and other antient writers on this subject, were only strains and figures of eloquence, to raise the devotion of the people in this holy ceremony; though the following ages had built their opinion on these expressions, and were disposed to believe every thing the more readily as it appeared above all belief. But this opinion of the real presence having been so generally received in *England*, above three hundred years, these eminent Reformers proceeded gradually in discussing it, that the people might be better disposed to receive what they intended afterwards to establish.

The lord protector had a design of suppressing *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and unite it with *Trinity-Hall*, to augment the number of fellows there to twenty, in order to found a new college for Civilians. For this purpose a commission was granted to the bishops of *Ely* and *Rochester*, *William Paget*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, *John Cheeke*, Dr. *May*, dean of *St. Paul's*, and *Thomas Wendy*, M. D. When the commission passed, the bishop of *Rochester* was in his diocese, ignorant of the design. Thither Mr. secretary *Smith* and the dean of *St. Paul's* sent to acquaint him that he was in commission to visit the university of *Cambridge*, and that he was appointed to preach the sermon at the opening of it. Upon which the bishop immediately dispatched a servant to *London* to Dr. *May*, desiring information to what ends the visitation and commission were intended, that he might frame his sermon accordingly. The dean returned for answer, that it was only to remove some superstitious practices and rites, and to make such statutes as should be needful. The instructions themselves by which they were to proceed were not shewn him till after they had acted in the commission.

Presently after the passing of this, he was again put into commission with the archbishop, the bishops of *Ely*,
Worcester,

Worcester, Westminster, Chichester, and Lincoln, Sir William Petre, Sir Thomas Smith, Dr. Cox, Dr. May, and others, to search after all Anabaptists, Hereticks, and contemners of the common prayer. For complaint had been brought to the council, that, with the strangers who were come into England, some Anabaptists were mingled, who were disseminating their errors and making profelytes. Under this general name were comprehended men of various opinions, driven out of Germany with the more sober protestants, who were in danger from the emperor, for not complying with the interim. These, as bishop Burnet informs us, building upon Luther's principles, that scripture was to be the only rule of faith, rejected all deductions from it, how obvious or certain soever; and among these the baptism of infants was one, whom therefore, when adults, they baptized again, and from thence were called Rebaptizers, or Anabaptists. Some were more modest and moderate, others extravagant and fierce. The opinions of the latter may be learned from some tradesmen in London, who abjured before these commissioners in May; such as, That a man regenerate could not sin; that though the outward man sinned, the inward man sinned not; that there was no trinity of persons; that Christ was only a holy prophet, and not God at all; that all we had by Christ was, that he taught us the way of heaven; that he took no flesh of the virgin; and that the baptism of infants was not profitable, because it goeth before faith. Among the people who held these and such like heretical opinions was Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent. She appearing before the commissioners behaved with extreme obstinacy there, persisting in the maintenance of her error, namely, that the Son of God penetrated through the virgin Mary as through a glass, taking no substance of her, as Latimer reports, who sat in the commission. Her own words distinguishing betwixt Christ and the word, and betwixt the outward and inward man of the virgin; allowing the word to have taken flesh by the consent of the virgin's inward man, but denying that Christ took flesh of her outward man, because it was sinful, are not very intelligible. She treated with scorn all the means made use of to recover her to a better mind; and sentence passed upon her, pronouncing her an heretic, and delivering her over to the secular arm. Ridley was still at Rochester, for only the archbishop, Sir John Smith, William Cook, dean of the arches, Hugh Latimer, and Richard Lyel, LL. D. were named in the sentence. The king was hardly prevailed upon by

by *Cranmer* to sign the warrant for her burning: But the archbishop distinguishing betwixt errors in other points, and the open scornful rejecting an express article of the creed, *born of the virgin Mary*; thinking that these latter, always esteemed heretics from the first establishment of Christianity, deserved not the lenity with which others might be treated: And represented, that it betrayed an indifference towards religion to neglect putting in execution the laws established for maintaining God's honor, while they were diligent in those that were enacted to maintain the king's honor, and the peace or property of the subject. However, the archbishop was not so earnest to get the warrant executed, as signed. He labored much to convince and save her from the fire. In which charitable office, *Ridley*; when he came to *London*, joined; they both of them visited her; they severally took her home with them to their own houses; and earnestly endeavored to recover her from her errors: But she resisted with great stubbornness and indecency all their kind pains to recover her: After their unsuccessful attempts for a whole year, she was at last burned the second of *May*, 1550, persisting obstinately in her opinion, and behaving with great insolence to the last. The like sentence was executed upon *George Van Parre*, a *Dutchman*, for denying the divinity of our Saviour. Which is mentioned here; though it happened not till the twenty-fifth of *April*, 1551; on the sixth of which month *Ridley*, who was a commissioner, signed the sentence of excommunication. Mild and gentle as his nature was to every modest enquirer, though in error, he would not break the laws in being, in indulgence to obstinate blasphemers. The reproach cast on the Reformers as enemies to all religion; and the divisions and disturbances raised in the kingdom by emissaries from the church of *Rome*, under the name of Anabaptists, called for punishment; which the severity of the laws then in being determined in these cases to be by burning.

One occasion of this severity was, probably, that in the preceding winter, there had been a design of uniting the protestants abroad, and at home under the *English* discipline. The churches abroad, who, not from choice, but necessity, were under the government of presbyters (because reformed in places where all the bishops were papists) were very ready to come into episcopal government: And great consultations had been held, not only concerning the Reformation of *this* church, but also of
the

the other foreign churches in *Germany*, *Switzerland*, *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, for uniting them together in one uniform doctrine. *Bullinger* and *Calvin*, with others, in a letter to king *Edward*, offered to make him their defender, and to have bishops in their churches as there were in *England*; with the tender of their service to assist and unite together. This alarmed the *Roman* fathers, who came to the knowledge of it by some of their private intelligencers; for they verily thought that all the heretics (as they called them) would now unite among themselves, and become one body, receiving the same discipline exercised in *England*. Whereupon they sent two of their emissaries from *Rotterdam* hither, who were to pretend themselves Anabaptists, and preach against baptizing infants, and recommending rebaptizing, and inculcate a fifth monarchy upon earth. Besides this one D. G. authorised by these fathers, dispatched a letter written in *May*, 1549, from *Delf* in *Holland* to two bishops, (of which *Winchester* was one) signifying the coming of these pretended Anabaptists, and that they should receive and cherish them, and take their parts, if they should receive any checks: Telling them that it was left to them to assist in this cause, and to some others whom they well knew to be well affected to the mother church. This letter was found by Sir *H. Sidney* in queen *Elizabeth's* closet among some papers of queen *Mary's*. Some knowledge or suspicion of these intrigues might occasion the using greater severity to the officious and irreclaimable Anabaptists, who were heretics in the strictest sense, than would otherwise have been exercised against them: And if *Bonner* was the other bishop, as none more likely, both from his zeal and situation, it may account for his and *Winchester's* sufferings in this reign. But if neither the bold contradicting the articles of the creed drawn from scripture, and confirmed by the four first general councils; nor the laws of the country then in force; nor the reproach cast on the Reformers, as careless of the truths of Christianity, except in opposition to the *Romish* church; nor the disturbances occasioned both in church and state by these real or pretended Anabaptists, can excuse the commissioners for passing this sentence, when the facts were open and notorious, and their endeavors to reclaim the offenders were earnest and unwearied; we must leave them to the censure of the Reader.

And now, sometime in *May*, the bishop of *Rocheſter* repaired to *Cambridge* with his fellow commissioners to

hold the visitation for the abolishing statutes and ordinances which maintained popery and superstition (as he was informed;) not knowing the further end proposed, which was the suppression of *Clare-Hall*. He desired to see the instructions: But was put off by his associates, who seemed afraid to shew them unto him, till they had engaged him in the action, by opening it with a sermon, and proceeding two days in the business of it. They then ventured to shew him their instructions; in which he found the suppression of *Clare-Hall* was the thing intended, under a cover of uniting it to *Trinity-Hall*, and erecting there a new college of Civilians. However the bishop might disrelish this design, he found it was his duty now to concur with the other commissioners in laboring for two days together with the master and fellows *voluntarily* to surrender their college into the king's hands: But the society could not be induced to consent to such a surrender. The commissioners sat secretly by themselves, consulting how to proceed. The majority determined that they might proceed to the union of the two colleges, by the king's absolute power, without the consent of the societies. But the bishop of *Rochester* modestly opposed this counsel, and with great calmness dissented: though resolute and determined not to violate the king's honor, and his own conscience, by forcibly invading the liberties and properties of the master and fellows of *Clare-Hall*, yet not censuring his fellows, but exhorted them to act so as to satisfy their own consciences; and if it should be so that he could not concur, he desired leave to satisfy his own conscience, by absenting himself, or by silence to refuse his consent. This put a stop to the proceedings at present: The commissioners acquainting the protector with this interruption from the bishop of *Rochester*, complained, that he *by his barking* hindered them from proceeding in the king's service; imputing his dissent to a partial affection for his own countrymen, with whom at that time *Clare-Hall* abounded. This exasperated the protector, who wrote a chiding letter to the bishop: To which the bishop immediately returned the following answer.

“ Right honourable,
 “ I With your grace the holy and wholesome fear of
 “ God, because I am persuaded your grace's goodness
 “ to be such unfeignedly, that even wherein your grace's
 “ letter doth sore blame me, yet in the same the adver-
 “ tisement

“ tishment of the truth shall not displease your grace:
 “ And also perceiving that the cause of your grace’s
 “ discontent was wrong information, therefore I shall
 “ beseech your grace to give me leave to shew your grace
 “ wherein it appeareth to me that your grace is wrong
 “ informed.

“ Your grace’s letters blame me, because I did not
 “ (at the first before the visitation began, having know-
 “ ledge of the matter) shew my mind. The truth is,
 “ before God, I never had, nor could get any foreknow-
 “ ledge of the matter, of the uniting the two colleges,
 “ before we had begun and had entered two days in the
 “ visitation; and that your grace may plainly thus well
 “ perceive.

“ A little before *Easter*, I being at *Rochester*, received
 “ letters from Mr. Secretary *Smith*, and the dean of St.
 “ *Paul’s*, to come to the visitation of the university, and
 “ to make a sermon at the beginning thereof. Where-
 “ upon I sent immediately a servant up to *London* to the
 “ dean of St. *Paul’s*, desiring of him to have had some
 “ knowledge of things there to be done; because I
 “ thought it meet that my sermon should somewhat have
 “ favoured of the same. From Mr. Dean I received a
 “ letter instructing me only, that the cause of the visi-
 “ tation was to abolish statutes and ordinances, which
 “ maintained papistry, superstition, blindness, and igno-
 “ rance; and to establish and set forth such as might
 “ further God’s word and good learning: And else, the
 “ truth is, he would shew me nothing, but bad me be
 “ careless, and said, there were informations how all
 “ things were to be done. The which, I take God to
 “ witness, I did never see, nor could get knowledge
 “ what they were, before we were entered in the visita-
 “ tion two days, although I desired to have seen them in
 “ the beginning.

“ Now when I had seen the instructions, the truth is,
 “ I thought peradventure the master and company would
 “ have surrendered up their college: But when their
 “ consent, after labour and travail taken therein two
 “ days, could not be obtained, then we began secretly
 “ to consult, (all the commissioners thinking it best,
 “ that every man should say his mind plainly, that in
 “ execution there might appear but one way to be taken
 “ of all.) There, when it was seen to some, that with-
 “ out the consent of the present incumbents, by the
 “ king’s absolute power, we might proceed to the uniting

“ the two colleges, I did, in my course, simply and
 “ plainly declare my conscience; and that there only,
 “ secretly among ourselves alone, with all kind of soft-
 “ nefs, so that no man could justly be offended. Also,
 “ I perceive by your grace’s letters, I have been noted of
 “ some for *my barking* there: And yet *to bark*, lest God
 “ should be offended, I cannot deny, but indeed it is a
 “ part of my profession; for God’s word condemneth the
 “ dumb dogs that will not *bark*, and give warning of
 “ God’s displeasure.

“ As for that, that was suggested to your grace, that
 “ by my aforesaid barking, I should dishonour the king’s
 “ majesty, and dissuade others from the execution of the
 “ king’s commission, God is my judge, I intended, ac-
 “ cording to my duty to God and the king, the main-
 “ tenance and defence of his highness’s royal honour
 “ and dignity. If that be true, that I believe is true,
 “ which the prophet saith, *Honor regis judicium diligit*,
 “ (*The king’s power loveth judgement*;) and as the com-
 “ missioners must needs, and I am sure will all testify,
 “ that I dissuaded no man, but contrariwise, exhorted
 “ every man (with the quiet of other) to satisfy his own
 “ conscience; desiring only, that if it should otherwise
 “ be seen unto them, that I might either by my absence
 “ or silence, satisfy mine. The which my plainness,
 “ when some, otherwise than according to my expecta-
 “ tion, did take, I was moved thereupon (both for the
 “ good opinion I had, and yet have, in your grace’s
 “ goodness; and also especially because your grace had
 “ commanded me so to do) to open my mind, by my
 “ private letters freely to your grace.

“ And thus I trust your grace perceiveth now, both
 “ that anon, after knowledge had, I did utter my con-
 “ science, and also that the matter was not opened unto
 “ me before the visitation was two days begun.

“ If in this I did amiss, that before the knowledge of
 “ the instructions, I was ready to grant to the execution
 “ of the commission; truly, I had rather herein acknow-
 “ ledge my fault, and submit myself to your grace’s
 “ correction, than, after knowledge had, wittingly and
 “ willingly commit that thing whereunto my conscience
 “ doth not agree, for fear of God’s displeasure.

“ It is a godly wish that is wished in your grace’s
 “ letters, that flesh, and blood, and country, might not
 “ more weigh with some men than godliness and reason:
 “ But the truth is, country in this matter (whatsoever
 “ some

“ some men do suggest unto your grace) shall not move
 “ me. And that your grace shall well perceive, for I
 “ shall be as ready as any other, first thence to expel
 “ some of my own country, if the report which is made
 “ of them, can be tried true.

“ And as for that your grace saith of flesh and blood,
 “ that is, the favour or fear of mortal man: Yea, marry
 “ fir, that is a matter of weight indeed; and the truth
 “ is, (alas! my own feebleness) of that I am afraid: But
 “ I beseech your grace, yet once again, give me good
 “ leave, wherein here I fear my own frailty, to confess
 “ the truth.

“ Before God, there is no man this day (leaving the
 “ king's majesty for the honour only excepted) whose
 “ favour or displeasure I do either seek or fear, as your
 “ grace's favour or displeasure; for of God, both your
 “ grace's authority, and my bound duty for your grace's
 “ benefits bind me so to do. So that if the desire of any
 “ man's favour, or fear of displeasure, should weigh more
 “ with me than godliness and reason, truly, if I may
 “ be bold to say the truth, I must needs say, that I am
 “ most in danger to offend herein, either for desire of
 “ your grace's favour, or for fear of your grace's dis-
 “ pleasure. And yet I shall not cease (God willing)
 “ daily to pray to God so to stay and strengthen my frailty
 “ with holy fear, that I do not commit the thing for
 “ favour or fear of any mortal man, whereby my con-
 “ science may threaten me with the loss of the favour of
 “ the living God: But that it may please him of his gra-
 “ cious goodness (howsoever the world goes) to blow
 “ this in the ears of my heart, *Deus dissipavit ossa eorum*
 “ *qui hominibus placuerint.* (God hath broken the bones of
 “ them that please men.) And this, *Horrendum est incidere*
 “ *in manus Dei viventis.* (It is a fearful thing to fall into
 “ the hands of the living God.) And again, *Nolite timere*
 “ *eos qui occidunt corpus.* (Fear not those who kill the body.)

“ Wherefore I most humbly beseech your grace for
 “ God's love not to be offended with me, for renewing
 “ of this my suit unto your grace; which is, that wherein
 “ my conscience cannot well agree, if any such thing
 “ chance in this visitation, I may, with your grace's
 “ favour have licence, either by mine absence or silence,
 “ or other like means, to keep my conscience quiet. I
 “ wish your grace, in God, honour and endless felicity.

“ Your grace's humble and daily orator,
 “ “NICHOLAS ROFFEN.”

From *Pembroke-Hall*, in
Cambridge, June 1, 1549.

The protector was at that time with the king at *Richmond*. And on the receipt of the bishop of *Rochester*'s letter, he conferred with the archbishop, who was *Ridley*'s chief intimate, to discover the secret motives, if any he had, why the bishop disliked the proceedings at the visitation. And in a little more than a week the protector returned the following answer;

‘ **AFTER** our right hearty commendations to you.
 ‘ We have received your letters of the first of *June*,
 ‘ again replying to those which we last sent unto you.
 ‘ And as it appeareth, you yet remaining in your former
 ‘ request, desire, if things do occur so, that according to
 ‘ your conscience, you cannot do them, that you might
 ‘ absent yourself, or otherwise keep silence. We would
 ‘ be loth any thing should be done by the king’s majesty’s
 ‘ visitors, otherwise than right and conscience might
 ‘ allow, and approve: And visitation is to direct things
 ‘ to the better, not to the worse; to ease consciences,
 ‘ not to clog them. Marry, we would wish the execu-
 ‘ tors thereof should not be scrupulous in conscience,
 ‘ otherwise than reason would. Against your conscience
 ‘ it is not our will to move you, as we would not gladly
 ‘ do, or move any man to that which is against right and
 ‘ conscience; and we trust the king’s majesty hath not
 ‘ in this matter. And we think in this you do much
 ‘ wrong, and much discredit the other visitors, that you
 ‘ should seem to think and suppose, that they would do
 ‘ things against conscience. We take them to be men
 ‘ of that honour and honesty, that they will not. My
 ‘ lord of *Canterbury* hath declared unto us, that maketh
 ‘ partly a conscience unto you, that divines should be
 ‘ diminished. That can be no cause; for first, the same
 ‘ was met before in the late king’s time, to unite the two
 ‘ colleges together; as we are sure you have heard, and
 ‘ Sir *Edward North* can tell: And for that cause, all
 ‘ such as were students of the law, out of the new-erected
 ‘ cathedral church, were disappointed of their livings,
 ‘ only reserved to have been in that civil college. The
 ‘ *King’s-Hall* being in a manner all lawyers, canonists
 ‘ were turned out and joined to *Michael-House*, and made
 ‘ a college of divines, wherewith the number of divines
 ‘ was much augmented, civilians diminished. Now at
 ‘ this present also, if in all other colleges, where lawyers
 ‘ be by the statutes, or the king’s injunctions, you do
 ‘ convert them, or the more part of them, to divines, ye
 ‘ shall

' shall rather have more divines upon this change than
 ' ye had before. The *King's College* should have six
 ' lawyers; *Jesus College*, some; the *Queen's College*, and
 ' other, one or two apiece. And as we are informed by
 ' the late king's injunctions every college in *Cambridge*,
 ' one at the least: All these together do make a greater
 ' number than the fellows of *Clare-Hall* be, and they
 ' now made divines, and the statutes in that reformed,
 ' divinity shall not be diminished in number of students,
 ' but encreased, as appeareth, although these two colleges
 ' be so united. And we are sure you are not ignorant,
 ' how necessary a study that study of civil law is to all
 ' treaties with foreign princes and strangers, and how
 ' few there be at this present to do the king's majesty's
 ' service therein. For we would the encrease of divines,
 ' as well as you. Marry, necessity compelleth us also to
 ' maintain the science; and we require you, my lord, to
 ' have consideration how much you do hinder the king's
 ' majesty's proceedings in that visitation, if now you,
 ' who are one of the visitors, should thus draw back, and
 ' discourage the other, you should much hinder the whole
 ' doings; and peradventure, that thing known, maketh
 ' the master and fellows of *Clare-Hall* to stand the more
 ' obstinate. Wherefore we require you to have regard
 ' of the king's majesty's honour, and the quiet perform-
 ' ings of that visitation, most to the glory of God, and
 ' benefit of that university: The which thing is only
 ' meant in your instructions. To the performing of
 ' that, and in that manner, we can be content you use
 ' your doings as you think best, for the quieting of your
 ' conscience. Thus we bid you heartily farewell. From
 ' *Richmond*, the tenth of *June*, 1549.

' Your loving friend,

' E. SOMERSET.'

By which letter it appears how earnest the protector
 was to persuade, or intimidate, this worthy prelate to
 countenance the proceedings by his concurrence. The
 reigning vice of the age was *spoliation*; from which the
 duke of *Somerset* was not free; as appears not only from
 his palace of *Somerset-House*, as was before taken notice
 of, but one of the articles against him was, ' That he did
 ' dispose offices of the king's gift for money, and made
 ' sale of the king's lands.' This, perhaps, will give us
 to guess at the secret of this visitation; while the esta-
 blishing a college of civilians, by uniting two colleges
 together,

together, was the pretence for demolishing *Clare-Hall*, the sale of the lands belonging to that society was probably the leading motive. The other visitors, who were privy to the design, durst not acquaint *Ridley* with it, but industriously concealed the instructions from him, till they had engaged him to preach on the occasion, and proceeded some time in the business of the visitation, when they hoped they should entangle him so far, that for fear or shame he could not recede. But he boldly risked the displeasure of the protector, who was now grown very imperious and arbitrary, rather than concur in such unjust measures. The affair dropt: The protector had his attention immediately drawn off to suppress several insurrections raised by the discontented commons almost throughout the kingdom. The visitors, especially the bishop of *Rochester*, had another commission to execute, which was to preside at a public disputation appointed to be held at *Cambridge*, as there had been one a little before at *Oxford*, relating to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Two positions were appointed to be the subjects of this public disputation; and after they had been sufficiently ventilated, a determination of the matters debated was to be made by the bishop of *Rochester*. The two positions were,

1. Transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of scripture, nor can thereof be necessarily collected, nor yet confirmed by the consents of the antient fathers for these one thousand years past.

2. In the Lord's Supper is none other oblation or sacrifice, than one only remembrance of *Christ's* death, and of thanksgiving.

The first disputation was on *Thursday* the twentieth of *June*, Dr. *Madew* of *Clare-Hall*, respondent, maintaining the above positions: Dr. *Glyn*, Mr. *Langdale*, *Sedgwick* and *Young*, opponents. The second disputation was held on *Monday* the twenty-fourth, Dr. *Glyn*, respondent, maintaining the contrary positions: Mr. *Perne*, *Grindal*, *Gest*, and *Pilkington*, opponents. The third was on *Thursday* the twenty-seventh of *June*, Mr. *Perne*, respondent, maintaining the positions: Mr. *Parker*, (not *Matthew*, who was afterwards archbishop of *Canterbury*) *Pollard*, *Vavasor*, and *Young*, opponents. There is one difference observed between the disputations at *Oxford* and at *Cambridge*: *Peter Martyr* admitted a change in the elements; and *Langdale*, one of the opponents, the first day at *Cambridge*, asked, supposing a change admitted,
 " Whether

Whether that change was wrought in the substance, or in the accidents, or else in both, or in nothing? When *Ridley* interposed and answered, "There is no change, either of the substances or of the accidents; but in very deed there do come unto the bread other accidents, insomuch, that whereas the bread and wine were not sanctified before, nor holy, yet afterward they be sanctified, and so do receive then another sort or kind of virtue, which they had not before."

After the disputations were finished, the bishop determined,

I. Against transubstantiation, on these five principal grounds:

1. The authority, majesty, and verity of holy scripture:

I will not hereafter drink of the fruit of the vine. St. Paul and St. Luke call it bread after consecration. They speak of *breaking*, which agrees with bread, not with *Christ's* body. It was to be done in remembrance of him. *This is the bread that came down from heaven*; but *Christ's* body came not down from heaven. *It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing.*

2. The most certain testimonies of the antient catholic fathers, who (after my judgement) do sufficiently declare this matter.

Here he produced many fathers, *Dionysius, Ignatius, Irenæus, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Theodoret, Gelasius, Austin, Cyril, Isychius, and Bertram*, who call it bread after consecration, sacramental bread, the figure of *Christ's* body: And expressly declare, that bread still continues after consecration, and that the elements cease not to be the substance of bread and wine still.

3. The nature of a sacrament. In which he supposes natural symbols to represent like spiritual effects, which in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper are unity, nutrition, and conversion. They who take away the union of the grains making one bread, of which partaking we become one mystical body of *Christ*; or they who deny the nutrition, or substance of those grains, by which our bodies being nourished is represented the nourishment of our souls by the body of *Christ*; these take away the similitude between the bread and the body of *Christ*, and destroy the nature of a sacrament. As neither is there any thing to signify our being turned into *Christ's* body, if there be no conversion of the bread into the substance of our bodies.

The 4th ground was, that transubstantiation destroys one of the natures in *Christ*.

They, which say that *Christ* is carnally present in the eucharist, do take from him the verity of man's nature. *Eutyches* granted the divine nature in *Christ*, but his human nature he denied. So they, that defend transubstantiation, ascribe that to the human nature, which only belongeth to the divine nature.

The 5th ground is the most sure belief of the article of our faith, *He ascended into heaven*.

He quotes from *St. Austin* on *St. John*, 'The Lord
' is above, even to the end of the world: But yet the
' verity of the Lord is here also. For his body wherein
' he rose again must needs be in one place, but his verity
' is spread abroad every where.'

By verity he means an essential divine presence by his invisible and unspeakable grace, as he distinguishes on *Matth. xxviii*. 'As touching his majesty, his providence,
' his invisible and unspeakable grace, these words are
' fulfilled, which he spake, *I am with you unto the end of*
' *the world*: But according to the flesh which he took
' upon him, so ye shall not have me always with you. And
' why? because as concerning his flesh he went up into
' heaven, and is not here, for he sitteth at the right hand
' of the Father: And yet concerning the presence of his
' divine majesty he is not departed hence.' And from *Vigilius* he quoted, 'Concerning his flesh we look for him
' from heaven; whom, as concerning the word (or di-
' vine nature) we believe to be with us on earth.' And
again, 'the course of scripture must be searched of us,
' and many testimonies must be gathered, to shew plainly
' what a wickedness and sacrilege it is, to refer those
' things to the property of the divine nature, which do
' only belong to the nature of the flesh: And contrari-
' wise, to apply those things to the nature of the flesh,
' which do properly belong to the divine nature.' Which
he observes the transubstantiators do, who affirm *Christ's*
body not to be contained in any one place, and ascribe
that to his humanity, which properly belongs to his
divinity.

II. Against the oblation of *Christ* in the Lord's Supper he determined on these two grounds:

I. Scripture; as *Paul* saith, *Hebrews ix*. *Christ* being
become an high priest of good things to come, by a greater and
more perfect tabernacle not made with hands, that is, not of
this building: Neither by the blood of goats and calves, but
by his own blood, entered once into the holy place, and obtained
eternal redemption for us. And, now in the end of the world
he hath appeared ONCE to put away sin by the sacrifice of
himself.

himself. And again, *Christ* was ONCE offered to take away the sins of many. Moreover he saith, *With ONE offering hath he made perfect for ever those that are sanctified.* These scriptures do persuade me to believe, that there is no other oblation of *Christ* (albeit I am not ignorant that there are many sacrifices) but that which was ONCE made on the cross.

2. The testimonies of the antient fathers. *Austin ad Bonif.* epist. 23. Again, in his book of forty-three questions, question forty-one, *contra Transubstan.* lib. 20. cap. 21, 22, where he writes, how the Christians keep a memorial of the sacrifice past, with an oblation, and participation of the body and blood of *Christ*. *Fulgentius*, in his book *de Fide*, calls the same oblation a commemoration. And these things are sufficient at this time for a scholastic determination of these matters.

Yet this was more than a mere scholastic exercise; the occasion of appointing this disputation arose at *Oxford*, where Dr. *Smith*, taking offence at *Peter Martyr's* exposition of scripture, challenged *Martyr* to a public disputation: Which *Martyr* declared himself ready to engage in, but not without the king's leave. The privy council gave leave, but *Smith* ran away from his challenge. Then *Martyr* challenged all the *Roman* catholics in that university to maintain their transubstantiation, and the privy council appointed delegates to hear and preside at the disputation. And like disputations were appointed at *Cambridge*, that the papists there might likewise have an opportunity of defending their opinions, if they could.

Langdale, one of the disputants, and for his zeal made archdeacon of *Chichester* by queen *Mary*, composed a pretended refutation of bishop *Ridley's* determination: But with this suspicion of unfairness in his account of managing the dispute, that though he had the king's licence for printing it, at *Paris*, February 1553; yet it was not printed till three years after, when *Langdale* was secure that *Ridley* could make no reply. However, *Pilkington*, another of the disputants, afterward bishop of *Durham*, says, that the bishop made all things so clear in his determination, and the auditors were so convinced, that some of them would have turned archbishop *Cranmer's* book on that subject into *Latin*.

Ridley assisted *Cranmer* in the first edition of the liturgy, or common-prayer, which was published in 1548. He was ranked with *Cranmer*, *Hooper*, and *Ferrar*, among those called the zealous protestants, in opposition to *Gardiner*, *Tunstal*, and *Bonner*, who were called zealous papists.

Ridley printed the injunctions which he had set forth for the visitation of his diocese; and they clearly shew the progress that the Reformation had made in *England*. They particularly enjoined, that none should receive the communion, but such as should be ready with meekness to confess the articles of the creed upon request of the curate. That the homilies should be read orderly, without omission of any part thereof; and that the common-prayer be read in every church upon *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*. That none should maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the six articles, bead-rolls, pilgrimages, relics, rubrics, primmers, justification of man by his own works, holy bread, psalms, ashes, candles, creeping to the cross, hallowing of fire, or altars, or such like abuses.

The king was under a visible decay, and bishop *Ridley* preached before him about the latter end of his sickness. The bishop enlarged much in his sermon on the good effects of charity; and the king was so moved with what he said, that immediately after the sermon he sent for the bishop, whom he commanded to sit down and be covered. His majesty resumed the heads of the discourse, and said his lordship must give some directions how he might acquit himself of his duty. The bishop, astonished at so much tenderness and sensibility in so young a prince, burst into tears; but desired time to consider of the particular channel in which the royal charity should be directed; and that the king would give him leave to consult with the lord-mayor and aldermen about it. His majesty accordingly wrote them a letter by the bishop, who returned to him with a scheme of three foundations; one for the sick and wounded, another for such as were willfully idle or mad, and a third for orphans: And his majesty endowed *St. Bartholomew's* hospital for the first, *Bridewell* for the second, and *Grey-Friars* church for the third.

The king died in 1553, and was succeeded by his sister *Mary*, whose reign was polluted with the blood of martyrs, of whom *Ridley* was one of the chief. The queen was a rigid papist, and caused lady *Jane Grey* to be beheaded, who openly professed the protestant religion, and to whom *Edward* had conveyed the crown by his will. The duke of *Northumberland* and his son, and the duke of *Norfolk* and his brother, were also beheaded for attempting to place that most excellent lady on the throne; and bishop *Ridley* was sent to the *Tower*, among others, whom *Mary* was determined to sacrifice to her vengeance.

The queen released *Gardiner* and *Bonner* out of the *Tower*, and employed them to pull down the Reformation.

The

The mass was restored, the protestants inhumanly persecuted, and several laws enacted for re-establishing popery. The parliament revived the statutes against heresy; and the queen commissioned *Gardiner*, as her bloody instrument, for the extirpation of what she called heresy. He was particularly ordered to purge the churches of all married bishops and priests; in consequence of which, four bishops were deprived for marriage, as also three for preaching erroneous doctrines; and of 16,000 of the inferior clergy then in *England*, 12,000 were turned out for having wives.

As *Gardiner* was for forcing the protestants into the pale of the *Romish* church, he began with exerting his rage against the bishops, and the most eminent divines. The bishops *Ridley*, *Latimer*, *Hooper*, and *Ferrar*, were all imprisoned, and all suffered martyrdom; which caused an universal consternation; and the popish bishops themselves seemed ashamed of these barbarities.

The convocation was adjourned, and removed to *Oxford*, that the dispute with the protestant divines might be held before the whole university. To give a colour of justice to this conference, archbishop *Cranmer*, and bishops *Ridley* and *Latimer*, were sent from the *Tower of London* to the prison at *Oxford*, where they were ill accommodated, denied the convenience of their books and papers, the conversation of each other, and any mutual assistance in the conference; for each was to have his day separate from the others. To these three prelates, under such disadvantages, a committee from the convocation and the two universities were to be opposed. The queen sent her precept to the mayor and bailiffs of *Oxford*, to bring the prisoners into the public schools, at the times appointed for the disputations; calling *Ridley* a doctor, and *Latimer* only clerk. It was intended to expose these three great prelates to insolence and abuse. ‘ This disputation (says *Fuller*) was intended
‘ as a preparative or prologue to the tragedy of these bi-
‘ shops’ deaths; as it were to dry their bodies the more
‘ afore-hand, that afterwards they might burn the brighter
‘ and clearer for the same.’

The government and clergy are charged with the most infernal proceedings. The queen was married to *Philip of Spain*, and imagined herself pregnant: But she declared, she could not be delivered till the heretics, who now filled all the jails about *London*, were burnt; while the clergy and council of *England* were to be the executioners of the bloody purpose. ‘ All the nation seemed
‘ to be in a blaze from persecuting flames;’ and three
martyrs

martyrs were particularly singled out—*Ridley*, *Latimer*, and *Cranmer*.

Commissions for trying them were directed to three bishops and several others: But the imprisoned prelates, at their different appearances, refused to acknowledge the papal authority. *Cranmer* was brought out first before the committee. The next was *Ridley*; who began with a solemn declaration, that though he was once of another opinion than what he was of at present, yet he had not changed it upon any worldly considerations, but merely for love of truth: And since it was the cause of God he was now to maintain, he protested that he would have leave to add to, or alter, any argument, as he should see cause for it; and desired he might be permitted to speak without interruption. All this was promised him; but not complied with; and, though all the committee assailed him by turns, even sometimes four or five at once, he maintained his ground, till the prolocutor put an end, by saying, ‘ You see the obstinate, vain-glorious, crafty, and inconstant mind of this man; but you also see the force of truth cannot be shaken; therefore, cry out with me; truth has the victory.’

The three bishops were adjudged to be obstinate heretics, and declared to be no longer members of the church; to which they all objected. *Ridley* told the commissioners, that although he was not of their company, yet he doubted not but his name was written in another place, whither this sentence would send him sooner than by the course of nature he should have gone.

The prisoners were then parted, and conducted to their separate prisons; where *Ridley* wrote a letter to the prolocutor, complaining of the noisy and irregular manner with which the dispute was carried on; wherein he had not the liberty of making a full defence, nor of urging his arguments at length, being overpowered with clamor; and the indecent abuse of four or five opponents at a time: He desired, however, that he might have a copy of what the notaries had set down; which was not granted.

Ridley and *Latimer* refused to recant, or to renounce their reason upon the unintelligible jargon of a popish eucharist, the common watch-word for murder in those days, and they were to be delivered over to the secular arm. The bishops of *Gloucester*, *Lincoln*, and *Bristol*, were sent to *Oxford*, to proceed against them. When the commission was read, and it appeared that the judges proceeded in the name of the pope, *Ridley* put on his cap and refused to pay any reverence to those who acted by such

a com-

a commission. *Latimer* also protested against the papal authority; and being both accused of the opinions, which they had maintained in the public schools a year and a half before, were allowed till the next morning to consider, whether they would retract, or persevere in them. Both adhered to the answers they had already made; and on the next morning they were pronounced guilty of heresy, degraded from priests orders, and consigned over to the secular magistrate to be punished.

Great attempts were made on *Ridley* to persuade him to accept of the queen's mercy, which he refused, and a warrant was sent down for the execution of him and *Latimer*. They suffered on the sixteenth of *October*, 1555, on the north side of *Oxford*, in the ditch opposite *Baliol-College*. When they came up to the stake, they embraced each other with great affection; and *Ridley*, with an air of pleasure, said to *Latimer*, "Be of good heart, brother; for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else enable us to bear it." He then returned to the stake, and, falling upon his knees, kissed it and prayed very fervently. After which setting himself to speak to the spectators, some persons ran to him and stopped his mouth. Being afterwards stripped, he stood on a stone near the stake, and offered up the following prayer; "O heavenly Father, I give thee hearty thanks for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, have mercy on this realm of *England*, and deliver it from all its enemies." They were not permitted to speak, in answer to a long sermon preached by a *Dr. Smith*, unless they would recant. To this *Ridley* replied, That he would never deny his Lord, nor the truths of which he was persuaded; but "God's will be done." He said, he had received fines when he was bishop of *London* for leases which were now voided, and desired that the queen might give order, either that the leases might be made good, or the fines restored to the tenants out of the effects he had left behind him, which were more than sufficient for that purpose. After this, they were ordered to sit themselves for the stake; and as a smith was knocking in the staple, which held the chain, he said to him; "Good man, knock it in hard; for the flesh will have its course." Some gunpowder was hanged about their bodies to hasten their deaths; and the fire was put to the wood. The powder took fire with the first flame, which instantly put *Latimer* out of his pain: But there was so much wood thrown on the fire where *Ridley* was, that the flame could not break through

through it; so that his legs were almost consumed before it was observed; and then a passage being made to the flame, it put an end to his life, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. A little before he gave up the ghost, he cried with a loud voice; "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit. Lord, receive my soul!"

The station which both these martyrs had held, the regularity of their lives, the peaceableness of their tempers, their age, and their behaviour at the stake, raised great commiseration in the spectators, and sent them home greatly displeased with those who had brought them to this end.

Ridley's fine parts, and his great improvements in all the branches of literature necessary to a divine, gave him the first rank in his profession; and his life was answerable to his knowledge. He was of an easy obliging temper; and though he wanted not a proper spirit to support his character, or to do himself justice against the great and powerful; yet he was always ready to forgive any injuries, or offences. His zeal for religion did not shew itself in promoting severities against those who differed from it; but in diligently explaining the parts that were misunderstood, and shewing their foundation in scripture and antiquity. The grace of his Master was not only shewn in the candor and charity of his sentiments; but he did good offices for those who differed from him; he was a great benefactor to the poor; he expended his revenue in a way becoming a bishop; he maintained and treated *Heath*, the deprived bishop of *Worcester*, for a year and a half, in the same splendor as though *Fulham-house* had been his own; and *Bonner's* mother, who merited nothing on her own account, dined always there at the table with him, whilst her son was in the *Tower*. The Reformation was greatly promoted by his zeal and learning while he lived, as well as by his courage and constancy at his death: For of all who served the altar of the church of *England*, he bore, perhaps, the most useful testimony, both in life and death, to her doctrine.

To this we may add the character given of him by his learned biographer, *Dr. Gloucester Ridley*, whose masterly performance we would recommend to our Readers for the history, not of bishop *Ridley* only, but of the whole time in which he lived. Bishop *Ridley* (says he) was 'meek
' and gentle to tender consciences, patiently bearing with
' their weakness; but where he saw the will was in fault
' from vanity, malice, or obstinacy, he set himself with
' great earnestness and steadiness to reduce it to a sub-
' mission.

‘ mission.—With respect to himself, he was mortified,
 ‘ and given to prayer and contemplation: With respect
 ‘ to his family, careful and instructive. His mode of
 ‘ life was, as soon as he rose and had dressed himself, to
 ‘ continue in private prayer half an hour; then (unless
 ‘ other business interrupted him) he retired to his study,
 ‘ where he continued till ten of the clock, at which hour
 ‘ he came to common prayer with his family, and there
 ‘ daily read a lecture to them, beginning at the acts of
 ‘ the apostles, and so going regularly through *St. Paul’s*
 ‘ epistles, giving to every one that could read a New
 ‘ Testament, and hiring them to learn by heart some
 ‘ chosen chapters, &c.’

He was a person small in stature, but great in learning, and profoundly read in divinity. Among several things that he wrote, were these: A treatise concerning images, not to be set up, nor worshipped in churches. A brief declaration of the Lord’s Supper. A treatise of the blessed sacrament. A piteous lamentation of the miserable state of the church of *England*, at the time of the late revolt from the gospel. A comparison between the comfortable doctrine of the gospel, and the traditions of popish religion. He had a hand in compiling the common prayer-book; as also disputations and conferences about matters of religion.

Here follow two of his letters.

I.

“ **M**ASTER *Cheke*, I wish you grace and peace. Sir,
 “ in God’s cause, for God’s sake, and in his name,
 “ I beseech you of your help and furtherance towards
 “ God’s word. I did talk with you of late what case I
 “ was in concerning my chaplains. I have gotten the
 “ good will and grant to be with me, of three preachers,
 “ men of good learning, and (as I am persuaded) of ex-
 “ cellent virtue; which are all able, both with life and
 “ learning, to set forth God’s word in *London*, and in
 “ the whole diocese of the same, where is most need of
 “ all parts in *England*; for from thence goeth example
 “ (as you know) into all the rest of the king’s majesty’s
 “ whole realm. The men’s names be these; Mr. *Grindal*,
 “ whom you know to be a man of virtue and learning:
 “ Mr. *Bradford*, a man by whom (as I am assuredly in-
 “ formed) God hath and doth work wonders, in setting
 “ forth of his word: The third is a preacher, the which
 “ for detecting and confuting the Anabaptists and Papists

“ is enforced now to bear *Christ's* cross. The two first be
 “ scholars in the university: The third is as poor as
 “ either of the other twain. Now there is fallen a pre-
 “ bend in *Paul's*, called *Cantrells*, by the death of one
 “ *Layton*. This prebend is an honest man's living of
 “ thirty-four pounds and better in the king's books. I
 “ would with all my heart give it unto Mr. *Grindal*; and
 “ so I should have him continually with me, and in my
 “ diocese to preach.

“ But alas! Sir, I am letted by the means (I fear me)
 “ of such as do not fear God. One Mr. *William Thomas*,
 “ one of the clerks to the council, hath in times past set
 “ the council upon me, to have me to grant that *Layton*
 “ might have alienated the said prebend unto him and
 “ his heirs for ever. God was mine aid and defender,
 “ that I did not consent unto his ungodly enterprise. Yet
 “ I was then so handled before the council, that I granted,
 “ that whensoever it should fall, I should not give it be-
 “ fore I should make the king's majesty privy unto it.
 “ Now *Layton* is departed, and the prebend is fallen, and
 “ certain of the council (no doubt by this ungodly man's
 “ means) have written unto me, to stay the collation.
 “ And whereas he despaireth, that ever I would assent
 “ that a preacher's living should be bestowed on him, he
 “ hath procured letters unto me, subscribed with certain
 “ of the council's hands, that now the king's majesty hath
 “ determined it unto the furniture of his highness's stable.
 “ Alas! Sir, this is a heavy hearing: When papistry was
 “ taught, there was nothing too little for the teachers.
 “ When the bishop gave his benefices unto ideots, un-
 “ learned, ungodly, for kindred, for pleasure, for service,
 “ and other worldly respects, all was then well allowed.
 “ Now, when a poor living is to be given unto an excel-
 “ lent clerk, a man known and tried to have both dis-
 “ cretion and also virtue; and such a one as, before God,
 “ I do not know a man yet unplaced and unprovided for,
 “ more meet to set forth God's word in all *England*:
 “ When a poor living, I say, which is founded for a
 “ preacher, is to be given unto such a man, that then an
 “ ungodly person shall procure in this sort letters to stop
 “ and let the same; alas! Mr. *Cheke*, this seemeth unto
 “ me to be a right heavy hearing. Is this the fruit of
 “ the gospel? Speak, Mr. *Cheke*, speak for God's sake,
 “ in God's cause, unto whomsoever you think you may
 “ do any good withal. And if you will not speak, then
 “ I beseech you let these my letters speak unto Mr. *Gates*,

“ to Mr. *Wrothe*, to Mr. *Cecil*, whom all I do take for men
 “ that do fear God.

“ It was said here constantly, my lord chamberlain to
 “ have been departed: Sir, though the day be delayed,
 “ yet he hath no pardon of long life, and therefore I do
 “ beseech his good lordship, and so many as shall read
 “ these letters, if they fear God, to help that neither
 “ horse, nor yet dog, be suffered to devour the poor liv-
 “ ings appointed and founded by godly ordinance to the
 “ ministers of God’s word. The causes of conscience,
 “ which do move me to speak and write thus, are not only
 “ those which I declared once in the cause of this prebend
 “ before the king’s majesty’s council, which now I let
 “ pass; but also now the man, Mr. *Grindal*, unto whom
 “ I would give this prebend, doth move me very much;
 “ for he is a man known to be both of virtue, honesty,
 “ discretion, wisdom and learning. And beside all this,
 “ I have a better opinion of the king’s majesty’s honour-
 “ able council, than (although some of them have sub-
 “ scribed, at this their clerk’s crafty and ungodly suit, to
 “ such a letter) than, I say, they will let, and not suffer
 “ (after the request made to them) the living appointed
 “ and founded for a preacher, and be bestowed upon so
 “ honest and well a learned man.

“ Wherefore, for God’s sake, I beseech you all, help,
 “ that with the favour of the council, I may have know-
 “ ledge of the king’s majesty’s good pleasure, to give this
 “ preacher’s living unto Mr. *Grindal*. Of late there have
 “ been letters, directed from the king’s majesty and his
 “ honourable council unto all the bishops, whereby we
 “ be charged and commanded, both in our own persons,
 “ and also to cause our preachers and ministers, especially
 “ to cry out against the insatiable serpent of covetousness,
 “ whereby is said to be such a greediness amongst the
 “ people, that each one goeth about to devour another;
 “ and to threaten them with God’s grievous plagues,
 “ both now presently thrown upon them, and that shall
 “ be likewise in the world to come. Sir, what preachers
 “ shall I get to open and set forth such matters, and so
 “ as the king’s majesty and the council do command them
 “ to be set forth, if either ungodly men, or unreasonable
 “ beasts, be suffered to pull away and devour the good and
 “ godly learned preachers’ livings? Thus I wish you in
 “ God ever well to fare, and to help *Christ*’s cause, as
 “ you would have help of him at your most need. From
 “ *Fulham* this present, the 23d of *July*, 1551.

“ Your’s in *Christ*.”

II.

“GOOD Mr. *Cecil*, I must be a suitor unto you in
 “ your good master *Christ*’s cause: I beseech you be
 “ good to him. The matter is, Sir, alas! he hath lain
 “ too long abroad (as you do know) without lodging, in
 “ the streets of *London*, both hungry, naked and cold.
 “ Now, thanks be to almighty God! the citizens are
 “ willing to refresh him, and to give him both meat, drink,
 “ cloathing and firing: But alas! sir, they lack lodging
 “ for him. For in some one house I dare say they are fain
 “ to lodge three families under one roof. Sir, there is a
 “ wide, large, empty house of the king’s majesty’s, called
 “ *Bridewell*, that would wonderfully well serve to lodge
 “ *Christ* in, if he might find such good friends in the
 “ court to procure in his cause. Surely I have such a
 “ good opinion of the king’s majesty, that if *Christ* had
 “ such faithful and hearty friends who would heartily
 “ speak for him, he should undoubtedly speed at the king’s
 “ majesty’s hands. Sir, I have promised my brethren the
 “ citizens to move you, because I do take you for one
 “ that feareth God, and would that *Christ* should lie no
 “ more abroad in the streets.”

J O H N P H I L P O T.

THIS very learned divine, son of sir *Peter Philpot*, was born near *Winchester*; and was, in his youth, put to *Wyckham*, or *New-College, Oxford*; where he studied the civil law for six or seven years, besides the other liberal sciences, and especially the languages*. From *Oxford* he set out upon his travels through *Italy*; where he was in some danger on account of his religion; a Franciscan friar at *Padua*, endeavoring to trouble him for

* Mr. *Strype* records an amusing incident, relative to Mr. *Philpot*, after he went to *Oxford*;—“ Where (says he) he profited in learning, so well, that he laid a wager of TWENTY PENCE with *John Harpsfield*, that he would make two hundred verses in one night, and not make above two faults in them. Mr. *Thomas Tuchymer*, schoolmaster, was judge: And adjudged the TWENTY PENCE to Mr. *Philpot*.” *Strype’s eccl. mem.* III. p. 263.

heresy. But returning to *England* in the time of king *Edward*, he was collated to the preferment of archdeacon of *Winchester* by the pious and excellent Dr. *Ponet*, the first protestant bishop of that see. *Stephen Gardiner*, (*Ponet*'s predecessor) bishop of *Winchester*, (says *Strype*†) ever bore ill-will against this godly gentleman [Mr. *Philpot*], and forbad him preaching, oftentimes in king *Henry*'s reign. But he [*Philpot*] could not in conscience hide his talent, under this prince, and in so popish a diocese. At last, the bishop sent for certain justices, who came to his house: And there calling Mr. *Philpot*, ROGUE; *Philpot* said to the bishop, "My lord, do you keep a privy sessions in your own house for me, and call me ROGUE, whose father is a knight, and may spend a thousand pounds within one mile of your nose? And he that can spend TEN POUNDS by the year, as I can, I thank God, is no vagabond."

Mr. *Philpot*, when archdeacon of *Winchester*, labored abundantly in word and doctrine, with great success, in *Hampshire*, during the time of king *Edward*. He was very well furnished both by grace and natural acquirements for his calling, to which he zealously devoted them all. Bishop *Ridley* and our martyr were esteemed the two most learned of all our *English* Reformers. *Philpot* appears to have possessed great fervency of spirit, which appeared in all his controversies and troubles with the papists, whom he boldly attacked, leaving all consequences in the hand of God. He had the glowing ardor of a martyr, and desired the martyr's crown. He was valiant for the truth, and feared not the faces of men; for, at the beginning of queen *Mary*'s reign, in a convocation of bishops and dignitaries, appointed for the purpose of changing religion from protestant to popish; our learned archdeacon, with a few others, bore a noble testimony against the design; and, for his vigorous opposition, notwithstanding the promised liberty of free debate, he was called before the chancellor, the said bishop of *Winchester*, his ordinary; and by him committed a close prisoner for about a year and a half. He was then sent to *Bonner*, bishop of *London*, and other commissioners, who confined him in the bishop's coal-house; to which adjoined a little dark house with a great pair of stocks, both for hand and foot. There he met with two fellow-sufferers in the same good cause; one of whom was a clergyman of *Essex*,

* *Strype's eccl. mem.* III. p. 263.

a godly minister, and a married man*; who, upon hearing that archdeacon *Philpot* was brought to the coal-house, desired much to see him; to whom he grievously lamented, that in the hour of temptation, through the frailty of the flesh, and the extremity of imprisonment, he had sinfully complied, by writing, with the bishop of *London*. He added, that he was immediately set at liberty; but afterwards felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could scarce refrain from laying violent hands on himself. Nor could he be at peace in his mind, till he went to the bishop's register, desiring to see the writing in which he had yielded to the bishop; which he had no sooner got into his hands, than he tore it in pieces. The bishop, being informed of this, sent for him, and acted indeed more in the character of a popish bishop, than of a bishop of *Jesus Christ, who must be no STRIKER*; for he fell upon him like a lion, beat his face black and blue, and pluckt off great part of his beard. He then sent him to be confined hand and foot in the stocks in the dark hole; where Mr. *Philpot* found him, “as joyful (said he) under the cross
“as any of us, and very sorry for his former infirmity.”

The second day after Mr. *Philpot* had been in the coal-house, he was sent to make his appearance before *Bonner*; who, among other things, said, ‘I marvel that you are so merry in prison, singing and rejoicing in your naughtiness; when you should rather lament and be sorry.’ Mr. *Philpot* answered, “We are in a dark comfortless
“place, and therefore as St. *Paul* wills us, we make
“merry in the Lord, singing together, in hymns and psalms.” After some further altercation, he was remanded back to the coal-house; “where, (said he) I, with my six fellow
“prisoners, do rouse together from the straw, as cheer-
“fully, we thank God, as others do from their beds of
“down.” But as though resolved, if possible, to put a stop to the rejoicing of this great and godly man, the papists were continually adding new severities; so that when bishop *Bonner*, in one of his fawning fits, asked him, ‘If he could shew him any pleasure, and he would do it.’ Mr. *Philpot* answered, “My lord, the pleasure
“that I will require of your lordship is, to hasten my
“judgement which is committed unto you, and to dis-
“patch me forth of this miserable world, unto my eternal
“rest. For notwithstanding this fair speech (added he

* This was the Revd. Mr. *Thomas Whittle*, a most excellent man, as appears by his writings preserved by Mr. *Fox*. He suffered in the flames with great joy and constancy, not long afterwards.

“ in his account of this matter) I cannot obtain hitherto,
 “ for this fortnight past, either fire, or candle, or good
 “ lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low
 “ in this world, and to be counted amongst the vilest;
 “ that he may in time of reward receive exaltation and
 “ glory. Therefore, praised be God, that he hath hum-
 “ bled me, and given me grace with gladness to be con-
 “ tent withal.”

Mr. *Philpot* was examined fifteen or sixteen several times before bishop *Bonner* and others; but being well skilled in the civil and canon law, he pleaded his privilege of *exceptionem fori*, and refused to be examined before the bishop of *London*; because he was not his ordinary, being archdeacon of *Winchester*. The bishop urged his right of being his judge; because the convocation, in which Mr. *Philpot* was accused of heresy, in zealously maintaining the protestant doctrines of the church of *England*, as then by law established, was held in *St. Paul's* church, and consequently in his diocese: ‘ Therefore as you were sent
 ‘ hither to me (said the bishop) by the queen’s commis-
 ‘ sioners, and are now in my diocese, I will proceed against
 ‘ you as your ordinary.’

“ I cannot deny (said Mr. *Philpot*) but I am in your
 “ coal-house, which is in your diocese; yet am I not of
 “ your diocese. I was brought hither through violence,
 “ and by such men as had no just authority so to do; and
 “ therefore my being at present in your diocese, is not
 “ enough to deprive me of my own ordinary’s jurisdic-
 “ tion; nor does it make me willingly subject to your
 “ jurisdiction, any more than a sanctuary man, being by
 “ force brought forth of his place of privilege, loses his
 “ privilege, but may always claim his privilege whereso-
 “ ever he is brought: Nor does my conduct in the con-
 “ vocation subject me to your jurisdiction, or make you
 “ my ordinary; for although *St. Paul's* be in your dio-
 “ cese, it is nevertheless a *peculiar* of the dean and chap-
 “ ter, and therefore not of your diocese.” The bishop then endeavored to ensnare him in private examinations; but Mr. *Philpot* said, “ My lord, *Omnia judicia debent*
 “ *esse publica*; i. e. all judicial proceedings ought to be
 “ public. Therefore, if your lordship have any thing to
 “ charge me lawfully withal; let me be in judgement
 “ lawfully and openly called, and I will answer accord-
 “ ing to my duty; otherwise in corners I will not.”

Bishop of London. ‘ No; wilt thou not knave? Thou
 ‘ art a foolish knave, I see well enough: Thou shalt
 ‘ answer whether thou wilt or not.’

Philpot. “ I will make no further answers than I have said already.”

Bishop of London. ‘ Have him away, and set him in the stocks : What, foolish knave !’

The next morning early, an hour before day, Mr. *Philpot* was sent for by the bishop ; but fearing some foul play, because it was at so unseasonable a time, he refused to go. The bishop then ordered him to be brought by violence, and charged him to take the book and swear to answer truly to all such articles as he should demand of him. But as the bishop was not Mr. *Philpot*’s ordinary, he would not swear. The consequence of which was, the bishop ordered him to be put into the stocks ; “ where “ (says *Philpot*) I sat from morning till night, when the “ keeper upon favour let me out.”

For a great while, they pretended to examine him every day, and sometimes oftener, and meanly to abuse him with the taunts of *blockhead*, *knave*, *fool*, &c. But this good man’s arguments, on account of his great superiority in learning and knowledge of the scriptures, they could neither answer nor refute ; ‘ so that (says Mr. *Fox*) bishop ‘ *Bonner* having taken his pleasure with Mr. *Philpot* in his ‘ private talks ; and seeing his zealous, learned, and immutable constancy ; thought it high time to rid his hands ‘ of him. And therefore sitting in the consistory at St. ‘ *Paul*’s, he caused him to be brought before him and ‘ others, as it seemeth, more for order’s sake, than for any ‘ good affection to justice and right judgement.’

Bonner then began by charging Mr. *Philpot* with being fallen from the unity of *Christ*’s catholic church—with blasphemously speaking against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry—and with speaking against, and denying, the real presence of *Christ*’s body and blood to be in the sacrament of the altar. He labored, with the rest of the bishops, both by persuasions and promises, and by cruel threatenings, to make him abjure. To all which he answered, “ You, and all your sort, are hypocrites, “ and I would all the world knew your hypocrisy, your “ tyranny, ignorance, and idolatry.”

After a great deal more altercation upon a variety of matters, which served only to shew the bishop’s tyranny and the martyr’s constancy ; *Bonner* asked *Philpot* if he had any just cause to alledge why he should not condemn him as a heretic ? “ Well, (said Mr. *Philpot*) your idolatrous sacrament, that you have found out, you would “ fain defend, but you are not able, nor ever shall.”

My

“ My lords, (said *Bonner*) my predecessor, *Stokesley*,
 “ when he proceeded to give sentence against a heretic,
 “ made use of a certain prayer, whose example I will now
 “ follow; and so with a loud voice prayed, *Deus, qui*
 “ *errantibus, ut in viam possint redire, justitiæ veritatisque*
 “ *tuæ lumen ostendis; da cunctis, qui Christianâ professione*
 “ *censentur, & illa respuere quæ huic inimica sint nomini,*
 “ *& ea quæ sint apta sectari, per Christum Dominum nos-*
 “ *trum; Amen.*”

Philpot. “ I wish you would speak in *English*, that all
 “ men might understand you; for *St. Paul* commands,
 “ that all things, spoken in the congregation, should be
 “ spoken in a tongue that all men may understand and
 “ be edified.” The bishop then repeated it in *English*,
 and when he came to these words—“ to refuse those things
 “ which are enemies to his [i. e. *Christ's*] name;” *Philpot*
 said, “ Then they must all turn away from you; for you
 “ are enemies to that name: May God save us from such
 “ hypocrites, as would have things in a tongue that the
 “ people cannot understand.” “ Whom do you mean?”
 said the bishop.—“ You, answered *Philpot*, and all who
 “ are of your congregation and sect. And I am sorry to
 “ see you sit in the place you now do, pretending to ex-
 “ ecute justice, while you do nothing else but deceive
 “ all men.” And turning to the people, he said, “ O all
 “ you gentlemen, beware of these men [the bishops] and
 “ all their doings; for they are contrary to God’s word
 “ and the primitive church.”

The bishop then pronounced sentence of condemnation
 against him as a heretic; upon which *Philpot* said, “ I
 “ thank God, I am an heretic out of your cursed church:
 “ But I am no heretic before God.—But God blefs you,
 “ and give you grace to repent of your wicked doings; but
 “ let all men beware of your bloody church.”

In *Newgate* he was treated most cruelly by the keeper,
 though *Mr. Philpot* begged of him, upon the foot of old
 acquaintance, not to do it. He ordered him on the block,
 and as many irons to be rivetted on him as he was able
 to bear; and allowed his man to extort money from him,
 before he would allow him to be taken from the block.
 And notwithstanding *Mr. Philpot* pleaded his being a
 long time in prison, and his consequent poverty, and that
 he would willingly sell his gown off his back for twenty
 shillings, (“ for, said he, the bishop told me, I should
 “ soon be dispatched”) the keeper demanded four pounds;
 and because *Mr. Philpot* had it not to give him, he or-

dered his man to take him on his back, and carry him into *limbo*.

When notice was given him, the night before he suffered, that he was to be burnt the next day, he said,—“ I am ready; God give me strength, and a joyful resurrection.” He then poured out his spirit in prayer to the Lord, giving him hearty thanks for accounting him worthy to suffer for his truth. As he was going into *Smithfield*, the way being very dirty, two officers took him up, in order to bear him through the dirt; on which he merrily said—“ What! will you make a pope of me?” When he was come into *Smithfield*, he kneeled down and said, “ I will pay my vows in thee, O *Smithfield*!” Being come to the stake, he kissed it, and said; “ Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, when my Lord and Saviour refused not to suffer a most vile death upon the cross for me.” When he was bound to the stake, he repeated the hundred and sixth, seventh, and eighth *Psalms*, and prayed most fervently; till at length, in the midst of the flames, with great meekness and comfort, he gave up his spirit to God.

THOMAS CRANMER, D.D.

The first PROTESTANT ARCHBISHOP of *Canterbury*.

THIS great and good man was the son of *Thomas Cranmer, esq*; a gentleman of an antient and wealthy family, which came in with the conqueror; and was born at *Astaeton*, in *Nottinghamshire*, July 2, 1498. His father died, when he was very young: And his mother, when he was fourteen years old, sent him to *Cambridge*. He was elected fellow of *Jesus-College*; where he was so well beloved, that when his fellowship was vacant by marriage, yet his wife dying about a year after, the master and fellows chose him again. This favor he so gratefully acknowledged, that when he was nominated to a fellowship in cardinal *Wolsey*'s new foundation at *Oxford*, though the salary was much more considerable, and the way to preferment more ready by the favor of the cardinal, he nevertheless declined it, and chose rather to continue with



From an Original Painting in the British Museum.

his old fellow-collegians, who had given him so singular a proof of their affection.

In the year 1523, he commenced doctor of divinity, being then in the thirty-fourth year of his age; and being in great esteem for theological learning, he was chosen reader of the divinity-lecture in his own college, and appointed by the university to be one of the examiners of those, who took their degrees in divinity. These candidates he examined chiefly out of the scriptures; and finding many of them grossly ignorant thereof, having thrown away their time on the dark perplexities and useless questions of the schoolmen, he rejected them as insufficient; advising them to apply themselves closely to the study of the holy scriptures, before they came for their degrees; it being shameful for a professor of divinity to be unskilled in that book, wherein the knowledge of God, and the grounds of divinity lay. And though some hated him for this, yet the more ingenuous publicly returned him thanks, for having been the means of their great improvement in the sound knowledge of religion.

During his residence at *Cambridge*, the question arose concerning king *Henry's* divorce; and the plague breaking out in the university about that time, he retired to *Waltham-Abbey*: Where casually meeting with *Gardiner* and *Fox*, the one the king's secretary, the other his almoner; and discoursing with them about the divorce, he greatly commended the expedient suggested to the king by cardinal *Wolsey*, of consulting the divines of our own and the foreign universities; which he thought would bring the matter to a short issue, and be the safest and surest method of giving the king's troubled conscience a well-grounded satisfaction. This conversation *Fox* and *Gardiner* related to the king; who was so much pleased with it, that he said, 'Cranmer had got the sow by the right ear,' and immediately sent for him to court; and admiring his gravity, modesty and learning, resolved to cherish and promote him. Accordingly he made him his chaplain, and gave him a good benefice: He was also nominated by him to be archdeacon of *Taunton*. At the king's command he drew up his own judgement of the case in writing; and so solidly defended it in the public school at *Cambridge*, that he brought over many of the contrary part to his opinion; particularly five of those six doctors, who had before given in their judgement to the king, for the lawfulness of the pope's dispensation with marrying the brother's wife.

In a matter of so great importance, it may not be improper to give an abstract of those arguments, on which they, who, with doctor *Cranmer*, favored the divorce, grounded their judgement. These were taken partly from scripture; partly from fathers, councils, and schoolmen.

From scripture they argued, ‘ That the prohibited degrees in *Leviticus* were not only obligatory to the *Jewish* nation, but moral precepts and the primitive laws of marriage; as appeared from the judgements denounced against the *Canaanites* for the violation of them, and their being said to have polluted the land thereby; which cannot be accounted for, if these were only positive *Jewish* constitutions: That among those prohibited degrees, the marriage with the brother’s wife was one; *Lev. xviii. 16. and 20, 21.* And that the breach of these precepts was called an unclean thing, wickedness and an abomination: That the dispensation in *Deuteronomy*, of marrying with the brother’s wife, only shewed, that the foundation of the law was not in its own nature immutable, but might be dispensed with by immediate divine revelation; but that it did not follow, that the pope by his ordinary authority could dispense with it: And to pretend the sense of the precept to be only a prohibition of having the father’s wife in his life time, was a poor low cavil, it being universally unlawful to have any man’s wife whatever, while he was yet living.

‘ The constant tradition of the church was clear against the lawfulness of the marriage. *Origen* on *Lev. xx.* St. *Chrysostom* on *Matth. xxii.* and St. *Basil* in his epistle to *Diodorus*, expressly assert these precepts to be obligatory under the gospel; and in the *Latin* church, St. *Ambrose*, *Jerom*, and *Austin*, were of the same opinion. And *Tertullian*, who lived within an age after the apostles, in his fourth book against *Marcion*, affirms, that the law of not marrying the brother’s wife does still oblige Christians. Pope *Gregory* the Great had given the same determination, in answer to *Austin*, the first archbishop of *Canterbury*; and directed him to advise all, who had married their brother’s wife, to look on the marriage as a most grievous sin, and to separate from her society. Other popes had declared themselves of the same judgement; and particularly *Innocent* the Third had wrote with great vehemence against such marriages.’

To these were added many testimonies from the writers of later ages, and the schoolmen and canonists; but the judgement of the purest antiquity being so full and express,

prefs, we shall pass them over, as less material; only observing, that on the contrary side none could be produced, before *Wickliffe* and *Cajetan*, who looked on these prohibitions as only branches of the judicial law of the *Jews*.

‘ The second canon of the council of *Neo-cæsarea* decrees, that if a woman were married to two brothers, she should be excommunicated till death; and that the man, who married his brother’s wife, should be anathematized: Which was confirmed in a council held by pope *Gregory* the Second. The fifty-first canon of the council at *Agde* reckons the marriage with his brother’s wife among incestuous marriages; and decrees, that all such marriages are null, and the parties so contracting to be excommunicated till they separate from each other. And the contrary doctrine and error of *Wickliffe* had been condemned, not only in convocation at *London* and *Oxon*, but in the general council of *Constance*.’

And because some endeavors were used to evade all this by a pretence, that the marriage with prince *Arthur* was never consummated; it was farther alledged, ‘ that consummation was not necessary to make a marriage complete, as might be inferred from *Deut.* xxii. 24. where the woman, who was only espoused to a man, if she admitted another to her bed, is commanded to be stoned as an adulteress; and the man is said to have humbled his neighbour’s wife: And though *Joseph* had never consummated the marriage with the blessed virgin, yet it appears from *Matt.* i. 19, that he could not put her away, without a solemn bill of divorce.’

But, in this case, there was not the least ground to imagine, that the marriage had not been consummated. The marriage-bed was solemnly blessed when they were put into it; they were seen publicly in bed together, for several days after. The *Spanish* ambassador had, by his master’s order, taken proofs of the consummation of the marriage, and sent them into *Spain*: And the young prince, who was then sixteen, had by many expressions given his servants cause to believe, that it was consummated the first night. Nay it was thought, that his too early marriage hastened his death, he having been strong, vigorous, and healthy, before it; but afterwards declined apace, which was attributed to his being too uxorious. After his death, his brother was not created prince of *Wales*, till ten months were elapsed, that they might be certain that the princess was not with child, before they conferred that honor upon him. She herself never said any thing then to the contrary; and in the petition offered to

to the pope in her name, as repeated in his bull, it is said, that the marriage was perhaps consummated: Nay farther, in the pope's brief, it is plainly confessed, that the marriage was fully consummated.

In the year 1530, doctor *Cranmer* was sent by the king to dispute on this subject at *Paris*, *Rome*, and in other foreign parts. At *Rome* he delivered his book to the pope, and offered to justify it in a public disputation: But after sundry promises and appointments, none appeared to oppose him publicly; and in more private conferences he forced them to confess, that the marriage was contrary to the law of God. The pope constituted him pœnitentiary general of *England*, and dismissed him. In *Germany*, he gave full satisfaction to many learned men, who were before of a contrary persuasion; and prevailed on the famous *Osiander*, to declare the king's marriage unlawful, in his treatise of incestuous marriages, and to draw up a form of direction, how the king's process should be managed; which was sent over to *England*. Before he left *Germany*, he was married to *Osiander's* niece; whom, when he returned from his embassy, he did not take over with him, but sent for her privately in 1534.

In *August*, 1532, archbishop *Warham* departed this life; and the king, thinking Dr. *Cranmer* the most proper person to succeed him in the see of *Canterbury*, wrote to him to hasten home, concealing the reason: But *Cranmer* guessing at it, and desirous to decline the station, moved slowly on; in hopes that the see might be filled, before his arrival. But all this backwardness, and the excuses which his great modesty and humility prompted him to make, when after his return the king opened his resolution to him, served only to raise the king's opinion of his merit; so that at last he found himself obliged to submit, and undertake the weighty charge. 'This declining of preferment (says bishop *Burnet*) being a thing of which the clergy of that age were so little guilty, discovered, that he had maxims very far different from most church-men.'

The pope, notwithstanding *Cranmer* was a man very unacceptable to *Rome*, dispatched eleven bulls to complete his character. By the first, which is directed to the king, he is, on his nomination, promoted to the see of *Canterbury*; by the second, directed to himself, notice is given him of this promotion; the third absolves him from all censures; the fourth was sent to the suffragans; the fifth to the dean and chapter; the sixth to the clergy of *Canterbury*; the seventh to all the laity; the eighth to

to all that held lands of the see, requiring them to acknowledge him as archbishop; by the ninth his consecration is ordered, upon taking the oath in the pontifical; by the tenth the pall was sent him; and by the eleventh, the archbishop of *York*, and bishop of *London*, were ordered to put it on. These bulls, the archbishop according to custom received; but immediately surrendered them to the king, because he would not acknowledge the pope's power of conferring ecclesiastical dignities in *England*, which he esteemed the king's sole right.

He was consecrated on *March 30, 1533*, by *John Longland*, bishop of *Lincoln*, *John Voicy*, bishop of *Exeter*, and *Henry Standish*, bishop of *St. Asaph*: And because in the oath of fidelity to the pope, which he was obliged to take before his consecration, there were some things seemingly inconsistent with his allegiance to the king; he made a public protestation, that he intended not to take the oath in any other sense than that which was reconcilable to the laws of God, the king's just prerogative, and the statutes of this kingdom; so as not to bind himself thereby, to act contrary to any of these. This protestation he renewed, when he was to take another oath to the pope, at his receiving the pall; and both times desired the protonotary to make a public instrument of his protestation, and the persons present to sign it.

The first service the archbishop did for the king, was pronouncing the sentence of his divorce from queen *Catharine*, which was done *May 23*. *Gardiner*, bishop of *Winchester*, and the bishops of *London*, *Bath*, and *Lincoln*, being in commission with him. The queen, after three citations, neither appearing in person, nor by proxy, was declared contumax; the depositions, relating to the consummation of the marriage with prince *Arthur*, were read, together with the conclusions of the provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, and the opinions of the most noted canonists and divines in favor of the divorce: And the archbishop, with the unanimous consent of the rest of the commissioners, pronounced the marriage between the king and queen *Catharine* null, and of no force, from the beginning; and declared them separated and divorced from each other, and at liberty to engage with whom they pleased. In this affair the archbishop proceeded, only upon what had been already concluded by the universities, convocations, &c. and did no more than put their decisions into a form of law. On the twenty-eighth of *May* he held another court at *Lambeth*, in which he confirmed the king's marriage with *Anne Boleyn*.

The pope, alarmed at these proceedings, by a public instrument, declared the divorce null and void, and threatened to excommunicate the archbishop, unless he would revoke all that he had done: Whereupon the archbishop appealed from the pope to the next general council, lawfully called; and sent the appeal under his seal to *Bonner*, desiring him and *Gardiner* to acquaint the pope with it, in such a manner, as they thought most expedient.

On the seventh of *September*, the new queen was delivered of a daughter, who was baptized the *Wednesday* following, and named *Elizabeth*; archbishop *Cranmer* standing godfather.

When the supremacy came under debate, and the usurped power of the bishop of *Rome* was called in question, the archbishop answered all the arguments brought in defence of the papal tyranny, with such strength and perspicuity, and so solidly confuted its advocates from the word of God, and the universal consent of the primitive church; that the foreign power was, without scruple, abolished by full consent in parliament and convocation. The destruction of this usurped jurisdiction *Cranmer* had prayed for many years, as himself declared in a sermon at *Canterbury*; because it was the occasion of many things being done contrary to the honor of God, and the good of this realm; and he perceived no hopes of amendment while it continued. This he now saw happily effected; and soon after, he ordered an alteration to be made in the archiepiscopal titles, instead of *Apostolicæ sedis legatus*, styling himself *Metropolitanus*.

The king, whose supremacy was now almost as universally acknowledged, as the pope's had been before, looked on the monastries with a jealous eye; these he thought were by their privileges of exemption engaged to the see of *Rome*, and would prove a body of reserve for the pope, always ready to appear in the quarrel, and to support his claim. This, it is probable, was the chief motive which inclined the king to think of dissolving them: And *Cranmer*, being consulted on this head, approved of the resolution. He saw how inconsistent those foundations were with the Reformation of religion, which he then had in view; and proposed, that, out of the revenues of the monastries, the king should found more bishoprics; that the dioceses being reduced into less compass, the bishops might the better discharge their duty according to scripture and private practice. He hoped also, that from these ruins there would be new foundations erected in every

every cathedral, to be nurseries of learning, under the inspection of the bishop, for the use and benefit of the whole diocese. But these noble designs were unhappily defeated, by the sinister arts of some avaricious courtiers, who, without fear of the divine vengeance, or regard to the good of the public, studied only how sacrilegiously to raise their own fortunes out of the church's spoils.

When queen *Anne Boleyn* was sent to the *Tower*, on a sudden jealousy of the king, the archbishop was greatly concerned for her misfortune, and did his utmost endeavor to assist her in her distress. He wrote a consolatory letter to the king, in which, after having recommended to him an equality of temper, and resignation to Providence, he put him in mind of the great obligations he had received from the queen, and endeavored to dispose the king to clemency and a good humor. Finally, he most humbly implored him, that, however unfortunate the issue of this affair might prove, he would still continue his love to the gospel; lest it should be thought, that it was for her sake only, that he had favored it. But neither this letter of the archbishop, nor another very moving one wrote with her own hand, made the least impression upon the king: For her ruin was decreed, and (after *Cranmer* had declared her marriage with the king null and void, upon her confession of a præ-contract with the earl of *Northumberland*) she was tried in the *Tower*, and executed on the nineteenth of *May*, 1536.

In 1537, the archbishop, with the joint authority of the bishops, set forth the famous book, entitled, “The Erudition of a Christian-man.” This book was composed in convocation; and drawn up for a direction to the bishops and clergy. It contains an explication of the creed, the Lord's-prayer, the ave-maria, justification, and purgatory. This was a great step towards the future Reformation; for in this book the universal pastorship of the bishop of *Rome* is declared to have no foundation in the word of God; the church of *England* is asserted to be as truly and properly a catholic and apostolic church, as that of *Rome*, or any other church where the apostles personally resided; and all churches are affirmed to be equal in power and dignity, built upon the same foundation, governed by the same Spirit, and on as good grounds expecting the same glorious immortality.—In the article of the sacrament of the altar, though the corporal presence is asserted, yet it is only said, that the sacrament is to be used with “all due reverence and honor,” without any mention of the adoration of the elements.

The superstitious notions of the people concerning the ceremonies and injunctions of the church, in thinking them of stricter obligation than moral duties, are censured. In the exposition of the second commandment, bowing down to, or worshipping of images, is expressly condemned. The invocation of saints is restrained to begging their intercession for us; and health of body and mind, remission of sin, grace and future happiness, are said to be above the disposal of created beings; and blessings, for the obtaining which, we must apply only to God Almighty. The clergy are forbid to pretend to temporal jurisdiction, independent on the civil magistrate; passive obedience is asserted without restriction; and all resistance, on what pretence soever, condemned. The people are cautioned against mistaking the *ave-maria* for a prayer, which is only an hymn of praise. Justification is attributed to the merits and satisfaction of *Jesus Christ* ALONE, exclusive of the merit of good works: And the pope's pardon, masses at *Scala Cæli*, or before any celebrated images, are declared unprofitable to deliver souls out of the middle state of punishment; concerning the nature and degrees of which it is affirmed, that we have no certainty from revelation.—All this was doing something towards a more perfect Reformation, when Providence should afford both time and opportunity.

Archbishop *Cranmer*, from the day of his promotion to the see of *Canterbury*, had continually employed his thoughts on getting the scriptures translated into *English*: He had often solicited his majesty about it, and, at length, obtained a grant that they might be translated and printed. For want of good paper in *England*, the copy was sent to *Paris*; and by *Bonner's* means a licence was procured for printing it there. As soon as some of the copies came to the archbishop's hands, he sent one to the lord *Cromwell*, desiring him to present it in his name to the king, importuning him to intercede with his majesty, that by his authority all his subjects might have the liberty of using it without constraint; which lord *Cromwell* accordingly did, and the king readily assented. Injunctions were forthwith published, requiring an *English* bible of the largest size to be procured for the use of every parish church, at the expence of the minister and church-wardens; and prohibited all discouraging the people from reading or hearing the scriptures. The book was received with inexpressible joy; every one, that was able, purchased the same; and the poor greedily flocked to hear it read. Some persons in years learned to read on purpose
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that they might peruse it; and even little children crouded with eagerness to hear it.

The archbishop was not yet convinced of the falseness of the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation, but continued a stiff maintainer of the corporal presence; as appears from his being unhappily concerned in the prosecution of *Lambert*, who was burnt, *November* the 20th, 1538, for denying transubstantiation.

In 1539, the archbishop and the other bishops, who favored a Reformation, fell under the king's displeasure; because they could not be persuaded, to give their assent in parliament, that the king should have all the revenues of the monasteries which were suppressed, to his own sole use. They had been prevailed upon to consent, that he should have all the lands which his ancestors gave to any of them; but the residue they would have bestowed on hospitals, schools, and other pious and charitable foundations. In particular, *Cranmer* had projected, that a provision should be made, out of this fund, in every cathedral, for readers of divinity, and of *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and so to render them, instead of stalls of laziness, seminaries of learning. *Gardiner*, bishop of *Winchester*, and the rest of the popish faction, took this opportunity to insinuate themselves, by their hypocrisy and flattery, into the king's favor, and to incense him against the archbishop. This is thought to have been the cause of the king's zeal, in pressing the bill containing the six bloody articles; by which none were allowed to speak against transubstantiation, on pain of being burnt as heretics, and forfeiting their goods and chattels, as in case of treason: It was also thereby made felony, and forfeiture of lands and goods, to defend the communion in both kinds, or marriage of the clergy, or those who had vowed celibacy, or to speak against private masses and auricular confession.

The archbishop argued boldly in the house against the six articles, three days together; and that so strenuously, that though the king was obstinate in passing the act, yet he desired a copy of his reasons against it; and shewed no resentment towards him for his opposition to it. The king would have persuaded him to withdraw out of the house, since he could not vote for the bill; but, after a decent excuse, he told his majesty, that he thought himself obliged in conscience, to stay and shew his dissent. When the bill passed, he entered his protest against it; and soon after he sent his wife away privately to her friends in *Germany*. The king, who loved him for his probity

and courage, sent the dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and the lord *Cromwell*, to acquaint him with the esteem he had for him, and to assure him of his favor, notwithstanding the passing of the act. Bishop *Burnet* says, upon this matter, ‘ that *Cranmer* put his reasons against the six
 ‘ articles together, and gave them to his secretary to be
 ‘ written out in a fair hand for the king’s use: But the
 ‘ secretary crossing the *Thames* with the book in his bo-
 ‘ som, met with such an adventure on the water, as might
 ‘ at another time have sent the author to the fire. There
 ‘ was a bear baited near the river, which breaking loose,
 ‘ ran into it, and happened to overturn the boat in which
 ‘ *Cranmer*’s secretary was; and he, being in danger of
 ‘ his life, took no care of the book, which falling from
 ‘ him floated on the river, and was taken up by the bear-
 ‘ keeper, who put it into the hand of a priest that stood
 ‘ by, to see what it might contain. The priest presently
 ‘ found it was a confutation of the six articles, and so
 ‘ told the bear-keeper, that the author of it would cer-
 ‘ tainly be hanged. So when the secretary came to ask
 ‘ for it, and said it was the archbishop’s book; the other,
 ‘ being an obstinate papist, refused to give it, and reckoned
 ‘ that now *Cranmer* would certainly be ruined. But the
 ‘ secretary acquainted lord *Cromwell* with it, who called
 ‘ for the priest, and severely chid him for presuming to
 ‘ keep a privy counsellor’s book; and so he took it out
 ‘ of his hands. Thus the archbishop was delivered out
 ‘ of his danger.’

In 1540, the king issued out a commission, to the archbishop, and a select number of bishops, to inspect into matters of religion, and explain some of the chief doctrines of it. The bishops drew up a set of articles favoring the old popish superstitions; and, meeting at *Lambeth*, vehemently urged the archbishop, that they might be established, it being the king’s will and pleasure. But, neither by fear nor flattery, could they prevail upon him to consent to it; no, though his friend the lord *Cromwell* lay then in the *Tower*, and himself was supposed to lose ground daily more and more in the king’s affections. He went himself to the king, and expostulated with him, and so wrought upon him, that he joined with the archbishop against the rest of the commissioners; and the book of articles was drawn up and passed according to *Cranmer*’s judgement.

In this year the largest volume of the *English* bible was published, with an excellent preface of the archbishop’s prefixed to it; and the king required all parishes to pro-
 vide.

vide one of them by the next *All-hallowtide*, under the penalty of forty shillings a month, till they had got one. The people were also charged not to dispute about it, nor to disturb divine service by reading it during the mass; but to read it humbly and reverently for their instruction. Six of these were set up in several parts of *St. Paul's*; but *Bonner*, afraid of the effect, posted up near them an admonition, 'that none should read them with vain glory and corrupt affections, or draw multitudes about them when they read them.' But such was the eager desire of the people after this *new-old* treasure (if I might so speak) that great numbers gathered about those who read; and such as had good voices used to read them aloud, in succession, almost all day long. Many sent their children to school, and when they had learned to read, they carried them to church to read the bible. In short, the eyes of the people being opened, they began boldly to speak against those doctrines of the church of *Rome*, which either contradicted or could not be found in the bible; insomuch that *Bonner* set up a new advertisement, threatening to take away the bibles, if this use were made of them. And upon the complaints he and his brethren presented upon this subject, the free use of the scriptures was afterwards much restrained.

After the fall of the lord *Cromwell*, archbishop *Cranmer*, observing the restless spirit of his adversaries, and how they lay upon the watch for an opportunity to bring him into trouble; thought it prudent to retire for a season, and to live in as great privacy as the duties of his station would permit him. Notwithstanding which, his implacable enemy, bishop *Gardiner*, was daily contriving his ruin; and he having procured one Sir *John Gostwicke* to accuse the archbishop in parliament, of encouraging novel opinions, and making his family a nursery of heresy and sedition; divers lords of the privy council moved the king to commit the archbishop to the *Tower*, till enquiry should be made into the truth of this charge.

The king, who perceived that there was more malice than truth in these clamors against *Cranmer*, one evening, under pretence of diverting himself on the water, ordered his barge to be rowed to *Lambeth* side. The archbishop's servants acquainting their lord of his majesty's being so near, the archbishop came to the water-side, to pay his respects to the king, and to invite him into his palace. The king commanded the archbishop to come into the barge, and made him sit down close by him; having so done, the king began to complain to him, of the nation's
being

being over-run with heresy and new notions of divinity, which he had reason to fear might be of dangerous consequence, and that the faction might in time break out into a civil war, and be the cause of much blood-shed, and the total ruin of many of his honest and peaceable subjects. To prevent which, his majesty told him, he was resolved to seek after the grand incendiary, and to take him off by some exemplary punishment: And then proceeded to ask the archbishop, what his opinion was of such a resolution. Though *Cranmer* soon smelt the meaning of that question, yet he freely, and without the least appearance of concern, replied; that his majesty's resolution was greatly to be commended; and that not only the prime incendiary, but also the rest of the factious heretics ought to be made public examples to the terror of others: But then he cautioned the king, not to charge those with heresy, who made the divinely-inspired scriptures the rule of their faith, and could prove their doctrines by clear testimonies from the word of God. Upon this, the king came closer, and plainly told him, he had been informed by many, that he was the grand heresiarch, who encouraged all this heterodoxy, and that his authority had occasioned the six articles to be contested so publicly in his province. The archbishop modestly replied, that he could not acknowledge himself to be of the same opinion, in respect of those articles, as he had declared himself of, when the bill was passing; but that notwithstanding he was not conscious to himself, of having offended against the act. Then the king, putting on an air of pleasantry, asked him, whether his bed-chamber would stand the test of those articles; the archbishop gravely and ingenuously confessed, that he was married in *Germany* during his embassy at the emperor's court, before his promotion to the see of *Canterbury*; but, at the same time, assured the king, that on the passing that act, he had parted with his wife, and sent her abroad to her friends. His answering thus, without evasion or reserve, so pleased the king, that he now pulled off the mask, and assured him of his favor; and then freely told him of the information preferred against him, and who they were that pretended to make it good. The archbishop said, that he was not afraid of the strictest scrutiny; and therefore was willing to submit himself to a legal trial. The king assured him, he would put the cause into his own hands, and trust him entirely with the management of it. This, the archbishop remonstrated, would be censured as partiality, and the king's justice called in question: But his majesty had so strong an

an opinion of *Cranmer's* integrity, that he was resolved to leave it to his conduct; and, having farther assured him of the entire confidence he reposed in him, dismissed him.

The archbishop immediately sent down his vicar-general, and principal register, to *Canterbury*, to make a thorough enquiry into the affair, and trace the progress of this plot against him. In the mean time his adversaries importunately pressed the king to send him to prison, and oblige him to answer to the charge of heresy. At length his majesty resigned so far to their solicitations, as to consent, that if the archbishop could fairly be proved guilty of any one crime against either church or state, he should be sent to prison: In this the king acted the politician, intending, by thus seemingly giving countenance to the prosecution, to discover who were *Cranmer's* chief adversaries, and what was the length of their design against him. At midnight he sent a gentleman of his privy-chamber to *Lambeth*, to fetch the archbishop; and, when he was come, told him, how he had been daily importuned to commit him to prison, as a favorer of heresy; and how far he had complied. The archbishop thanked his majesty for this timely notice, and declared himself willing to go to prison, and stand a trial; for being conscious that he was not guilty of any offence, he thought that the best way to clear his innocence, and remove all unreasonable and groundless suspicions.

The king, admiring his simplicity, told him, he was in the wrong to rely so much on his innocence; for if he were once under a cloud, and hurried to prison, there would be villains enough to swear any thing against him; but while he was at liberty, and his character entire, it would not be so easy to suborn witnesses against him. ‘And therefore, continued he, since your own unguarded simplicity makes you less cautious than you ought to be, I will suggest to you the means of your preservation. To-morrow you will be sent for to the privy-council, and ordered to prison; upon this you are to request, that since you have the honor to be one of the board, you may be admitted unto the council, and the informers against you brought face to face; and then, if you cannot clear yourself, you are willing to go to prison: If this reasonable request is denied you, appeal to me, and give them this sign, that you have my authority for so doing.’ Then the king took a ring of great value off his finger, gave it to the archbishop, and dismissed him.

The

The next morning, the archbishop was summoned to the privy-council; and, when he came there, was denied admittance into the council-chamber. When Dr. *Butts*, one of the king's physicians, heard of this, he came to the archbishop, who was waiting in the lobby amongst the footmen, to shew his respect, and to protect him from insults. The king soon after sending for the doctor, he acquainted his majesty with the shameful indignity put upon the archbishop. The king, incensed, that the PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND should be used in so contumelious a manner, immediately sent to command them to admit the archbishop into the council-chamber. At his entrance he was saluted with an heavy accusation, of having infected the whole realm with heresy; and commanded to the *Tower*, till the whole of this charge was thoroughly examined. The archbishop desired to see the informers against him, and to have the liberty of defending himself before the council, and not to be sent to prison on bare suspicion. But when this was absolutely denied him, and finding that neither arguments nor intreaties would prevail, he appealed to the king; and producing the ring he had given him, put a stop to their proceedings. When they came before the king, he severely reprimanded them, expatiated on his obligations to *Cranmer* for his fidelity and integrity, and charged them, if they had any affection for him, to express it, by their love and kindness to the archbishop. *Cranmer*, having escaped the snare, never shewed the least resentment for the injuries done him; and, from this time forwards, had so great a share in the king's favor, that nothing farther was attempted against him.

These troubles of the good archbishop are somewhat differently related by doctor *Burnet* and Mr. *Strype*; but I rather chuse to follow archbishop *Parker's* account, who, living in those times, must be allowed to be a much better authority in things of this nature, than any who lived at so great a distance.

The archbishop's vicar-general and register, being found negligent and dilatory, the king sent doctor *Lee* privately to *Canterbury*, to examine into this conspiracy against the archbishop, and make his report of what he could discover. On a strict enquiry, he found letters from bishop *Gardiner's* secretary, by which it appeared, that that prelate had been the principal promoter of this prosecution against *Cranmer*. When the bishop of *Winchester* perceived, that his designs against the archbishop were detected, fearing the consequence, he wrote him a very penitent letter, in
which

which he acknowledged himself to have been guilty of great folly in giving credit to those slanderous reports, which were raised against the archbishop, as if he had been a favorer of heresy and false doctrines; declaring, that he was now entirely satisfied, that these accusations were wholly false and groundless; asking pardon in most submissive and affectionate terms, for his great rashness and undutifulness, and promising all future obedience and fidelity to the archbishop, whom he stiled his good and gentle father. On the reception of this letter, the archbishop, laying aside all resentment against him, resolved to forget what was past; and said, since *Gardiner* called him father, he would prove a father to him indeed: And when the king would have laid the bishop of *Winchester's* letter before the house of lords, *Cranmer* prevailed with him, not to give the bishop any trouble about it, but to let the matter drop.

The same lenity he shewed towards doctor *Thornton*, the suffragan of *Dover*, and doctor *Barbar*; who though entertained in his family, and entrusted with his secrets, and indebted to him for many favors, had ungratefully conspired, with *Gardiner*, to take away his life. When he first discovered their treachery, he took them aside into his study, and telling them that he had been basely and falsely abused by some, in whom he had always reposed the greatest confidence, desired them to advise him, how he should behave himself towards them. They, not suspecting to be concerned in the question, replied, that such vile abandoned villains ought to be prosecuted with the utmost rigor; nay, deserved to die without mercy. At this the archbishop, lifting up his hands to heaven, cried out, "Merciful God, whom may a man trust!" and then pulling out of his bosom the letters, by which he had discovered their treachery, asked them if they knew those papers. When they saw their own letters produced against them, they were in the utmost confusion, and, falling down on their knees, humbly sued for forgiveness. The archbishop told them, that he forgave them, and would pray for them; but that they must not expect him ever to trust them for the future.

And now I am upon this subject of the archbishop's readiness to forgive and forget injuries, I cannot but take notice of a pleasant story which happened some time before this: The archbishop's first wife, whom he married at *Cambridge*, lived at the *Dolphin-inn*; and he often resorting thither on that account, the popish party had raised a story, that he was hostler of that inn, and never had the

benefit of a learned education. This idle story a *Yorkshire* priest had with great confidence asserted, in an ale-house, which he used to frequent; railing at the archbishop, and saying, that he had no more learning than a goose. Some of the parish, who had a respect for *Cranmer's* character, informed the lord *Cromwell* of this, who immediately sent for the priest, and committed him to the *Fleet* prison. When he had been there nine or ten weeks, he sent a relation of his to the archbishop, to beg his pardon, and humbly sue to him for a discharge. The archbishop instantly sent for him, and, after a gentle reproof, asked the priest whether he knew him; to which he answered, no. The archbishop expostulated with him, why he should then make so free with his character. The priest excused himself by his being in drink: But this, *Cranmer* told him was a double fault; and then let him know, that if he had a mind to try what a scholar he was, he should have liberty to oppose him in whatever science he pleased. The priest humbly asked his pardon, and confessed himself to be very ignorant, and to understand nothing but his mother tongue. “No doubt then, (said *Cranmer*) you are well versed in the *English* bible, and can answer any questions out of that: Pray tell me who was *David's* father?” The priest stood still a while to consider; but at last told the archbishop, he could not recollect his name. “Tell me then (says *Cranmer*) who was *Solomon's* father?” The poor priest replied, that he had no skill in genealogies, and could not tell. Then the archbishop advised him to frequent alehouses less, and his study more; and admonished him, not to accuse others for want of learning, till he was master of some himself; discharged him out of custody, and sent him home to his cure.

Thus much may suffice concerning the clemency and charitable forgiving temper of the archbishop. He was much blamed by many for his too great lenity; which, it was thought, encouraged the popish faction to make fresh attempts against him. The king, observing their implacable hatred towards him, and the perils to which he was exposed, on account of the zeal for the Reformation of those abuses under which the church groaned, changed his coat of arms, from three cranes, to three pelicans; thereby intimating to him, that he must, like the pelican, shed his blood for his spiritual children's benefit, if it should please God to call him thereto.

And now the archbishop, finding the juncture somewhat favorable, argued against the sanguinary act of the six articles, in the parliament house, and pressed for a mitigation of

of its severity; and made such an impression on the king, and the temporal lords, by his strong and persuasive reasoning, that they agreed to moderate the rigour of the statute.

Soon after, the king prepared for an expedition against *France*, and ordering a litany to be said for a blessing on his arms, the archbishop prevailed with him to let it be set forth in *English*; the service in an unknown tongue making the people negligent in coming to church. This, with the prohibition of some superstitious and unwarrantable customs, touching vigils and the worship of the cross, was all the progress the Reformation made, during the reign of king *Henry*: For the intended Reformation of the canon law, was, by the craft of bishop *Gardiner*, suppressed for reasons of state; and the king, towards the latter end of his life, seemed to have a strong bias towards the popish superstitions, and to frown on all attempts of a Reformation.

On the 28th of *January*, 1546, king *Henry* departed this life; and was succeeded by his son *Edward*, who was godson to the archbishop, and had been instructed by men who favored the Reformation. Archbishop *Cranmer* was one of those, whom the late king had nominated for his executors, and who were to take the administration of the government into their hands, till king *Edward* was eighteen years old: And when the earl of *Hertford* was afterwards chosen protector, his power was limited, so as not to be able to do any thing, without the advice and consent of all the other executors.

The bishops of the popish party (says bishop *Burnet*) took strange methods to insinuate themselves into the late king's confidence; for they took out commissions, by which they acknowledged, that 'all jurisdiction, civil and ecclesiastical, flowed from the king, and that they exercised it only at the king's courtesy, and would resign it at his command.' That archbishop *Cranmer* adopted this error, is plain, not only from his answers to some questions relating to the government of the church, first published by doctor *Stillfleet*, in his *Irenicum*, but from the commission, which he now took out from the new king; whom he petitioned for a revival of his jurisdiction; and that as he had exercised the functions of an archbishop during the former reigns, so that authority determining with the late king's life, his present majesty would trust him with the same jurisdiction. On this error of the archbishop, the modern papists make tragical outcries, forgetting, that it was the common mistake of those times; and that *Bonner* not only took out the same commission now, but had before taken out that other in the reign of king *Henry*, in which

(as we have observed) the king was declared the fountain of all authority, civil and ecclesiastical; and those, who formerly exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction, are said to have done it precariously, and at the courtesy of the king, and that it was lawful for him to revoke it at pleasure: And therefore, since the lord *Cromwell*, the king's vicar-general in ecclesiastical affairs, was so far employed in matters of state, as not to be at leisure to discharge his function every where, the king gave *Bonner* authority to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in the diocese of *London*.

This seems to have been the precedent, after which the new commissions were now formed. Mr. *Strype*, indeed, confidently affirms the archbishop to have had a hand in drawing them up; but the very words, which he quotes to prove it, are manifestly taken from the preamble to *Bonner's* commission. But from these unprimitive and uncatholic notions, our archbishop was happily recovered by that bright luminary of our reformed church, bishop *Ridley*.

The late king, who died in the *Roman* communion, (though his imperfections are so freely charged on the Reformation by the papists) had, in his will, left six hundred pounds per annum, for masses for his soul, with provision for four solemn obits every year; but, by the influence of the archbishop, this superstitious part of his will, notwithstanding his strict and solemn charge for its execution, was neglected.

On the 20th of *February*, the coronation of king *Edward* was solemnized at *Westminster Abbey*. The ceremony was performed by archbishop *Cranmer*, who made an excellent speech to the king; in which, after a censure of the papal encroachments on princes, and a declaration, that the solemn ceremonies of a coronation add nothing to the authority of a prince, whose power is derived immediately from God; he goes on to inform the king of his duty, exhorts him to follow the precedent of good *Josias*, to regulate the worship of God, to suppress idolatry, reward virtue, execute justice, relieve the poor, repress violence, and punish the evil doer. It may not be improper, to transcribe what he says concerning the divine original of kingly power, in his own words; to rectify some prevailing notions amongst us. “ The solemn rites of coronation (says he) have their ends and utility, yet neither direct force or necessity; they be good admonitions to put kings in mind of their duty to God, but no increase-ment of their dignity: For they be God's anointed, not in respect of the oil, which the bishop useth, but in consideration of their power which is ordained, of the sword

“ sword which is authorized, of their persons which are
“ elected of God ; and indued with the gifts of his Spirit,
“ for the better ruling and guiding of the people. The
“ oil, if added, is but a ceremony ; if it be wanting, the
“ king is yet a perfect monarch notwithstanding, and
“ God’s anointed, as well as if he was inoiled.” Then
follows his account of the king’s duty ; after which he
goes on, “ Being bound by my function, to lay these
“ things before your royal highness ; yet I openly declare,
“ before the living God, and before the nobles of the land,
“ that I have no commission to denounce your majesty
“ deprived, if your highness miss in part, or in whole, of
“ these performances.”

This speech had so good an effect on the young king, that a royal visitation was resolved on, to rectify the disorders of the church, and reform religion. The visitors had six circuits assigned them ; and every division had a preacher, whose business it was, to bring off the people from superstition, and dispose them for the intended alterations. And to make the impressions of their doctrine more lasting, the archbishop thought it highly expedient to have some homilies composed ; which should, in a plain method, teach the grounds and foundation of true religion, and correct the prevailing errors and superstitions. On this head he consulted the bishop of *Winchester*, and desired his concurrence ; but to no purpose : For *Gardiner*, forgetting his large professions of all future obedience to the archbishop, was returned with the dog to his vomit, and wrote to the protector, to put a stop to the Reformation in its birth. When *Cranmer* perceived that *Gardiner* was obstinate, he went on without him, and set forth the first book of homilies, in which himself had the chief hand. Soon after, *Erasmus’s* paraphrase on the New Testament was translated, and placed in every church, for the instruction of the people.

On *November 5, 1547*, a convocation was held at *St. Paul’s*, which the archbishop opened with a speech ; in which he put the clergy in mind of applying themselves to the study of the holy scriptures, and proceeding according to that rule, in the throwing off the corrupt innovations of popery. But the terror of the six articles being a check on the majority, they acquainted the archbishop with their fears ; who, reporting it to the council, prevailed to have that act repealed. In this convocation, the communion was ordered to be administered in both kinds, and the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy affirmed by a great majority,

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In the latter end of *January*, the archbishop wrote to *Bonner*, to forbid, throughout his diocese, the ridiculous processions, which were usual in the popish times, on *Candlemas-Day*, *Ash-Wednesday* and *Palm-Sunday*; and to cause notice thereof to be given to the other neighboring bishops, that they might do the same. He was also one of the committee appointed to inspect the offices of the church, and to reform them according to scripture and the purest antiquity: And by them a new office for the holy communion was drawn up, and set forth by authority.

This year was also published the archbishop's catechism, entitled, "A short instruction in Christian religion, for the singular profit of children and young people," and a *Latin* treatise of his, against unwritten verities. From this catechism, it is plain, that he had now recovered himself from those extravagant notions of the regal supremacy, which he had once run into; for here he strenuously asserts the divine commission of bishops and priests, enlarges on the efficacy of their absolution and spiritual censures, and earnestly wishes for the restoring the primitive penitentiary discipline.

In 1550, the archbishop published his "Defence of the true and catholic doctrine of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour *Christ*." He had now, by the advice and assistance of bishop *Ridley*, overcome those strong prejudices he had so long labored under, in favor of the corporal presence; and in this treatise, from scripture and reason, excellently confuted it. The popish party were alarmed at the publication of it; and soon after two answers to it were published, the one written by Dr. *Smith*, the other by *Gardiner*. The archbishop defended his book against them both; and was allowed, by all impartial readers, vastly to have the superiority in the argument. The archbishop's book was afterwards translated into *Latin*, by sir *John Cheke*, and was highly esteemed by all learned foreigners, for the great knowledge in scripture and ecclesiastical antiquity therein discovered.

The next material occurrence relating to the archbishop, was the publication of the forty-two articles of religion; which, with the assistance of bishop *Ridley*, he drew up for preserving and maintaining the purity and unity of the church. They were also revised by several other bishops and learned divines; and, after their corrections, farther enlarged and improved by *Cranmer*. These articles were agreed to in convocation in 1552, and in 1553 were published by royal authority, both in *Latin* and *English*.

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The archbishop had formed a design, in the reign of the late king *Henry*, to review and purge the old canon law from its popish corruptions, and had made some progress in the work: But by the secret artifices of *Gardiner* and others, that king was prevailed upon not to countenance or encourage it. In this reign he resumed his design, and procured a commission from the king, for himself, with other learned divines and lawyers, diligently to examine into the old church-laws; and to compile such a body of laws as they thought most expedient to be practised in the ecclesiastical courts, and most conducive to order and good discipline. The archbishop prosecuted this noble undertaking with great vigor, and had the principal hand in it: But when a correct and complete draught of it was finished and prepared for the royal assent, the unhappy death of the good young king blasted this great design, and prevented its confirmation. The book was published by archbishop *Parker*, in the year 1571, entitled, *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum*.

King *Edward* was now far gone in a consumption, not without some strong suspicions of being brought into that condition by slow poison; and, finding himself decay apace, began to think of settling the succession. He had been persuaded by the artifices of the duke of *Northumberland*, to exclude his sisters, and to bequeath the crown to the lady *Jane Grey*, who was married to *Northumberland's* son. This, the duke pretended, was absolutely necessary for the preservation of the reformed religion, which would be in great danger from the succession of the princess *Mary*.—But, in fact, he had nothing at heart but the aggrandizing his own family, and intailing the crown on his posterity; for he was even then a secret papist, as he afterwards confessed at his execution. The archbishop did his utmost to oppose this alteration of the succession: He argued against it with the king, telling him, that religion wanted not to be defended by such unrighteous methods; that it was one of the gross errors of the papists, to justify the excluding or deposing princes from their just rights, on account of religion; and, let the consequence be what it would, justice ought to take place, and the protection of the church committed to the care of that righteous providence, which was never known to give a blessing to those, who endeavored to preserve themselves from any imminent danger by unlawful means. But his majesty, being over-persuaded by *Northumberland's* agents, was not to be moved from his resolution: The will was made, and subscribed by the council and the judges. The arch-
bishop

bishop was sent for, last of all, and required to subscribe: But he plainly told them he could not do it without perjury, having sworn to the entail of the crown on the two princesses, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*. To this the king replied, that the judges, who best knew the constitution, should be most regarded in this point; and they had informed him, that, notwithstanding that entail, he might lawfully bequeath the crown to the lady *Jane*. The archbishop desired to discourse with them himself about this matter; and they all agreeing, that he might lawfully subscribe the king's will, he was, after many persuasions, prevailed upon to resign his own private scruples to their authority, and at last, not without great reluctancy, he set his hand to it.

On the sixth of *July*, in the year of our Lord 1553, it pleased Almighty God to take to himself this pious and good prince, king *Edward*; and the archbishop, having subscribed to the king's will, thought himself obliged, by virtue of his oath, to join the lady *Jane*. But her short-lived power soon expired, and queen *Mary's* title was universally acknowledged, and submitted to.

Not long after her accession, a false report was raised; that archbishop *Cranmer*, in order to make his court to the queen, had offered to restore the *Latin* service, and that he had already said mass in his cathedral church of *Canterbury*. To vindicate himself from this vile and base aspersion, the archbishop published a declaration; in which he not only cleared himself from that unjust imputation, but offered publicly to defend the *English* liturgy, and prove it consonant to scripture, and the purest antiquity; and challenged his enemies to a disputation. This declaration soon fell into the hands of the council, who sent a copy of it to the queen's commissioner's; and they immediately sent for the archbishop, and questioned him about it. *Cranmer* acknowledged it to be his; but complained that it had, contrary to his intent, stolen abroad in so imperfect a condition: For his design was to review and correct it, and then, after he had put his seal to it, to fix it up at *St. Paul's*, and on all the church-doors in *London*. This bold and extraordinary answer so irritated them, that they sent him, within a week, to the *Tower*, there to be confined, till the queen's pleasure concerning him was known. Some of his friends, who foresaw this storm, had advised him to consult his safety, by retiring beyond sea; but he thought it would reflect a great dishonor on the cause he had espoused, if he should desert his station at such a time as this; and chose rather

to hazard his life, than give such just cause of scandal and offence. The substance of this remarkable paper was as follows: That he found the devil was, more than ordinary, busy in defaming the servants of God; and that whereas the corruptions of the mass had been cast out, and that the Lord's Supper was again set up, according to its first institution; the devil now, to promote the mass, which was his invention, set his instruments on work, who gave it out, that it was now said in *Canterbury* by the archbishop's order: Therefore he protested, that it was false, and that a dissembling monk (meaning *Thornton*, suffragan bishop of *Dover*) had done it without his knowledge. He also offered, that he and *Peter Martyr*, with four or five more whom he would name, were ready to prove the errors of the mass, and to defend the doctrine and service set forth by the late king, as most conformable to the word of God, and to the practice of the antient church for many ages.

In the middle of *November*, archbishop *Cranmer* was attainted by the parliament, (which in those times yielded to any thing, and to every thing) and adjudged guilty of high treason, at *Guildhall*. His see was hereupon declared void: And on the tenth of *December* the dean and chapter of *Canterbury* gave commissions to several persons to exercise archiepiscopal jurisdiction in their name, and by their authority. Archbishop *Cranmer* wrote a very submissive letter to the queen; in the most humble manner acknowledging his fault, in consenting to sign the king's will; acquainting her, what pressing instances he made to the king against it; and excusing his fault, by being over-ruled by the authority of the judges and lawyers, who, he thought, understood the constitution better than he did himself. The queen had pardoned so many already, who had been far more deeply engaged in the lady *Jane's* usurpation, that *Cranmer* could not for shame be denied; so he was forgiven the treason: But, to gratify *Gardiner's* malice, and her own implacable hatred against him for her mother's divorce, orders were given to proceed against him for HERESY.

The *Tower* being full of prisoners, archbishop *Cranmer*, bishop *Ridley*, *Latimer*, and *Bradford*, were all put into one chamber; for which they blessed God, and for the opportunity of conversing together, reading and comparing the scriptures, confirming themselves in the true faith, and mutually exhorting each other to constancy in professing it, and patience in suffering for it.

In *April*, 1544, the archbishop, with bishop *Ridley*, and bishop *Latimer*, was removed from the *Tower* to *Windsor*, and from thence to *Oxford*, to dispute with some select persons of both universities. At the first appearance of the archbishop in the public schools, three articles were given him to subscribe: In which the corporal presence, by transubstantiation, was asserted, and the mass affirmed to be a propitiatory sacrifice, for the sins of the living and dead. These, he declared freely, he esteemed gross untruths; and promised to give an answer concerning them in writing. Accordingly he drew it up; and when he was brought again to the schools to dispute, he delivered the writing to *Dr. Weston*, the prolocutor. At eight in the morning the disputation began, and held till two in the afternoon; all which time the archbishop constantly maintained the truth, with great learning and courage, against a multitude of clamorous and insolent opponents. And three days after, he was again brought forth to oppose *Dr. Harpsfield*, who was to respond for his degree in divinity: And here he acquitted himself so well, clearly shewing the gross absurdities, and inextricable difficulties of the doctrine of transubstantiation, that *Weston* himself, as great a bigot as he was, could not but dismiss him with commendation.

In these disputations, among other slanderous reproaches, the archbishop was accused for corrupting and falsifying a passage, which in his book of the sacrament he had quoted from *St. Hilary*: In answer to which, he replied that he had transcribed it *verbatim* from the printed book; and that *Dr. Smith*, one of their own divines there present, had quoted it word for word also. But *Smith* made no reply, being conscious that it was true. When the disputation was over, one *Mr. Halcot*, remembering that he had *Smith's* book, went directly to his chamber in *University-College*; and comparing it with *Cranmer's*, found the quotations exactly to agree. He afterwards looked into a book of *Gardiner's*, called, 'The devil's sophistry,' where the same passage was cited; and both the *Latin* and *English* agreed exactly with *Cranmer's* quotation and translation. Upon this he resolved to carry the said books to the archbishop in prison, that he might produce them in his own vindication: When he came thither he was stopped, and brought before *Dr. Weston* and his colleagues; who, upon information of his design, charged him with treason, and abetting *Cranmer* in his heresy; and committed him to prison. The next day he was again brought before them; and they threatened to send him to bishop

Gardiner, to be tried for treason, unless he would subscribe the three articles, concerning which the disputation had been held. This he then refused; but being sent for again, after the condemnation of *Cranmer*, through fear he consented to do it; yet not till they had assured him, that, if he sinned by so doing, they would take the guilt upon themselves, and answer for it to God. And yet even this subscription, of which he afterwards heartily repented, could not prevail for the restoring his books, lest he should shew them to their shame; nor for his entire discharge, the master of *University-College* being commanded to keep a strict watch over him, till *Gardiner's* pleasure concerning him was known; and if he heard nothing from him in a fortnight's time, then to expel him the college for his offence.

On the twentieth of *April*, *Cranmer* was brought to *St. Mary's*, before the queen's commissioners; and refusing to subscribe, was pronounced an heretic, and sentence of condemnation was read against him as such. Upon which he told them that he appealed from their unjust sentence and judgement, to the judgement of the Almighty; and that he trusted to be received to his presence in heaven, for maintaining the truth of whose spiritual presence at the altar, he was there condemned. After this, his servants were dismissed from their attendance, and himself closely confined in prison.

The latter end of this year a popish convocation met; and did archbishop *Cranmer* the honor, to order his book of the sacrament to be burnt, in company with the *English* bible and common-prayer-book. *Cranmer*, in the mean time, spent his melancholy hours in writing a vindication of his treatise concerning the eucharist, from the objections of *Gardiner*; who had published a book against it, under the feigned name of *Marcus Antonius Constantius*. Many learned men of the *Romish* persuasion came to visit him in prison, and endeavored, by disputations and conferences, to draw him over to their church; but in vain.

In 1555, a new commission was sent from *Rome*, for the trial of archbishop *Cranmer* for heresy; the former sentence against him being void in law, because the authority of the pope was not then re-established. The commissioners were *Dr. Brooks*, bishop of *Gloucester*, the pope's delegate; *Dr. Story*, and *Dr. Martin*, doctors of the civil law, the queen's commissioners. On *September 12*, they met at *St. Mary's* church; and being seated at the high altar, commanded the archbishop to be brought before them. To the queen's commissioners, as representing the supreme

authority of the nation, he paid all due respect; but absolutely refused to shew any to the pope's delegate, lest he should seem to make the least acknowledgment of his usurped supremacy. *Brooks*, in a long oration, exhorted him to consider from whence he was fallen, advising him, in the most earnest and pathetic manner, to return to his holy mother, the *Roman* catholic church, and, by the example of his repentance, to reclaim those whom his past errors had misled.

In this oration, he betrayed great ignorance both of scripture and antiquity; of scripture, by affirming, that the Arians had more texts, by two and forty, to countenance their errors, than the catholics had for the maintenance of the truth; of antiquity, by making *Origen* write of *Berengarius* who lived near eight hundred years after him; and by confounding the great *St. Cyprian* with another *Cyprian* of *Antioch*, laying the magical studies of the latter to the charge of the former.

When he had finished his harangue, *Dr. Martin*, in a short speech, began to open the trial, acquainting the archbishop with the articles alledged against him, and requiring his answer. The articles contained a charge of perjury, incontinence, and heresy; the first, on account of his opposition to the papal tyranny; the second, in respect to his marriage; and the last, on account of the Reformation in the late reign, in which he had the chief hand. The archbishop having liberty to speak, after he had repeated the Lord's-prayer and the creed, began with a justification of his conduct, in relation to his renouncing the pope's supremacy; the admission of which, he proved by many instances, to be contrary to the natural allegiance of the subject, the fundamental laws of the realm, and the original constitution of the Christian church: And in the close, he boldly charged *Brooks* with perjury, for sitting there by the pope's authority, which he had solemnly abjured. *Brooks* endeavored to vindicate himself, and retort the charge on the archbishop, by pretending, that he was seduced by *Cranmer* to take that oath: But this, the archbishop told him, was a gross untruth; the pope's supremacy having received the said blow from his predecessor, archbishop *Warham*; by whose advice king *Henry* had sent to both the universities, to examine what foundation it had in the word of God; to which they replied, and gave it under their seal, that, by the word of God, the supremacy was vested in the king, not in the pope; and that *Brooks* had then subscribed this determination, and therefore wronged him, in pretending that he was seduced by him.

him. At this *Brooks* was in a great confusion, and cried, 'We came to examine you; and, I think, you examine us.'

Then *Dr. Story* began to rail at the archbishop, in an indecent manner, for excepting against the authority of his judge; and moved *bishop Brooks*, to require from him a direct answer to the articles, whereof he stood accused; or, if he continued to deny the pope's authority, and to decline answering, to proceed to sentence against him.

After this, doctor *Martin* had a short conference with the archbishop, about his conduct in relation to the supremacy, and the doctrine of the eucharist; and then they proceeded to demand his answer to certain interrogatories, concerning the crimes laid to his charge; to which he replied in so full and satisfactory a manner, that *Brooks* thought himself obliged to make another speech, to take off the impression his defence might have made upon the people. The speech was much unbecoming the gravity of a bishop, consisting only of scurrilous and unchristian railings, and uncouth and sophistical misapplications of scripture and the fathers. After this, the archbishop was cited to appear at *Rome*, within fourscore days, and there to answer in person: To which he replied, that he would very willingly consent, if the queen would give him leave to go to *Rome*, and justify the Reformation to the pope's face. But this was only a mock citation; for he was kept all that time close confined, and yet at the end of fourscore days was declared contumax, for wilfully absenting himself from *Rome*, whither he was legally summoned; and in consequence thereof was degraded, as we shall see hereafter.

It is worth while to observe his last judgement, concerning the extent of the regal supremacy, as contained in his answer to *Dr. Martin*. When that doctor asked him, who was supreme head of the church of *England*? the bishop answered; "*Christ* is head of this member, as he is of the whole body of the catholic church." When the doctor again demanded, whether he had not declared king *Henry* head of the church? "Yes, said the archbishop, of all the people in *England*, as well ecclesiastical as temporal." "What, says *Martin*, and not of the church?" "No, replied the archbishop, for *Christ* only is head of his church, and of the faith and religion of the same."

In the *February* following, 1556, a new commission was given to bishop *Bonner* and bishop *Thirlby*, for the degradation of the archbishop. When they came down to *Oxford*, the archbishop was brought before them, and, after they had read their commission from the pope, *Bonner*, in a scurril-

a scurrilous oration, insulted over him, after a most unchristian manner; for which he was often rebuked by bishop *Thirlby*, who had been *Cranmer's* particular friend, and shed many tears upon the occasion. In the commission it was declared, that the cause had been impartially heard at *Rome*, the witnesses on both sides were examined, and the archbishop's counsel allowed to make the best defence for him that they could: At the reading this, the archbishop could not forbear crying out, "Good God, what lyes are these! that I, being continually in prison, and not suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, should produce witnesses, and appoint my counsel at *Rome*! God must needs punish this open and shameless lying." When *Bonner* had finished his invective against him, they proceeded to degrade him; and, that they might make him as ridiculous as they could, the episcopal habit which they put on him, was made of canvass and old clouts. Then the archbishop, pulling out of his sleeve a written appeal, delivered it to them, saying, that he was not sorry to be cut off, even with all this pageantry, from any relation to the church of *Rome*, that the pope had no authority over him, and that he appealed to the next general council. When they had degraded him, they put on him an old threadbare beadle's gown, and a townsman's cap; and in that garb delivered him over to the secular power. As they were leading him to prison, a gentleman came, and gave some money to the bailiffs, for the archbishop: But this charitable action gave such offence to *Bonner*, that he ordered the gentleman to be seized; and, had he not found great friends to intercede for him, would have sent him up to the council, to be tried for it.

While the archbishop continued in prison, no endeavors were omitted to win him over to the church of *Rome*. Many of the most eminent divines in the university resorted to him daily, hoping, by arguments and persuasions to work upon him; but all in vain, for he held fast the profession of his faith, without wavering, and could not be shaken by any of the terrors of this world, from his constancy in the truth. Nay, even when he saw the barbarous martyrdom of his dear companions, bishop *Ridley* and bishop *Latimer*, he was so far from shrinking, that he not only prayed to God to strengthen them, but also, by their example, to animate him to a patient expectation and endurance of the same fiery trial.

At last the papists bethought themselves of a stratagem, which proved fatal to him: They removed him from prison,

son, to the lodgings of the dean of *Christ-church*; they treated him with the greatest civility and respect, and made him great promises of the queen's favor, and the restitution of his former dignities, with many other honors and preferments accumulated, if he would recant. And now, behold a most astonishing instance of human frailty! The man, who had with such undaunted resolution, such unshaken constancy, and so truly primitive a spirit of martyrdom, faced the terrors of death, and defied the most exquisite tortures, sinks under this last temptation, falls a prey to flattery and hypocrisy, and consents to recant!

It is a vulgar error, even in our best historians, to suppose, that the archbishop acknowledged the whole of popery at once, and subscribed but one recantation. But this mistake is now rectified by the labor of the industrious Mr. *Strype*; who has discovered how subtilly he was drawn in by the papists, to subscribe six different papers; the first being expressed in ambiguous words, capable of a favorable construction, and the five following pretended to be only explanations of the first. It is very probable, that had they acquainted *Cranmer* with the whole of their design at once, he could never have been seduced to redeem his life with such a dishonorable compliance: But when they had, by their hypocrisy and artifice, drawn him in to a first and second recantation; a shame to retreat after he had gone so far, and unwillingness to lose the benefit of his past subscriptions, prevailed with him to go on. The path of duty is the only path of comfort and safety. Yet we have instances in holy writ, that some of the greatest believers have been so left to their own wills, as to be suffered to commit the foulest crimes, that he who thinketh he standeth may take heed lest he fall; and to convince all Christians, that their perseverance is in God's faithfulness and strength, and not in their own.

The copy of the archbishop's first subscription ran thus.

“ Forasmuch as the king's and queen's majesties, by
 “ consent of their parliament, have received the pope's
 “ authority in this realm, I am content to submit myself
 “ to their laws herein, and to take the pope for the chief
 “ head of this church of *England*, so far as God's laws,
 “ and the laws and customs of this realm will permit.

“ THOMAS CRANMER.”

This paper was immediately sent up to the queen and council; but being not satisfactory, another was offered him to subscribe, in fewer words, but more full, and with less reserve; and was as follows:

“ I Thomas

“ I *Thomas Cranmer*, doctor in divinity, do subscribe
 “ myself to the catholic church of *Christ*, and unto the
 “ pope, supreme head of the same church, and to the king
 “ and queen’s majesties, and unto all their laws and or-
 “ dinances. THOMAS CRANMER.”

This also being thought too brief and ambiguous, a third, yet fuller and more exprefs, was required of him; which was this:

“ I am content to submit myself to the king’s and
 “ queen’s majesties, and to all their laws and ordinances,
 “ as well concerning the pope’s supremacy, as others:
 “ And I shall, from time to time, move and stir all others
 “ to do the like, to the uttermost of my power, and to
 “ live in quietness and obedience to their majesties, most
 “ humbly, without murmur, or grudging against any of
 “ their holy proceedings. And for my book which I have
 “ written, I am content to submit to the judgement of
 “ the catholic church, and the next general council.

“ THOMAS CRANMER.”

This, like the rest, not giving satisfaction, was immediately followed by a fourth, in these following words, viz.

“ Be it known by these presents, that I *Thomas Cranmer*,
 “ doctor of divinity, and late archbishop of *Canterbury*, do
 “ firmly, stedfastly, and assuredly believe, in all articles and
 “ points of the Christian religion and catholic faith, as
 “ the catholic church doth believe, and hath believed from
 “ the beginning. Moreover, as concerning the sacraments
 “ of the church, I believe unfeignedly in all points, as
 “ the said catholic church doth, and hath believed from
 “ the beginning of Christian religion. In witness whereof
 “ I have humbly subscribed my hand unto these presents,
 “ the eighteenth day of *February*, in the year 1555.

“ THOMAS CRANMER.”

Having gained ground upon him thus far, they grew bold and barefaced; and in the fifth paper (which is in *Fox’s* martyrology, and has been commonly thought to be his only recantation) they required him to renounce and anathematize all Lutheran and Zuinglian heresies and errors; to acknowledge the one holy catholic church, to be that, whereof the pope is the head; and to declare him the supreme bishop, and *Christ’s* vicar, to whom all Christians ought to be subject. Then followed an exprefs acknowledgement of transubstantiation, the seven sacraments, purgatory, and of all the doctrines of the church of *Rome* in general; with a prayer to God to forgive his past opposition to them, and an earnest entreaty to all, who had been
 missed

misled by his doctrine and example, to return to the unity of the church.

And yet even this, full and express as it was, did not give content; but a sixth was still required, which was drawn up in so strong and ample terms, that nothing was capable of being added to it; containing a prolix acknowledgement of all the popish errors and corruptions, and a most grievous accusation of himself as a blasphemer, an enemy of *Christ*, and a murderer of souls, on account of his being the author of king *Henry's* divorce, and of all the calamities, schisms, and heresies, of which that was the fountain. This last paper he subscribed on the eighteenth of *March*; not in the least suspecting, that the papists designed, notwithstanding all these subscriptions, to bring him to the stake; and that the writ was already signed for his execution.

These six papers were, soon after his death, sent to the press by *Bonner*, and published, with the addition of another, which they had prepared for him to speak at *St. Mary's*, before his execution: And though he then spake to a quite contrary effect, and revoked all his former recantations; yet *Bonner* had the confidence to publish this to the world, as if it had been approved and made use of by the archbishop.

The day appointed for his execution was the twenty-first of *March*; and *Dr. Cole* was sent to *Oxford*, to prepare a sermon for the occasion. The day before, *Cole* visited him in the prison, whither he was now removed; and asked him if he stood firm in the faith he had subscribed. To which *Cranmer* gave a satisfactory answer. The next morning *Cole* visited him again, exhorted him to constancy, and gave him money to dispose of to the poor, as he saw convenient. Soon after he was brought to *St. Mary's* church, and placed on a low scaffold, over against the pulpit. Then *Dr. Cole* began his sermon; the chief scope whereof was, to endeavor to give some reasons why it was expedient that *Cranmer* should suffer, notwithstanding his recantation: And, in the close, he addressed himself particularly to the archbishop, exhorting him to bear up with courage against the terrors of death; and, by the example of the thief on the cross, encouraged him not to despair, since he was returned, though late, into the bosom of the catholic church, and to the profession of the true apostolical faith. The archbishop, who, till now, had not the least notice of his intended execution, was struck with horror, at the base inhumanity, and unparalleled cruelty [not to be exceeded in the infernal regions!] of these proceedings. It is utterly

terly impossible to express what inward agonies he felt, and what bitter anguish his soul was perplexed with. During the whole sermon he wept incessantly; sometimes lifting up his eyes to heaven, sometimes casting them down to the ground, with marks of the uttermost dejection! When it was ended, being moved to make a confession of his faith, and give the world satisfaction of his dying a good catholic, he consented; and, kneeling down, began the following prayer.

“ O Father of heaven; O Son of God, Redeemer of
 “ the world; O Holy Ghost, proceeding from them both;
 “ three persons, and one God; have mercy upon me most
 “ wretched caitiff and miserable sinner! I! who have
 “ offended both heaven and earth, and more grievously
 “ than tongue can express! whither then should I go, or
 “ where shall I fly for succour! To heaven I am ashamed
 “ to lift up mine eyes; and on earth I find no refuge!
 “ What shall I then do? Shall I despair? God forbid!
 “ O good God, thou art merciful, and refusest none, who
 “ come unto Thee for succour: To Thee therefore do
 “ I run; to Thee do I humble myself; saying, O Lord
 “ my God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon
 “ me for thy infinite mercy! O God the Son, thou wast
 “ not made man, this great mystery was not wrought, for
 “ few or small offences only; neither didst thou give thy
 “ Son to die, O God the Father, for our smaller crimes,
 “ but for the greatest sins of the whole world; so that the
 “ sinner return unto Thee with a penitent heart, as I do
 “ now in this moment: Wherefore take pity on me, O
 “ Lord, whose property is always to have mercy; for
 “ though my sins be great, yet thy mercy is greater.—I
 “ crave nothing, O Lord, for my own merits, but for thy
 “ name’s sake, and that it may be glorified thereby, and
 “ for thy dear Son *Jesus Christ*’s sake; in whose words I
 “ conclude: Our Father, &c.”

Having finished the Lord’s-prayer, he rose from his knees; and made a confession of his faith, beginning with the creed, and concluding with these words: “ And I be-
 “ lieve every word and sentence taught by our Saviour
 “ *Jesus Christ*, his apostles and prophets, in the Old and
 “ New Testament. And now added he, I come to the
 “ great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more
 “ than any thing I ever did or said in my whole life; and
 “ that is, the setting abroad a writing contrary to the
 “ truth, which I here now renounce as things written
 “ with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in
 “ my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save

“ my life if it might be; that is, all such bills or papers
 “ which I have written and signed with my hand since
 “ my degradation, wherein I have written many things
 “ untrue. And for as much as my hand offended, writ-
 “ ing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be pu-
 “ nished: For, *may* I come to the fire, it shall be first
 “ burned. As for the pope, I refuse him as *Christ's* enemy
 “ and antichrist, with all his false doctrine: And as for
 “ the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book
 “ against the bishop of *Winchester*.” —Thunder-struck, as
 it were, with this unexpected declaration, the enraged
 popish crowd admonished him not to dissemble: “ Ah,
 “ replied he with tears, since I have lived hitherto, I
 “ have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity,
 “ and never before this time have I dissembled.” Upon
 which they pulled him off the stage with the utmost fury,
 and hurried him to the place of his martyrdom over against
Baliol-College: Where he put off his cloaths with haste,
 and, standing in his shirt and without his shoes, was fas-
 tened with a chain to the stake. Some pressing him to
 agree to his former recantation, he answered, shewing his
 hand, “ This is the hand that wrote, and therefore it shall
 “ first suffer punishment.” Fire being applied to him,
 he stretched out his right hand into the flame, and held it
 there unmoved, except that once he wiped his face with
 it, till it was consumed; crying with a loud voice, “ This
 “ hand hath offended;” and often repeating, “ This un-
 “ worthy right hand.” At last, the fire getting up, he
 soon expired, never stirring or crying out all the while;
 only keeping his eyes fixed to heaven, and repeating more
 than once; “ Lord *Jesus*, receive my spirit.” He died in
 the sixty-seventh year of his age.

He was an open, generous, honest man; a lover of truth,
 and an enemy of falsehood and superstition. He was gentle
 and moderate in his temper; and though heartily zealous
 in the cause of the Reformation, yet a friend to the per-
 sons of those who most strenuously opposed it. Thus in
 the year 1534, he endeavored to save the lives of bishop
Fisher, and sir *Thomas More*; and afterwards, when *Ton-*
stall bishop of *Durham* came into trouble, and a bill was
 brought into the house of lords for attainting him, *Cranmer*
 spoke freely, nay protested, against it. He was a great
 patron of learning and the universities, and extended his
 care also to those protestant foreigners, who fled to *Eng-*
land from the troubles in *Germany*; such as *Martin Bucer*,
 made professor of divinity, and *Paulus Fagius*, professor of
 the *Hebrew* tongue at *Cambridge*; *Peter Martyr*, professor

of divinity at *Oxford*; *John à Lasco*, *Bernardine Ochinus*, *Emmanuel Tremellius*, &c. He was a very learned man himself, and author of several works, printed and unprinted.

His printed works are, 1. An account of Mr. *Pole's* book, concerning king *Henry* the VIIIth's marriage. 2. Letters to divers persons; to king *Henry VIII.* secretary *Cromwell*, Sir *William Cecil*, and to foreign divines. 3. Three discourses upon his review of the king's book, entitled, *The erudition of a Christian man*. 4. Other discourses of his. 5. The bishops' book, in which he had a part. 6. Answers to the fifteen articles of the rebels in *Devonshire* in 1549. 7. The examination of most points of religion. 8. A form for the alteration of the mass into a communion. 9. Some of the homilies. 10. A catechism, entitled, *A short instruction to Christian religion*, for the singular profit of children and young people. 11. Against unwritten verities. 12. A defence of the true and catholic doctrine of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour *Christ*, &c. 13. An answer to *Gardiner*, bishop of *Winchester*, who wrote against the defence, &c. *Lond.* 1551, reprinted 1580. It was translated into *Latin* by sir *John Cheke*. *Gardiner* answered, and *Cranmer* went through three parts of a reply, but did not live to finish it: However it was published. 14. Preface to the *English* translation of the bible. 15. A speech in the house of lords, concerning a general council. 16. Letter to king *Henry VIII.* in justification of *Anne Boleyn*, May 3, 1535. 17. The reasons, that led him to oppose the six articles. 18. Resolution of some questions concerning the sacrament. 19. Injunctions given at his visitation within the diocese of *Hereford*. 20. A collection of passages out of the canon law, to shew the necessity of reforming it. 21. Some queries in order to the correcting of several abuses. 22. Concerning a further Reformation, and against sacrilege. 23. Answers to some queries concerning confirmation. 24. Some considerations offered to king *Edward VI.* to induce him to proceed to a further Reformation. 25. Answer to the privy council. 26. Manifesto against the mass.

Those works of *Cranmer's*, which still remain in manuscript, are, 1. Two large volumes of collections out of the holy scripture, the antient fathers, and later doctors and schoolmen. These are in the king's library. When they were offered to sale, they were valued at a hundred pounds: But bishop *Beveridge* and doctor *Jane*, appraisers for the king, brought down the price to fifty pounds. 2. The lord *Burleigh* had six or seven volumes more of his writing.

writing. 3. Doctor *Burnet* mentions two volumes more that he had seen. 4. There are also several letters of his in the *Cotton* library.

JOHN PONET, OR POYNET, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

THOUGH the life of this excellent man was but short, and the memorials of that life are handed down to us but in fragments; he was of eminent importance in his time, and was a burning and a shining light in the church of God. Bishop *Godwin*, in his book *de præsulibus Angliæ*, says of him, that he was born in the county of *Kent*, in or about the year 1516, and received his academical education in *King's-College, Cambridge*. He must have obtained the knowledge of the gospel pretty early in life; for he was in so much confidence with the great Reformers, that, so soon as the beginning of king *Edward's* reign [*June 26, 1550.*] when *Ponet* could not have been more than three and thirty years of age, he was consecrated bishop of *Rochester*; and, upon the deprivation of *Gardiner*, was, within a year afterwards, translated to the see of *Winchester*. The reason of his preferment does as much honor to the admirable young king *Edward*, as it could reflect credit upon the bishop; for, we are told, that it was, by the king's own motion, on account of some very excellent sermons which *Ponet* had preached before him.—A ladder of episcopal advancement, which is but too rarely ascended!

He was a man of very great learning, as well as grace; and possessed the knowledge, not only of the *Latin* and *Greek*, but (what is not a frequent attainment among divines) a thorough acquaintance with the *Dutch* and *Italian* tongues. He was, in particular, a very great *Grecian*, and had engaged his mind, probably when quite a young man, very deeply in mathematical learning. To such a proficiency had he arrived in the mechanical branch of the mathematics, that he constructed a clock, by the effort of his own genius, which pointed both to the hours of the day, the day of the month, the sign of the Zodiac, the lunar variations, and the tides. This was presented to *Henry the VIII.* and was received very graciously, for (what indeed it was in those days) a wonderful piece of mechanism. Besides all this variety, as well as extent, of knowledge, in so young a man; *Heylyn*, who was by no means

partial

partial to the principles of our Reformers, informs us, that he was 'well-studied with the *antient fathers*.'

Thus fraught with human knowledge and with divine grace, we cannot wonder, that Dr. *Ponet* was so soon and so much taken notice of. Above all, God gave him the desire to devote his great abilities to the cause and service of the gospel. He not only preached much, but is said to have written much for the truth, both in *Latin* and *English*. But the piece, for which he is most remembered, is the composition called, "*King Edward's catechism*," which was approved and passed by the synod, which passed the book of articles, under the king's warrant. *Fuller* says, that this catechism 'was first compiled (as appears by the 'king's patent prefixed) by a single divine, charactered 'pious and learned; but afterwards perused and allowed 'by the bishops, and other learned men, &c. and by royal 'authority commanded to all schoolmasters to teach it 'their scholars.' Some have supposed, that this pious and learned divine was Dr. *Alexander Nowel*, dean of St. *Paul's*; but others, upon better warrant, have given it to Dr. *Ponet*, then bishop of *Winchester*. However, all the great Reformers revised it, and particularly archbishop *Granmer*, without whom nothing was undertaken or set forth in religion, during king *Edward's* reign.

This catechism is highly calvinistic, and perfectly correspondent with the articles, which were published about the same time. It came out in the year 1553, in two editions, the one *Latin*, and the other *English*, with the royal privilege. Indeed, the pious king himself prefaced this catechism by a letter, dated at *Greenwich*, *May* the twentieth, in which he 'charges and commands all schoolmasters 'whatsoever, within his dominions, as they did reverence 'his authority, and as they would avoid his royal displeasure, to teach this catechism, diligently and carefully, 'in all and every their schools; that so, the youth of the 'kingdom might be settled in the grounds of true religion, and furthered in God's worship.'—At that time, and afterwards in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, the catechizing children and servants was thought to be of so much importance to posterity, that the neglect of it was entitled to some very severe penalties*.—But we are grown wiser in

* The care of sending their *children* and *servants* is by the rubric laid upon fathers, mothers, mistresses, and dames, who are to *cause them to come to church at the time appointed, and obediently to hear, and be ordered by the curate, until such time as they have learned all that is here* [in the catechism] *appointed for them to learn*. The same is required by the 59th canon of the church, which farther orders, that if any of these neglect

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From an Original Engraving published under the Inspection of Beza.

in these days, and above descending to inculcate Christian principles upon the minds of youth; for which reason, among others, our young people are so *pious, decent, and virtuous*; are so full of good notions, and so ready to follow them; as we find them in the present age. Were nine tenths of the nation examined; it would be found that they had not so much as *once read through* their bibles: And as to catechisms, it seems as if they were very well for parish-boys and charity-children; but as to the offspring of other people, it appears to be a settled point, that they shall know no more of God and his gospel than their parents before them.—Such are the times; and such our manners!

As we have mentioned the subject of catechisms, we will only add upon this head, that the present catechism of the church of *England* was, at the command of king *James* the first, revised by the bishops, and that an addition was made to it, giving the explanation of the sacraments. This was done by the pen of bishop *Overal*, then dean of *St. Paul's*, and approved.

When queen *Mary* came to the crown, and gave a bloody earnest of what protestants may ever expect to receive from bigotted papists; Dr. *Ponet*, with some other great and good men, thought it prudent to quit the kingdom. He accordingly retired to *Strasburgh* in *Germany*, where he departed this life, on the eleventh of *April*, aged only forty years.

Bishop *Godwin* mentions, that *Ponet* published several works in *Latin* and *English*, which were extant in his time, but which we have not seen. They are however supposed to be chiefly upon theological subjects.

PHILIP MELANCTHON.

THIS celebrated divine, who was one of the wisest and greatest men of his age, was born, on the six-

neglect their duties, as the one sort in not causing them to come, and the other in refusing to learn as aforesaid; they are to be suspended by the ordinary (if they be not children), and if they so persist by the space of a month, they are to be excommunicated. And by the canons of 1571, every minister was yearly, within twenty days after *Easter*, to present to the bishop, &c. the names of all those in his parish, who had not sent their children or servants at the times appointed. And to enforce this, it was one of the articles which was exhibited, in order to be admitted by authority, that he, whose child of TEN years old or upwards, or his servant at fourteen or upwards, could not say the catechism, should pay ten shillings to the poor's box.' *WHEATLY upon the Common Prayer*. p. 396. 4th edit.

teenth of *February*, 1497, at *Bretten*, in the palatinate of the *Rhine*. His father was *George Schwartzerd*, which signifies *black earth* in *German*, and *Melancthon* in *Greek*; therefore, *Reuchlin* gave *Philip* the name of *Melancthon*, in the same manner as *Hermolaus Barbarus* changed the name of *Reuchlin* into that of *Capnio*, from *Capnos*, which in the *Greek* signifies *smoak*, as the word *Reuch* does in the *German* language. It was customary among the learned men of that time to express their names in *Greek*, when they could find any word in that language into which they could turn them. Thence come *Oecolampadius*, *Erasmus*, *Chytræus*, *Reuchlin*, *Melancthon*, and others: But *Reuchlin* was the only man whom *Germany* had, in his time, to put in competition with all the learned men in *Italy*; and it was he that advised *Frederic* duke of *Saxony* to send for *Melancthon* to *Wittenberg*, in 1518, to be the *Greek* professor in that university.

Melancthon gave very early marks of his capacity: But his instruction and education were chiefly committed to the care of his grandfather *Reuterus*; because his father's time was taken up with the affairs of the elector palatine, whom he served as engineer, or commissary of the artillery. He studied first in the place of his nativity, at a public school; and then under a tutor. He was afterwards sent to *Pfortsheim*, a small city in the marquisate of *Baden*, where there was a famous college; and he lodged with one of his relations, who was sister to *Reuchlin*. Upon this occasion, he became known to that learned man, who loved him with great tenderness. He went to the university of *Tubingen*, in the duchy of *Wirtemberg*, and from thence to *Heidelberg*, that of the metropolis of the palatinate, in 1509, where he was matriculated on the thirteenth of *October*, and made such considerable improvement, that he was intrusted to teach the sons of count *Leonstein*, and was made batchelor, though he was under fourteen years of age. But he was refused his degree of master of philosophy, on account of his youth; which, together with the air of *Heidelberg*, which did not agree with his constitution, occasioned him to leave that university in 1512, and return to that of *Tubingen*, where he continued six years.

Melancthon has been justly reckoned among illustrious youths; and Mr. *Baillet* has justly bestowed a chapter upon him in his 'historical treatise of young men, who became famous by their studies or writings.' He was employed to make the greatest part of the harangues and discourses of eloquence, that were publicly spoke in the university of *Heidelberg*. He studied divinity, law, and mathematics,

mathematics, at *Tubingen*, where he heard the lectures of all sorts of professors; and publicly explained *Virgil*, *Terence*, *Cicero*, and *Livy*. He also found time to serve *Reuchlin* in his quarrel with the monks; and diligently applied himself to the reading of the word of God. *Reuchlin* made him a present of a copy of the bible which *John Frobenius* had lately printed at *Basil* in a small volume. *Melancthon* always carried this bible about him, and chiefly when he went to church, where those, who saw him hold it in his hands during divine service, believed he was reading quite another thing than what the time and place required of him, because it was much larger than a prayer-book; and those, that envied him, took occasion from hence to make him odious with others.

He taught at *Tubingen*, both in public and private, with great applause and admiration; and published some works as first fruits, from which it sufficiently appeared what a crop might be afterwards expected. He was so remarkable, in 1515, that *Erasmus* then said of him, ‘ Good God, what hopes may we not conceive of *Philip Melancthon*, though as yet very young, and almost a boy, equally to be admired for his knowledge in both languages! What quickness of invention! What purity of diction! What vastness of memory! What variety of reading! What modesty and gracefulness of behaviour!’ *John James Grynæus* made a parallel between the prophet *Daniel* and *Melancthon*, in which he introduced this fine encomium of *Erasmus*.

In 1518, he accepted the *Greek* professorship in the university of *Wittenberg*, which *Frederic* the elector of *Saxony* offered him upon the recommendation of *Reuchlin*. His inauguration speech was so fine, that it removed the contempt to which his stature and mien exposed him, and raised great admiration of himself. He soon contracted a friendship with *Luther*, who taught divinity in that university; and *Andrew Carolostadius*, archdeacon of *Wittenberg*, joined their acquaintance, and was of their opinion.

Erasmus had heard, that *Melancthon* had censured his paraphrases; for which this learned man, in 1519, wrote a very civil letter to justify himself to *Erasmus*, who accepted of these excuses; but told *Melancthon*, that men of letters ought to love each other, and be united to defend themselves against their common enemies. *Erasmus* spoke very kindly to *Melancthon*; and told him, all the world was agreed in commending the moral character of *Luther*; but there were various sentiments touching his doctrines. *Luther* had a great love and esteem for *Melancthon*; and

Jovius, after having abused *Luther* in a most scandalous manner, pays a compliment to *Melancthon*. *Melancthon* had so much scrupulous honour and disinterestedness, that he refused to receive his salary, as a reader in divinity, because he could not bestow such close attendance, as he thought that office required.

Melancthon read lectures at *Wittenberg* upon *Homer*, and upon the *Greek* text of the epistle of *St. Paul* to *Titus*, which drew a great croud of auditors, and excited in them an earnest desire of understanding the *Greek* tongue. He reduced the sciences into a system, which was then difficult, as they had then been long taught in a very confused manner.

In the year 1520, *Jerom Alexander*, the pope's nuncio, solicited the emperor, and *Frederic* elector of *Saxony*, to punish *Luther*: In consequence of which, the diet of *Worms* was held on the sixth of *January*, 1521, when *Luther* nobly vindicated his doctrine. The remarks of *Melancthon* upon these transactions, and upon the conduct of *Frederic*, are judicious and important: "So far, says he, was *Luther* from being suborned and instigated by the courtiers and princes, as the duke of *Brunswick* affirmed, that, on the contrary, the elector of *Saxony* was much concerned at the foresight of the contests and disorders which would ensue, though the first attacks made by *Luther* were upon very plausible grounds. By his own sagacity and judiciousness, and by long experience in the art of reigning, he knew well how dangerous all changes were to government. But, being truly religious, and one who feared God, he consulted not the dictates of mere worldly and political wisdom, and was determined to prefer the glory of God, to all other considerations, and at the hazard of any public or private detriment. Yet he presumed not to rely entirely upon his own judgment concerning an affair of so great importance; but took the advice of other princes, and of men venerable for age, experience, learning, and probity." Speaking of these troubles to *J. Jonas*, says, "What a deplorable thing would it be, that *Philip Melancthon*, an amiable youth of such extraordinary abilities, should be lost to the learned world upon this account!" And, in 1522, *Erasmus* was apprehensive of being attacked by *Melancthon*, with whom he was very unwilling to have any dispute: But, in 1523, *Erasmus* was well pleased to find, that both *Luther* and *Melancthon* were offended at the behavior of *Hutten*, who had wrote a furious libel against *Erasmus*:

Erasmus: And *Melancthon* declared how sorry he was, that the contention between *Luther* and *Erasmus* was continued.

The Sorbonne at *Paris* condemned the writings of *Luther* in 1521; and *Melancthon* made an apology for *Luther* against this censure, which he called, *Furiosum Parisiensium theologastrorum decretum*: i. e. the furious decree of the Parisian theologasters, or small divines. The same year *Melancthon* was appointed by the elector of *Saxony* one of the deputies to give him their opinion concerning the abolition of private masses at *Wittenberg*, which they approved, and desired the elector to abolish them throughout all his dominions. The elector told the deputies, by *Christian Beyer*, that he conceived their advice was grounded on the gospel; and required them to order that affair with such moderation as to raise no troubles, divisions, or seditions, among the people. The deputies answered, that they believed private masses might be abolished, without noise or trouble; but the abuse was so great, that, though it could not be effected without some disturbance, it ought to be attempted: That the ordinance of the mass, prescribed by the holy scripture, was visibly so different from that of private masses, that it was needless to deliberate farther about it: That the antient foundations of the monasteries, colleges, and churches, were not made to say a certain number of masses, or to chant canonical hours; but to instruct youth in the holy scripture and religion: That the foundations made, four or five hundred years before, to say masses, were abusive; and that those who made them, were mistaken: That inconveniency ought not to be regarded in such an enterprize, nor such impediments as might be surmounted, since it was the cause of truth and religion. *Stork*, *Marcus Stubnerus*, and *Martinus Cellarius*, in 1522, went from *Zwickau* to *Wittenberg*, to preach their fanatical doctrine. But *Melancthon* and the other Reformers wrote to the elector of *Saxony*, and to *Luther*, about these men, whom they took to be enthusiasts; and, when they were discovered to be such, the elector drove them out of his territories.

Erasmus, in 1524, owned that the state of things disheartened him from adventuring his person in the *Low Countries*, where *Hulst* and *Egmond* were his inveterate enemies. ‘When these saints, says he, want to do any
‘one a mischief, they first clap him in prison, and then his
‘affair is decided by a few confederates, who are judges
‘and parties. There the most innocent man alive must
‘suffer the vilest treatment, lest their authority should
suffer

‘ suffer: And when they have been totally mistaken, they
 ‘ cry out, that the side of religion must always be favor-
 ‘ ed!’ ‘ *Melancthon*, continues *Erasmus*, would gladly have
 ‘ a conference with me, but is loth to expose me to any
 ‘ hatred and obloquy, which however I should have def-
 ‘ pised. He is a youth of great candor.’ But there is
 some room to doubt, whether he would have been glad of
 a visit from *Melancthon*, who, with all his mildness and
 candor, was little less hated than *Luther* by the Romanists.
 The same year, *Erasmus* wrote a long epistle to *Melancthon*,
 which began with an invective against *Hutten*. He
 commended the *Loci Communes* of *Melancthon*, as very fit
 and able to encounter and demolish pharisaical tyranny:
 But he added, that they contained also some things which
 he did not understand, some concerning which he had
 doubts and scruples, and some which he thought it need-
 less to profess openly. He then boasted of the mild and
 moderate councils which he had given to popes and princes;
 but he spoke very ill of *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Farel*,
Capito, and *Hedio*.

He apologized for having written against *Luther*, and
 said, that the calumnies of ecclesiastics, who made him
 pass for a Lutheran, and the importunity of princes, had
 constrained him to it. ‘ Although, says he, I were a
 ‘ most bigotted papist, yet would I condemn cruelty, be-
 ‘ cause opinions opposed with cruelty spread the more.
 ‘ Therefore, the prudent *Julian* would not put Christians
 ‘ to death. Our *Theologers* thought, that if they burned
 ‘ a man or two at *Brussels*, the rest would be corrected by
 ‘ it. On the contrary, the sufferings of these men made
 ‘ many embrace Lutheranism.’

Melancthon answered *Erasmus* politely, and with a much
 better temper, telling him, that the vices of particulars
 should not bring any prejudice against a good cause; and
 that *Luther* did in no wise resemble those whom he had
 painted in such odious colors. He gently reproved him for
 drawing up a catalogue of vile fellows, and inserting such
 persons as *Oecolampadius*, and other men of merit, amongst
 them. As for himself, he declared, that in his conscience
 he was persuaded of the truth of *Luther*’s doctrine, and
 would never forsake it. But, as to the dissertation of
Erasmus upon free-will, he says; “ We are not at all
 “ shocked at it; for it would be mere tyranny, to hinder
 “ any man from giving his opinion in the church of *Christ*,
 “ concerning any points of religion. This ought to be
 “ free to every one, who will deliver his sentiments with-
 “ out passion and partiality. Your moderation in that
 “ treatise

“ treatise hath been applauded; and yet suffer me to tell
 “ you, that sometimes you bite too hard. But *Luther* is
 “ not so easily provoked, as to be unable to bear dissent;
 “ and he promiseth to observe the same moderation in his
 “ reply. It is also your duty to be very cautious not to
 “ bring an odium upon a cause, which the holy scrip-
 “ tures so evidently favour. As you yourself have not as
 “ yet condemned it, if you attack it with vehemence, you
 “ will wound your own conscience. You know that we
 “ ought to examine, and not to despise prophecies.”

Erasmus replied, in another long epistle to *Melancthon*, that he had not much exhorted him to forsake the Reformers, knowing it would be labor lost; but could have wished that *Melancthon* had applied himself entirely to good literature. And yet, if *good literature* was not compatible with the study of divinity, it would have been *bad literature*, or *malæ literæ*, as the monks then called it. He declared, his only view was to promote the good of both parties, and to dissuade tumults; and he wished, that a Reformation might be made without strife and contention. This was wishing impossibilities, considering the temper of the Romanists.

All *Europe* was convinced, that *Melancthon* was not so averse, as *Luther*, to an accommodation with the Romanists; and that he would have sacrificed many things for the sake of peace. This appears chiefly by the book he wrote concerning things indifferent; which was so ill received by *Illyricus*. *Melancthon* advised the Reformers not to contend scrupulously about indifferent things; provided those rites and ceremonies had nothing of idolatry in them; and to bear some hardships, if it might be done without impiety. *Illyricus*, on the contrary, cried out, that people should rather desert all the churches, and threaten an insurrection, than to bear a surplice. Some Romanists have been inspired with the same spirit, which calls to mind what a Jesuit said, ‘ that they would not put out one wax-taper, though it were to convert all the Hugonots.’

The elector of *Saxony*, and some other princes, supported the Reformers at the diet of *Spire*: But, after several debates, it was ordered, ‘ that the doctrine about
 ‘ the eucharist should not be entertained: That the mass
 ‘ should be continued, and the celebration of it permitted
 ‘ even in those places where the reformed doctrine prevailed:
 ‘ That the Anabaptists should be proscribed:
 ‘ And, that one prince should not protect the subjects of
 ‘ another.’ The reforming princes opposed this decree, and alledged, ‘ that their ministers had proved, by invin-
 ‘ cible

‘cible arguments taken out of scripture, that the popish
 ‘mass was contrary to the institution of *Jesus Christ*, and
 ‘the practice of the apostles: That they could not permit
 ‘the Lord’s Supper to be administered in a different man-
 ‘ner in the same church: That there was nothing more
 ‘certain than the word of God, which explained itself;
 ‘and therefore they would take care, that nothing else
 ‘should be taught than the Old and New Testament in
 ‘their purity: And they declared, that the decree of the
 ‘former diet was made for the preservation of peace; but
 ‘that this would infallibly occasion wars and troubles in
 ‘*Germany*.’ This was put in writing by way of *protesta-*
tion, and published, on the nineteenth of *April*, 1529, as
 a solemn instrument of appeal to the emperor, and a ge-
 neral or national council. This gave the Reformers the
 name of PROTESTANTS. The instrument of protestation
 was signed by the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*;
Ernest, and *Francis*, dukes of *Lunenburg*; the landgrave of
Hesse, and the prince of *Anhalt*; as also by the deputies
 for the fourteen cities of *Strasburgh*, *Nuremberg*, *Ulm*, *Con-*
stance, *Reuthingen*, *Windesheim*, *Memmingen*, *Lindau*, *Kemp-*
ten, *Hailbron*, *Isne*, *Weissenberg*, *Nordlingen*, and *St. Gall*.

Oecolampadius wrote to *Melancthon*, desiring him to de-
 clare his opinion in favor of the *Zuinglians*, that the con-
 test might cease between them and the *Lutherans*. *Me-*
lancthon answered, that he could not approve of the opi-
 nion of the Sacramentarians; but that, if he would act
 politickly, he should speak otherwise, as he knew there
 were many learned men among them, whose friendship
 would be advantageous to him; so that, if he could have
 concurred with them, in their opinion about the Lord’s
 Supper, he would have spoken freely. He observed, that
 the *Zuinglians* supposed the body of *Jesus Christ* to be
 absent, and only to be represented in the sacrament, as
 persons are represented upon a theatre: But he considered,
 that *Jesus Christ* had promised to be with us to the end of
 the world: That it is not necessary to separate the divi-
 nity from the humanity; so that he was persuaded, the
 sacrament was a pledge of the real presence, and that the
 body of *Jesus Christ* was truly received in the Lord’s Sup-
 per: That the proper import of the word was not con-
 trary to any article of faith, but agreed with other places
 of scripture where the presence of *Christ* was mentioned.
 He declared, it is an opinion unbecoming a Christian, to
 believe that *Jesus Christ* is, as it were, imprisoned in hea-
 ven: That *Oecolampadius* only propounded some absurdities,
 and the judgement of some fathers, against it; neither

of which ought to influence those who know, that the mysteries of religion are to be judged by the word of God, and not by geometrical principles; as they must also know that many contradictions are to be met with in the writings of the antients: But he said, that the greatest number of the expressions in the most eminent authors, proves the doctrine of the real presence to be the general sense of the church.

Oecolampadius replied; and the consequence was a friendly conference at *Marpurg*, in *October* following, between the heads of the Lutherans and Zuinglians. The landgrave of *Hesse* was present at this conference, where *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Bucer*, and *Hedio*, appeared on one side; and *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Justus Jonas*, *Osiander*, *Brentius*, and *Agricola*, on the other side. The Lutherans proposed such articles as they objected against in the doctrine of the Zuinglians: First, That there was no such thing as original sin; but it was only a natural infirmity and weakness; and that baptism did not take away any sin in children. Secondly, That the Holy Ghost is not conferred by the use of the word of God, and the sacraments; but without that word, and those sacraments. Thirdly, That some of them were supposed to have erroneous thoughts about the divinity of *Jesus Christ*, and the holy Trinity. Fourthly, That they set the value of faith as to our justification, high enough; but seemed to attribute justification to good works. Fifthly, That they did not think the body and blood of *Jesus Christ* were really in the Lord's Supper. *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* cleared themselves fully of the suspicion they lay under about the Trinity, and Divinity of *Jesus Christ*: But they had long disputes about original sin, and the operation of the sacraments; in which points *Melancthon* agreed with *Zuinglius*, by explaining, or altering his former opinions; so that they differed only about the eucharist. *Luther* could not so fully agree with *Zuinglius*, as may be seen in his life.

The diet of *Augsburg* was held in *June*, 1530. Nothing cost *Melancthon* more pains, than the task that was given him this year, to draw up a *confession of faith*; which is called the *Augsburg* confession, because it was presented to the emperor at the diet in that city. *Melancthon* drew up this *confession of faith* out of the memoirs sent to the elector of *Saxony*. It was divided into two parts. The first contained twenty-one articles upon the chief points of religion; as the unity of God, original sin, the incarnation, justification, the gospel-ministry, the church, the civil government, the day of judgement, free-will, the cause

of sin, faith, good works, and the adoration of saints. The other part was concerning the ceremonies and usages of the church, which the protestants said were abused; such as the communion in both kinds, the marriages of priests, confession, abstinence from meats, monastic vows, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Melancthon had revised, and corrected, this confession several times; but had much difficulty to please *Luther* at last. Indeed, it is probable, that *Luther* would not have tempered his style with so much moderation: It was a difficult time; and all sweetness of expression, which affected not the merits of their cause, was then necessary to be added.

This confession was signed by the protestant princes, and read before the emperor in a special assembly of the empire, who were then dismissed, that they might consult what resolutions they should come to in this affair. Their judgements were divided. The more violent said, that the edict of *Worms* ought to be put in execution; and such, as would not obey, should be compelled by the civil powers. Others were for choosing a certain number of honest, learned, and indifferent persons, according to whose judgement the emperor was to decide all matters. And a third party were for giving the confession of faith to the popish divines to confute, and the confutation to be read, in a full diet, before the protestants. This last advice was taken, and *John Faber*, *John Cochläus*, *Eckius*, *Wimpina*, *Collinus*, and some other popish divines, were appointed to draw up a confutation, which they finished, and delivered to the emperor and the popish princes, who were of opinion that all the severe expressions, which the divines could not refrain from bringing in, should be taken out. When this was done, the emperor called the protestants together, on the third of *August*, and told them, he had communicated their confession to some learned and religious persons, to give their opinion of it, and to observe what was sound, or what was contrary to the faith of the church: That they had given their judgements in writing, which he had approved; and then ordered it to be read before them by one of his secretaries.

The *Romish* divines examined the protestants confession of faith step by step in their answer. They fully approved of some articles; as the first about the holy Trinity; the third about the incarnation; the eighth about the wicked in the church, and that the sacraments administered by wicked persons are good; the ninth about the necessity of baptism, and the baptism of infants; the tenth about the

Lord's Supper; the thirteenth about the operation of the sacraments, though they judged that article to be defective, because they would not acknowledge seven sacraments; the fourteenth about the calling of ministers, provided they allowed of a canonical ordination; the sixteenth about the authority of the magistrates; the seventeenth about the last judgement and the resurrection; and the eighteenth about free-will. But they rejected other articles; as the fourth, fifth, sixth, and twentieth, that men are not justified by the merit of good works, but by faith alone; the seventh, that the church is a congregation of saints; and that it is sufficient, to preserve its unity, that men agree in the doctrine of the gospel, and about the administration of the sacraments, without following the same usages and traditions: The twenty-first, about the invocation and worship of saints. Those, which they partly received, and partly rejected, were the second, about original sin, which they approved, except the definition of sin given in it, which seems to agree better to actual than original sin; the eleventh also, about absolution, they allowed of, but disliked what is said in it about confession; in the twelfth, about repentance, they did not like the assertion that faith is a part of repentance, and what concerns satisfaction; the fifteenth was approved, as to what is said there, that the rites and ceremonies of the church are to be observed; but rejected so far, as it says, that the customs received by tradition, as celibacy, and vows, are of no use to obtain grace, or make satisfaction to God.

As to the second part of the confession of *Augsburg*, in which the protestants asserted, that the communion under one kind, celibacy of priests, the ceremonies of the mass, private masses, the name of sacrifice given to the mass, monastic vows, abstinence, fasts, and auricular confession, are abuses: The popish divines maintained, in their answer, they were not abuses, but religious and holy usages, commanded by scripture, and confirmed by tradition: Yet they acknowledged, there were some abuses in them that wanted reformation, and which the emperor promised to obtain.

The *Romish* divines desired the protestants to return to the old communion of the church. The elector of *Saxony* answered for the protestants, that if the Romanists could prove, that the protestants had advanced any error, they would recant it; and if they desired any farther explication, they were ready to give it: That, since they had approved of some articles of their doctrine, and rejected

others, it was necessary they should confirm and explain those in dispute.

In consequence of this, a conference was held at *Augsburg* on the seventh of *August*, between seventeen *Romish* divines, and some of the protestants: But this was of no effect. The Romanists said, if the Protestants would not satisfy the emperor, by uniting in matters of faith with the princes and members of the empire, they would bring great troubles upon *Germany* by the wars and tumults, which their separation would raise. The protestants answered, by *George Brucke*, their deputy, that they took it ill to be threatened; and complained, that the emperor would not suffer them to be heard sufficiently: That they could not be allowed a copy of the confutation of their confession, but upon hard terms; and that it was expected, they should approve of it, without reading or examining it, which they could not do with a safe conscience: That though it was promised and concluded, in the last diet of *Spire*, that a council should be held, nothing was done in it since. The committee of the *Romish* deputies replied, that the protestants had no reason to complain of his imperial majesty: That the condition on which he offered them a copy of the confutation of their confession was not hard, because he was sensible how they used the edict of *Worms*: That they might with greater safety consent to the doctrine of the universal church, than of a small number of heretics and apostates, who could not agree among themselves: And that the emperor, having two wars upon his hands, could have no hopes of holding a council at that time.

The protestants shewed reasons for their separation, and offered to chuse a small number of persons on both sides, who might treat amicably together, and consult if they could not find out some way of agreement. This proposal was received; and seven persons were nominated by both parties to confer about religion; two princes, two lawyers, and three divines. The Romanists were the bishop of *Augsburg*, and the duke of *Brunswick*; the chancellor of the archbishop of *Cologne*, and the chancellor of the marquis of *Baden*; *Eckius*, *Wimpina*, and *Cochlaus*. For the protestants were the elector of *Saxony's* son, and the marquis of *Brandenburg*; the lawyers *Brucke* and *Heller*; and the divines *Melancthon*, *Brentius*, and *Schepsius*. They met, and agreed upon fifteen of the twenty-one articles of the confession of *Augsburg*; so that there remained but six, three of which were only disputed against in part; and the other three were remitted to the second part of their confession,

session, about which it was more difficult to come to an agreement. *Melancthon*, and the other Lutherans, agreed to these points of doctrine: That men should not be said to be justified by faith alone, but by faith and grace: That good works are necessary: That reprobates are included in the church: That man hath a free-will: That the blessed saints intercede for us, and may be honored. In the other seven articles, they agreed, that the body and blood of *Christ* were contained in both elements, and that they would not condemn the laity, who would receive the eucharist only under one kind: That the usual veneration should be given to the holy sacrament: That the public mass should be celebrated with the usual ceremonies, and that they should observe what is essential in the consecration: That the fasts on the vigils might be still observed, and some holydays kept: That the bishops should hold their jurisdictions; and that parish priests, preachers, and other ecclesiastical persons, should submit to them in spiritual matters; and that their excommunications should not be contemned.

The *Romish* divines, on the twenty-second of *August*, made their report to the diet, upon what terms they stood with the Lutherans. It was then thought, that it would be a speedier way to perfect the agreement by reducing the deputies to three; and that both parties should appoint two lawyers, and one divine. *Melancthon* was chose by the Protestants, and *Eckius* by the Romanists. The points upon which they debated, were principally the mass, vows, and celibacy of priests. The Romanists consented, that the married priests might live with their wives; but they would not relax in the business of the mass and vows. *Melancthon*, who was very much inclined to peace, might have come nearer, if he had been invested with ample powers: But the other Protestants had been dissatisfied with his condescension, and ordered him to advance no farther. This put an end to all kinds of accommodation: But *Melancthon* drew up “An apology for the *Augsburg* confession;” which the protestant princes offered to present to the emperor, who refused to receive it, and it was published the next year.

Luther was not at the diet of *Augsburg*, but he wrote to *Melancthon* about the transactions there. The former was of opinion, that all proposals of an accommodation would be ineffectual; but the latter tried to moderate the mind of *Luther*, and stop his heat.

Erasmus also wrote to *Melancthon* in these words; ‘God alone, my dear *Philip*, can unravel the intricate plot of
‘ the

‘ the tragedy which is now acting. Ten councils assembled together could not do it; much less such an one as I. If a man says a reasonable thing, it is straightway called Lutheranism.’ *Melancthon* answered *Erasmus* from *Augsburg*, and prayed him to continue the charitable office of exhorting the emperor to moderation. *Erasmus* replied with some peevishness and resentment, saying, that he would not concern himself in behalf of the evangelics. However, he was better than his word, and did write to cardinal *Campejus*, desiring him to dissuade the emperor from making a religious war.

The sweating sickness, which broke out in *England* in 1485, raged this year in *Germany*, among other calamities; and the affairs of the poor protestants were so bad, in all appearance, that *Melancthon* was quite dejected, and overwhelmed with sorrow. *Luther*, who had more courage, wrote him many excellent letters of consolation.

Archbishop *Cranmer* had a very great regard for *Melancthon*, whom he invited to *England*, and expected there. *Peter Martyr*, and his companion *Ochinus*, had their annual allowance from the king; but some more extraordinary annuity was intended for *Melancthon*.

Francis I. king of *France*, had a great love for learning and learned men. He established professors of the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* languages at *Paris*. The revival of letters in *France*, which had been in a manner extinguished for several ages, was owing to this prince, who was therefore called the *Father of Letters*. He married *Eleanor*, the emperor’s sister, in 1530; at which time there was a great controversy about religion in *France*, and the king was desirous of having *Melancthon* to come there, as he judged him a proper person to pacify the disputes. We are told, that the queen of *Navarre* often talked to the king her brother of a very good man, as she said, who was called *Philip Melancthon*, whom she was continually praising as the most learned man of his time; and that she did not doubt, but if so holy and able a man could confer with the doctors of the *Sorbonne*, they would quickly find the means of restoring peace to the church. Whereupon this prince, who otherwise had a great desire to bring into *France* the ablest men of his time, wrote to *Melancthon*, and invited him to come to *Paris*, to join his endeavors with the *French* divines to restore the antient discipline of the church. This letter was dated at *Guise*, the twenty-eighth of *June*, 1535, and declared the pleasure the king had, that *Melancthon* was disposed to come into *France*, to endeavor to pacify the controversies. *Melancthon* wrote

to the king, the twenty-eighth of *September* following, and assured him of his good intentions; but that he was sorry he had not surmounted the obstacles to his journey. *Langey* was ordered to sound *Melancthon*, if he was inclined to change his chair of theology at *Wittenberg*, whose income was only two hundred crowns a year, for a royal professor's chair in the university of *Paris*, at twelve hundred crowns a year. *Varillas* says, 'the elector of *Saxony* permitted *Melancthon* to go into *France*, in hopes that he would make all the *French* turn Lutherans. But *Luther*, who could not be without *Melancthon*, detained him a long time, upon pretence that he was to concert, or, to speak more properly, to polish with him his last book against the Anabaptists.' *Bayle* contradicts *Varillas*, and says, the elector of *Saxony* could not be prevailed upon to grant *Melancthon* the liberty of going to *France*, and wrote his excuses to *Francis I.* *Luther* did not detain *Melancthon*; but made repeated instances to the elector for his journey. In fact, *Melancthon* could never obtain leave from the elector to make it, although *Luther* had earnestly exhorted that prince to consent to this journey, by representing to him, that the hopes of seeing *Melancthon* had put a stop to the persecution of the protestants in *France*.

The king of *England* also desired to see *Melancthon*: But neither of these two monarchs ever saw him. However, *Melancthon* sent a small piece into *France*, which contained his advices about reconciling of the controversies.

Luther, in 1536, wrote upon his table these words following: *Res et verba Philippus; verba sine rebus Erasmus; res sine verbis Lutherus; nec res nec verba Carolostadius.* 'Philip *Melancthon* is both substance and words; *Erasmus*, words without substance; *Luther*, substance without words; and *Carlostad* neither substance nor words.' *Melancthon* unawares coming to *Luther* at that time, and reading the same, smiled, and said, "Touching *Erasmus* and *Carlostadius*, it is well judged and censured; but too much is attributed unto me; also good words ought to be ascribed to *Luther*, for he speaketh exceeding well."

Melancthon, in 1541, assisted at the conferences of *Spire* and *Ratisbon*, where the controversies between the Romanists and Protestants were warmly disputed. At the former, the papists chose *Eckius*, and the protestants appointed *Melancthon*, to confer about the points in controversy, and agreed that they should begin to discourse about original sin. They entered upon it, and continued the conference three days, when *Nicholas Granville*, who was then prime minister to the emperor, and his commissioner
at

at the conference, received a letter from his imperial majesty, which ordered that the conference should be discontinued, and all things referred to the diet of *Ratisbon*, where the protestants were ordered to meet. This diet was opened in *March*, in the presence of the emperor, who appointed *Eckius*, *Pflugius*, and *Gropper*, to manage it for the Romanists; and, for the Protestants, *Melancthon*, *Bucer*, and *Pistorius*. He commanded them to lay aside all passion, and to respect the glory of God only in that conference. *Frederic*, brother to the elector palatine, was appointed president; who opened the conference on the 27th of *April*, when a writing was produced, which contained twenty-two articles, wherein the whole substance of religion was comprized. It was imagined, that this writing was drawn up by *John Gropper*; but the emperor said, it was presented to him by persons of learning and piety, to forward the peace: He therefore desired them to examine it, that they might approve of what was well, correct what was amiss, and terminate all differences. *Dupin* has set forth all these articles, which are too long to be inserted here. The protestants examined, and objected to several of them; which was resented by the legate, and the diet was concluded by the emperor, who commanded that the decree of the diet of *Augsburg* should still continue; but he suspended all prosecutions in the imperial chamber concerning matters of religion, till either a general or national council was held. In the course of this disputation, it ought to be mentioned to the honor of *Melancthon*, that when *Eckius* proposed a sophism somewhat puzzling, *Melancthon* paused a little, and said, "that he would give an answer to it next day." Upon which *Eckius* represented to him the disgrace of such a scholar requiring so long a time; but *Melancthon* replied, like an honest man, "*Mi doctor, non quæro meam gloriam in hoc negotio, sed veritatem:*" i. e. My good doctor, I am not seeking my own glory in this affair, but the truth. However, he got a complete victory over *Eckius*; who dared no more to shew his face in the controversy.

In 1543, *Melancthon* went to the elector of *Cologne*, to assist him in introducing a Reformation into his diocese, which proved ineffectual. *Bucer* and *Pistorius* assisted *Melancthon* in drawing up the articles for the elector: But *Gropper* composed a treatise against those articles, and the divines of *Cologne* stood so firm against their archbishop, that he was unable to introduce the protestant religion in his electorate. However, the elector of *Cologne*, and the elector palatine, renounced popery.

Melancthon

Melancthon had two sons, and two daughters, by *Catharine Crappin*, the daughter of a burgomaster of *Wittenberg*, whom he married in the year 1520, and lived very happily with till the year 1557, when she died. His daughter *Anne* was married to *George Sabinus*, of *Wittenberg*, in 1536, when she was only fourteen years old. *Sabinus* was one of the best poets of his time; and *Erasmus*, in 1534, had highly recommended him to *Melancthon*. *Anne* understood *Latin* well, and was very handsome. Her father loved her tenderly: But there had been several quarrels between the father-in-law and the son-in-law; because *Sabinus* was ambitious to obtain civil employments, and disliked the humility of *Melancthon*, who confined himself to literary employments, and would be at no trouble to advance his children. *Sabinus*, in 1543, carried his wife into *Prussia*, to the great grief of *Melancthon*; and she died at *Konigsberg* in 1547. *Melancthon*'s other daughter was married, in 1550, to *Gasper Peucer*, who was an able physician, and was very much persecuted. *Melancthon*, was certainly a good father, as appears by this story. A *Frenchman* found him one day holding a book in one hand, and rocking a child with the other. *Melancthon*, seeing him surprized at this, made such a pious discourse to him about the duty of a father, and the state of grace in which children are with God, that this stranger went away much more learned than when he came in.

Melancthon had much of his time taken up by the affair of the *Interim*. He attended seven conferences upon this subject in 1548; and wrote all the pieces that were presented there, as also the censure of that *Interim*.

About this time *Melancthon* was expected in *England*, by king *Edward VI.* to which he was excited by bishop *Latimer*, the great court-preacher, who said before the young monarch, in one of his sermons; 'I hear say, Mr. *Melancthon*, that great clerk, should come hither. I would wish him, and such as he is, two hundred pounds a year. The king should never want it in his coffers at the year's end.'

Melancthon was one of the deputies, whom *Maurice*, elector of *Saxony*, was to send to the council of *Trent* in 1552. He waited some time at *Nuremberg* for a safe-conduct; but he returned from thence to *Wittenberg*, on account of the war which was ready to break out. His last conference with the doctors of the *Romish* communion was at *Worms*, in 1557; and of the dissensions that afflicted him, there was none more violent than that which was raised by *Flacius Illyricus*.

Melancthon

Melancthon was of a mild and peaceable disposition: He had a great deal of wit, much reading, and vast knowledge. He lived among a sort of people who appeared to him passionate, and too forward to mix human methods, and the authority of the secular power, with the affairs of the church. His tender conscience made him fear there was a mark of reprobation in it: But he must have well weighed all inconveniences, when he cast his eyes upon *Palestine*, as *Abelard* had formerly done, to retire there, in case his enemies should drive him away. “I am not dejected, says he, at the cruel clamour of my enemies, who have threatened they will not leave me a footstep in *Germany*. But I commit myself to the Son of God. If I shall be driven away alone, I am determined to go to *Palestine*, and, in those lurking places of *Jerom*, by calling upon the Son of God, to write clear testimonies of the divine doctrine, and in death to recommend my soul to God.”

The testimonies of piety with which *Melancthon* ended his days were admirable: And it is observable, that one thing which made him look upon death as a happiness, was, that it delivered him from theological persecutions. Some days before he died, he wrote on a piece of paper, in two columns, the reasons why he ought not to be sorry for leaving this world. One of those columns contained the blessings that death would procure him: The other contained the evils from which death would deliver him. The first column had six heads. First, That he should come to the light. Secondly, That he should see God. Thirdly, That he should contemplate the Son of God. Fourthly, That he should understand those admirable mysteries which he could not comprehend in this life. Fifthly, Why we are created such as we are. Sixthly, What is the union of the two natures in *Jesus Christ*. The second column had only two articles: First, That he should sin no more. Secondly, That he should be no longer exposed to the vexations and rage of the divines.

The state of man appeared to this great divine to be one of the most incomprehensible mysteries of religion; and yet there is not one among those who believe without examining, that imagines there is any difficulty in it.

Melancthon said, he had held his professor's place forty years, without ever being sure that he should not lose it before the end of the week. None liked his mildness, which exposed him to all sorts of slander, and deprived him of the means of answering a fool according to his folly. The only advantage it procured him was to look
upon

upon death without fear, by considering that it would secure him from theological hatred and contentions.

Hoorndeeck attributed to *Melancthon* the *Greek* version of the *Augsburg* confession, which appeared under the name of *Paul Doscius*: And *Placcius* also believed that the translation of *Ecclesiasticus* and the *Psalms* into *Greek* verse was the work of *Melancthon*. It is certain, that he assisted *Luther* in translating the New Testament into the *German* language: But *Melchior Adam*, *Teissier*, and *Crenius*, were mistaken, as well as *Placcius*, about his *Greek* version of *Ecclesiasticus*, and the *Psalms*; for *Lyserus* has proved that it was done by *Doscius*. *Melancthon*, in 1559, wrote in *Greek* to the patriarch of *Constantinople*, and said, “I send you the *Greek* version of the confession, which was published without my advice: However, I like the style, and have sent it to *Constantinople*.” *Melchior Adam* says, that this version was made by *Melancthon*, though it was published under the name of *Doscius*, who was rector of the college of *Hall* in *Saxony*. But *Melancthon*’s own words shew that he did not make this version.

Peucer was heard to say, that *Melancthon*, his father-in-law, having read the dialogue *de Coena domini*, wrote by *Oecolampadius*, forsook the opinion of the oral manducation; and that afterwards he triumphed in the argument from the doctrine of the fathers. He said, “The doctrine of consubstantiation was unknown to the fathers; and that *Augustine* was a gross *Zuinglian*.”

Melancthon explained himself freely to an *Hungarian*, who asked his opinion about the eucharist. This was reported to *Pomeranus*, who afterwards addressed himself in this manner to the people in a sermon: ‘Most dear brethren, the church is in great danger: Pray to God for some great persons that are fallen into error.’ *Melancthon* was present, and understood that this was meant of him: He could not suppress his anger, and went out of the church in sight of all the congregation. *Hospinian* has undertaken to prove, that *Melancthon* turned from *Lutheranism*, as to the point of the real presence; though the fear of oppression prevented him from declaring his judgment openly.

Melancthon spent all his life in study, and seemed not to be capable of any other labor. He subsisted upon the salary he received from *John Frederic*, elector of *Saxony*, as professor of divinity in the university of *Wittenberg*; which was just sufficient to maintain his family. His constitution was very weak, and required great tenderness and management; which made *Luther*, zealous as he was,

blame him for laboring too earnestly in the vineyard. ‘I am extremely grieved, says he, for your very bad state of health; and my prayers are continually offered up for your recovery, that there may be somebody, when I am dead, who may be a bulwark to the house of *Israel*, against the ragings of *Satan*. In the mean time, why do you embarrass and load yourself with so much business and labour, regardless of all the admonitions which have been given you? The time will come, when you will condemn, but it will be too late, this inconsiderate zeal, which now possesses you, and urges you to undertake so much more than you are able to bear, as if you had a constitution of iron or stone.’

In the beginning of his sickness, he said; ‘I desire to be dissolved, and to be with *Christ*.’ And when his intimate friend *Camerarius* took his last leave of him, and commended him to God, *Melancthon* said; ‘*Jesus Christ*, the Son of God, who sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and giveth gifts to men, preserve you and yours, and us all.’ Feeling himself very sick, he cried; ‘O Lord, make an end!’

Having received letters from *Francfort*, concerning the persecution of some godly men in *France*, he said, ‘that his bodily disease was not comparable to the grief of his mind for his godly friends, and for the miseries of the church.’ Raising himself up in his bed, he cried out; ‘If God be for us, who can be against us?’ After this he prayed to himself; and being at length asked by his son-in-law, if he would have any thing, he answered, ‘Nothing but heaven; therefore, trouble me no more with speaking to me.’ Soon after this he gave up the ghost, at *Wittenberg*, on the nineteenth of *April*, 1560, which was the sixty-third day of his sixty-fourth year. He was honorably buried near *Luther*, in the church of the castle, two days after: And his funeral oration was spoken by *Winshemius*, a doctor of physic, and professor of the *Greek* tongue.

When he was first converted, he thought it impossible for his hearers to withstand the evidence of the truth in the ministry of the gospel; but, after preaching awhile, he complained, ‘That old *Adam* was too hard for young *Melancthon*.’

It is astonishing, that, amidst so many other occupations, *Melancthon* could write so many books. The number of them is prodigious; and a chronological catalogue of them was published in 1582, by *Mylius*. *Christopher Pezelius*, professor of theology at *Wittenberg*, in 1578, published

lished some extracts of *Melancthon's* works, in which he put the objections and answers concerning theological matters in a very good method, and interspersed some short observations. This work contains eight volumes in octavo, which have been printed several times at *Neustat*. *Melancthon* finished few pieces, and published many imperfect. He found his writings were profitable to the youth, and he rather chose to print many of them, than to perfect a small number, as he preferred the advantage of the public to his own glory. We may believe, that the happy genius wherewith he was naturally endowed, gave him some assurance that his works would be esteemed, though unfinished. His *Latin* verses pleased the hypercritical *Julius Cæsar Scaliger*: And *Gaspar Buschius*, poet-laureat to *Ferdinand* king of the *Romans*, translated *Melancthon's* catechism, and his postilles, into *German*, as also a letter of his to the count *de Weda*.

Melancthon was so cool in his temper, that he examined matters the more freely on both sides, and was not peremptory in his opinions, because he was convinced that his knowledge might daily increase; for he remembered that he had corrected many things in his own writings, which he had believed to be good when they were first published. His modesty and experience rendered him a little distrustful. He loved peace; and deplored the confusion of the times. He was even disposed to judge favorably of several doctrines to facilitate a re-union. Modesty, moderation, and love of peace, form in the minds of the most knowing men, a certain principle of equity, which makes them lukewarm and irresolute; and this seems to have been the character of *Melancthon*. In some cases, however, (as *Zanchius* observed of him) his natural timidity led him to concur with and do many things, which his judgement disapproved, and which were afflicting to many good men, who loved him sincerely.

He published several books on rhetoric, logic, and grammar, as well as on theology. His common-places were published in 1521, when he was only twenty-four years of age; and there is reason to believe that he was an author in print before the age of twenty. The parliament at *Paris*, in 1523, censured some of his works, as they did those of *Luther* and *Carlostadius*. The court condemned the writings of *Melancthon*, as containing
 * things contrary to holy scripture, sound reason, the
 * councils, the doctrine of the universal church, and judge-
 * ment of the catholic fathers; being full of schismatical
 * and heretical propositions already condemned, contain-

‘ ing the doctrines of *Luther*, and more dangerous than
 ‘ his books, because of the artifices and smoothness of his
 ‘ discourse: And to shew that they had reason to con-
 ‘ demn them, they joined a general censure of some pro-
 ‘ positions taken out of his book of common-places, his
 ‘ commentary upon the epistle to the *Romans*, his treatise
 ‘ against the censures of the *forbonne*, his letters, and
 ‘ declarations.’ The Lutheran doctrine was then encour-
 aged in the *French* court; and it is no wonder that every
 Reformer was censured by the *forbonne* and parliament,
 who condemned *Mesgret* for favoring the licence which
Wickliffe had introduced; and passed a general censure
 upon the colloquies of *Erasmus*, while that eminent genius
 paid *Melancthon* the highest compliments, and said he was
 desirous of joining with him in his endeavors for the peace
 of the church; but that there were some men, of reputa-
 tion and authority, who treated all those as heretics that
 had any correspondence with *Melancthon*.

Melancthon, *Cruciger*, *Bugenhagius*, and *Aurogallus*, assisted
Luther in his German translation of the bible. *Luther* pre-
 sided over the work; and collated the *Vulgate* translation,
 his new one, and the original text. *Melancthon* compared
 these with the *Septuagint*. *Cruciger* conferred the *Hebrew*
 with the *Chaldee*; and the other assistants explored the
 rabbinical writings. Every one came to conference pre-
 pared for the particular passages under consideration; and
 each delivered in his judgement upon the several texts:
 These were all collated and examined, before they con-
 cluded upon and determined the final expression.—This
 was a great work, highly valuable in itself, and the most
 effectual means, in the hand of God, both of preparing
 and establishing the REFORMATION.

J O H N à L A S C O:

THE POLISH REFORMER.

GOD calleth his church out of every people, and
 nation, and tongue. It is declared that every coun-
 try under heaven shall bear witness of the power of his
 grace, as well as participate the blessings of his providence;
 and that he is, and will be, *rich unto all that call upon HIM*.
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This excellent man was born of a noble family, (which took its name from *Lasco*, or *Latzki*, or *Latzco*,) in *Poland*, and received a very learned and accomplished education. His brother *Jerom* was also a very able and considerable man, and was employed by the emperor *Ferdinand* to negotiate an affair of great importance with the *Turks*, as his ambassador: And he had an uncle, of his own name, who was archbishop of *Gnesna* in *Poland*, to whom *Erasmus* dedicated his edition of *St. Ambrose's* works.

To attain the knowledge of every thing worth knowing, he set out upon his travels. His distinguished abilities procured him an easy access to several crowned heads, whose countries he visited; and his eloquence, as well as his learning, made him acceptable every where.

In the course of his learned pursuits, we find him traversing the *Alps*, and sitting himself down in the barren cold region of *Switzerland*. It seems, that divine grace, while he was visiting the world, here first visited his heart. It not only visited, but fixed its abode within him. *Zuinglius* appears to have been the instrument; for we find, that he staid some time with him at *Zurick*, and that *Zuinglius*, being fully acquainted with his eminent talents as well as gracious affections, prevailed upon him to study divinity, with a view of promoting the cause of the gospel.

After some stay at *Zurick*, he returned to his own country: But *Poland* was no favorable place for his profession of protestantism, or the increase of his spiritual knowledge as a divine. Accordingly, though his family and connections opened his way for any sort of preferment; he left his country, his friends, and all human expectations, in order to propagate the truth with freedom, and to enjoy it with safety. He did not quit the kingdom, however, without the knowledge and consent of the king. But, having obtained the royal licence, he chose rather to suffer afflictions (like *Moses*) with the people of God, than to enjoy all the riches and honors, which the world could afford him. He had been made provost of *Gnesna* and bishop of *Vesprim* in *Hungary*; but these dignities had no weight with him to quit or conceal the knowledge of the truth, for which he was accused of heresy, and even sentenced without hearing. He afterwards wrote to the king upon a similar occasion, and told him; “ That his doctrine of
“ the sacrament had been condemned by a preconceived
“ determination, without any real or just knowledge of
“ the matter by those who condemned him; and that it
“ was the manner of the papists, not to attempt conviction by scripture and reason, but to employ force and
“ authority;

“ authority ; accusing those of heresy, who will not swallow all they say, or maintain whatever absurdities they are pleased to affirm.”

Sic volo, sic jubeo : stet pro ratione voluntas.

It appears by a popish historian, quoted by *Melchior Adam*, that our noble professor left *Poland* in the year 1540. We find him retired, however, to *Embsen* in *Friesland* about the latter end of the year 1542, where he took upon him the office of a pastor, and preached constantly at his church in that town. In the following year, he was engaged, by *Anne* countess dowager of *Oldenburg* in *East Friesland*, to introduce and establish the reformed religion in that territory. This he attempted with great success, and continued in this labor, till he received an invitation from *Albert* duke of *Prussia* for the same purpose. He sent the prince, in a spirit of fairness and candor, a declaration of his doctrine of the sacrament, which accorded with the doctrine of *Zuinglius* ; and therefore, as the duke was a Lutheran, the affair dropped between them.

He had labored in the work of the gospel near ten years in *East Friesland*, not daring to venture into *Germany* on account of the threats of *Charles V.* and the contest upon the business of the *Interim* ; when he was invited into *England*, by our great and good archbishop *Cranmer*, to assist in the work of the Reformation. This was about the year 1549. He arrived in *England*, when the publication of the *Interim* drove the protestants into any country, that would grant them a toleration ; and such they found in *England*, where they had several privileges granted them by king *Edward* the VIth. Three hundred and fourscore were naturalized, and erected into a corporate body, which was governed by its own laws, and allowed its own form of religious worship independent of the church of *England* ; which at that time was a most extraordinary concession, and proved how highly they were held in estimation. A church in *London* (the *Austin Friars*) was also granted to them, with the revenues belonging to it for the subsistence of their ministers, who were either expressly nominated, or at least approved, by the king. His majesty also fixed the precise number of them. According to this regulation, there were four ministers, and a superintendant ; which post was assigned to *John à Lasco*, who had been invited over, and who, in the letters patent, is called a person of illustrious birth, of singular probity, and great learning. In the midst of these favors, it was certainly neither prudent nor grateful to attack the established church,

church, which we find he did by writing a book against her ritual, her ecclesiastical habits, and the gesture of kneeling at the sacrament. What a pity, when so many essentials were concerned, that good men should occupy themselves and differ about modes, and forms, and trifles!

About this time, ' the emigrants from *Germany* (says ' *Dr. Gloucester Ridley*) on the score of religion, who agreed ' in substance with us, but under a different discipline, ' were to be protected; but, under their wing, crept mul- ' titudes of frantic enthusiasts, or lurking papists perfo- ' rating new sectaries. For sifting of these, in *June 1550*, ' *Austin Friars* was given to the *Germans* and other fo- ' reigners, for their church, under the superintendency ' of *John à Lasco*, the *Polander*; for avoiding of all sects of ' *Anabaptists* and such like, as king *Edward* sets it down ' in his journal. These were indulged to use their own ' rites and ceremonies; and an injunction was given to ' all bishops, judges and officers, not to molest them for ' their non-compliance with the order of religion esta- ' blished here. So that every stranger, who was not pro- ' tected by *John à Lasco*, became amenable to the *English* ' governors.'—Thus affairs stood (for *Lasco's* book did not operate to his prejudice); till the death of that excel- lent prince, our *English Josiah*, gave a new turn to public expectation, and for a time unhinged the establishment of the reformed religion.

King *Edward* the VIth was taken from the world on the sixth of *July*, 1553. The change of public measures and counsels was soon written in blood. However, *John à Lasco* and the other foreigners of the protestant faith, were suffered to depart, or rather were sent away, upon the accession of queen *Mary*. They formed a great company of *Polish, Germans, French, Scots, Italians, Spaniards*, and others. *John à Lasco* embarked on the seventeenth of *September* following, with one hundred and seventy-five of his flock, and his colleagues, all, except two, who staid in *England* concealed, together with the rest of the *German* protestants, who were deprived of their churches, and all their privileges taken away. These distressed exiles arrived on the coast of *Denmark*, in the beginning of a very severe winter; but they met with a reception as cold and as barren as the country itself. For, though they were known to be protestants, yet because they professed the *Zuinglian* doctrine concerning the sacrament; to the lasting disgrace of the *Danes*, both as men and as *Christians*, they were not suffered to disembark, nor to anchor longer than two days, without daring to put their wives and

and children on shore. An instance of brutality, which would have disgraced the *Algerines*! They were treated in the same inhospitable and unchristian manner at *Lubeck*, *Wismar*, and *Hamburgh*; because, with these Lutherans and the papists, they could not believe, contrary to the evidence of their senses, and without the least authority from the scripture to look after a miracle, that the bread and wine in the sacrament actually became that very body and blood of *Jesus Christ*, which is ascended to heaven, and which, it is declared, shall remain there, till the final restitution of all things. If the manners and dispositions of these people had been ever so much more churlish, selfish, and unfeeling, than they are by nature; surely, grace, if they had any, must have melted their bosoms at the sight of so much outward suffering, and especially of so much Christian woe. After spending the winter, which is commonly very severe in those countries, in this dreadful manner, tossed about from place to place; they at length resolved to steer for *Embsen*, where, after a multitude of perils and hardships, they did not arrive till *March*, 1554, when the worst of the winter was nearly over. From *September* to *March*, they had wandered to and fro, and were driven about upon the seas. Through the wide world these people sought after a home, of whom the world, indeed, was not worthy.

At *Embsen* they were received with kindness and hospitality; and most of them settled in the country. The good countess dowager, *Anne of Oldenburg*, became their immediate patroness, and probably procured for them all the good offices, which they found in *Friesland*. *John à Lasco*, however, did not remain here; for, in 1555, he went to *Frankfort* upon the *Maine*, where he obtained leave of the senate to build a church for the reformed strangers, and particularly for those of the low countries. While he was at this city, he wrote an apologetical letter to *Sigismund* king of *Poland*, against the aspersions of *Joachim Westphale*, of *Timann*, and of *Pomeran*, who had all represented him as a vagabond, desirous of drawing away people after him. This letter was written in 1556; and we have given a hint of its contents before.

In this year, 1556, with the consent of the duke of *Wirtemberg*, he maintained a disputation against *Brentius* the Lutheran, upon the subject of the eucharist. *Brentius* published a very unfair account of this controversy, in which he stated many things, which *John à Lasco* had not said; and omitted many others, which he had urged, but which bore too hard upon the Lutherans. He also abused
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the church of the strangers, over which *John à Lasco* presided, calumniating them for differing from the confession of *Augsburg*, respecting the sacrament. This obliged our noble sufferer to publish an apology for himself and his church, about the beginning of the year 1557, in which he proved, “ That their doctrine did not militate with “ the *Augsburg* confession concerning the presence of *Christ* “ in the supper;” as their adversaries had charged upon them: “ But that, if even they did differ from that confession, it did not follow they were to be condemned; “ if they could justify their dissent from that confession “ by the word of God.”

Westphale seems to have been his principal adversary, and carried his opposition with a bitterness, very unbecoming a minister and a Christian. He called these poor refugees by opprobrious names, railed severely at *John à Lasco*, and even went so far as to say, ‘ That those, who ‘ had suffered, upon the doctrine of the sacrament, in ‘ *England, Holland, France*, and elsewhere, were only the ‘ martyrs of the devil.’—A rash expression indeed, which involved in its censure some of the brightest and most useful instruments of the Reformation, whose very books *Westphale* was not worthy to bear after them! Such hot-headed opinionists only injure the cause, which has the misfortune of their approbation.

After an absence of twenty years, our noble *Pole* returned to his native country; where, notwithstanding the bishops and other ecclesiastics did their utmost to drive him away; their efforts proved ineffectual, through the favor of *Sigismund* the king, who made use of his talents in his most important affairs. In *Poland*, the harvest truly was plenteous; but the laborers were few. The popish clergy obstructed every attempt of a Reformation, and would have destroyed *John à Lasco*, but for fear of the consequence to themselves. They once attempted to remove him from the king’s confidence, and had the boldness to address his majesty upon the subject. But the king nobly replied, ‘ That he had indeed heard, that the bishops had pronounced him an heretic; but the senate of the kingdom ‘ had determined no such matter: That *John à Lasco* was ‘ ready to prove himself untainted with heretical pravity, ‘ and sound in the catholic faith.’

When open attacks would not serve, they attempted (in the true spirit of their profession) to destroy him by secret arts. No lie, no calumny, was too gross or bitter for circulation, if there was the least prospect of its gaining belief among the multitude. They set it about, that he

was a trumpet of sedition, and would soon introduce a civil war into the land. But these artifices, likewise, had no other effect, than to shew the malice and wickedness of his enemies.

However, it pleased God, in a short time, to remove his servant out of this turbulent world, and to bring him happily, where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest. He was taken away by a short sickness in *January, 1560.*

King *Sigismund* (as we have observed) very highly esteemed him, and advised with him upon his most weighty affairs. *John à Lasco* continued in the Helvetic or Zuinglian doctrine of the sacrament, without any variation; but took very great pains to conciliate the difference, which subsisted upon that article, in the protestant churches. He was a man of peace, a minister of the gospel of peace, and peace he wished to promote. And so do all those, who have *the peace of God ruling in their hearts.*

The historians of his time speak very highly in his praise. *Erasmus*, who much esteemed him, declares, that he had learned sobriety, temperance, modesty, discretion and chastity of him; although being then old, and *John à Lasco* yet young, he ought to have been the master, and not the scholar. And *Zanchius*, in a letter to him, writes thus; *‘Servavit te hac usque Deus, ut sicut Lutherus suæ Germaniæ, Zuinglius suæ Helvetiæ, Calvinus suæ Galliæ, ita tu tuæ Poloniæ sis Apostolus:’* i. e. God hath hitherto preserved you, that as *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and *Calvin*, were the apostles of their own respective countries of *Germany*, *Switzerland*, and *France*; so *You*, in like manner, might be the apostle of *Poland*, your native land.

His writings were: 1. A book upon the Lord's Supper. 2. An epistle, containing a brief discussion of the controversy upon the Lord's Supper. 3. A confession of our communion with the Lord *Christ*, and the exhibition of his body in the sacrament; addressed to the ministers of the churches in *East Friesland*. 4. An epistle to the ministers of the church at *Bremen*. 5. A tract against *Mennon*, the chief of the catabaptists. 6. Three epistles, concerning the right method of church-government. 7. An epistle apologetical to king *Sigismund* and the states of *Poland*. 8. A defence of the church of refugees at *Frankfort*, upon the calumny about the Lord's Supper. 9. An answer to the virulent address of *Joachim Westphale* upon the same subject. 10. The manner and reason of the whole ecclesiastical conduct of *Edward the VIth.* towards the church of refugees in *London*.



From an original Engraving published under the Inspection of Beza.

P E T E R M A R T Y R :

O R

PETER MARTYR VERMILIUS.

THIS excellent man was born in the city of *Florence*, the metropolis of the dukedom of *Tuscany* in *Italy*, on the eighth of *September*, 1500. His father was *Stephen Vermilius*, who gave him such a liberal education, that, at sixteen years of age, he became a canon regular of the order of *St. Augustine* in the college at *Fiscoli*, about a mile from *Florence*. It is said, that he received the first rudiments of literature from his mother, who was a very ingenious lady, and used to read *Terence* and the other *Latin* classics to him in the original. He spent three years at this college, and was then sent to *Padua*, to enlarge his learning in that university, which was in a flourishing condition. He settled there in the monastery of *St. John de Verdera* of the same order of *Augustines*, where he continued eight years studying philosophy, and the other liberal arts: But he more particularly applied himself to the study of the *Greek* tongue, and poets, which he completely mastered.

He began to preach in 1526; and the first time he performed that office was in the church of *St. Afra* in *Brescia*, or *Brixia*, a city belonging to the republic of *Venice*. He afterwards preached in the most considerable cities of *Italy*: But all the time that he could obtain from his function was devoted to sacred learning, philosophy, and in acquiring the *Hebrew* tongue. He became such a celebrated scholar, that he was made abbot of *Spoletto*, in the duchy of *Umbria*, subject to the pope, where he continued three years. From thence he was translated to the city of *Naples*, where he became abbot of the monastery of his order called *St. Peter ad Aram*, which was much more considerable than that of *Spoletto*.

At *Bononia* he applied himself to the study of the *Hebrew* tongue, and pursued at the same time his studies in divinity.

It was at *Naples* that *Martyr* first read the works of *Bucer* and *Zuinglius*, which opened his eyes to the verity

of the gospel : But he did not embrace the protestant religion till the year 1542. One *Valdes*, a *Spanish* lawyer and learned protestant, was the means of establishing him in the knowledge and love of the truth ; so that, it is said, he even ventured to preach it privately at *Rome* itself to some persons of quality, and proceeded so far as to attack the doctrine of purgatory openly ; but was soon silenced. He fell into a dangerous sickness after he had been three years at *Naples* ; but the strength of his constitution overcame it, and his physicians advised him to take better air than what *Naples* afforded. The fathers therefore chose him general visitor of their order, that he might be absent from his cure with convenience : And he was soon after elected prior of *St. Fridian* in the city of *Lucca* in *Tuscany*, where he enjoyed his native air. Here he lived with *Zanchius* and *Tremellius*, whom he is said to have been the instrument of converting to the knowledge and profession of the gospel, with many others, who were afterwards obliged to abandon their native country upon that account.

This priory was a place of great dignity, and had episcopal jurisdiction in the middle part of the city. He instituted a most admirable method of studies for the young students at *Lucca* : But his opinion concerning a Reformation of the church was discovered, and snares were laid for him by the monks, which prevented him from declaring his sentiments. He therefore committed the best part of his library to the custody of one of his friends, gave another part to the college, and departed from *Lucca* to *Pisa*, a city eight miles distant from the other.

He wrote from *Pisa* to cardinal *Pole*, and shewed him the reasons of his departure. Afterwards he went into *Switzerland* with *Bernardinus Ochinus*, who was also lately converted from the *Romish* superstitions, after having been one of the most popular preachers in *Italy*, and continued some time at *Zurick* ; from whence he went to *Strasburgh*, by means of *Bucer*, where he read and taught divinity about five years.

While he was at *Strasburgh*, he followed the example of *Luther* and *Bucer*, by taking a wife, who had lately been a nun, and whose name was *Catharine Dampmartin*. This caused his enemies to say, that he left his order and monastic vows for the sake of a woman. She lived with him eight years, went with him to *England*, and died at *Oxford*.

Bucer endeavored to persuade *Peter Martyr* to follow his example about the eucharist. *Martyr* conformed himself for some time to *Bucer's* language, and afterwards left it, when he saw the dangerous consequences of it ; which were,

were, that the Lutherans were not fully satisfied; while it gave offence to the weak and perplexed, and embarrassed them in such a manner, that they could not tell what to believe on that point. However, *Bucer* was convinced of *Martyr's* orthodoxy; and they continued their friendship. *Bucer* and *Fagius* were invited to *England* in the reign of *Edward VI.* *Peter Martyr* was also invited there in that reign, to assist in the Reformation: Though *Naudæus* erroneously says, he fled thither for refuge.

In 1547, *Edward Seymour*, lord protector, and archbishop *Cranmer*, invited *Peter Martyr* to *England*, 'that his assistance might be used to carry on a Reformation in the church.' He arrived in *December* the same year, in this kingdom, with *Bernardinus Ochinus*, another *Italian*. They were kindly received by archbishop *Cranmer* at *Lambeth*, and entertained there for some time. The stipends, allowed them, were handsome for the time; though indeed no stipends could deserve any consideration, which might draw over and subsist men of such eminence and learning. We were but just emerged from barbarism in this country; and the introduction of learned foreigners afforded both a polish to our manners, and an improvement to our minds. True knowledge beat down the outworks of superstition, and the gospel of truth invested the capitol.

Bucer was made professor of divinity at *Cambridge*; and, in 1548, *Martyr* was admitted doctor of divinity at *Oxford*, as he had stood at *Padua*. The government, at that time, had a watchful eye over both the universities, where *Bucer*, *Martyr*, and the other learned foreigners, were hard pressed in disputes with popish *English* divines. *Oglethorpe*, the president of *Magdalen-college* in *Oxford*, was particularly obnoxious, as being backward in the work of Reformation, and there was some talk of prosecuting him before the council: But he prevented this, by sending a letter to *Cranmer*, setting forth his own conduct in the most favorable light, wherein he declared his dislike to transubstantiation; yet he thought that *Christ* was present in the sacrament in some inconceivable manner; on which account, he was of opinion, that it ought to be administered with great devotion and caution. We shall find that doctor *Oglethorpe* was afterwards made bishop of *Carlisle*; and that it was he who crowned queen *Elizabeth* in 1559, notwithstanding the other bishops refused to assist at the solemnity; because that princess had sufficiently declared herself against the church of *Rome*.

Doctor *Smith*, another eminent professor in *Oxford*, had been remarkably inconstant in matters of religion, and
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was therefore removed from his public professorship of divinity, to make way for *Peter Martyr*, notwithstanding he was more addicted to the Zuinglian than to the Lutheran doctrines in point of the sacrament.

The same year, *Martyr* was appointed by the king to read a public lecture to the academians in the divinity school, and to have an annuity of forty marks for his reward. He maintained public disputations with the Romanists, who behaved to him more like personal enemies than religious adversaries.

It is necessary to observe, that the main spring which actuated all measures, was religion. The young king, and the duke of *Somerset*, were sincerely and virtuously disposed towards a Reformation; and their measures were directed by the cool and politic head of archbishop *Cranmer*, who made an admirable use of that knowledge of mankind, which he had acquired by his long experience. He could not, indeed, prevent many, who assisted in the work of Reformation, from profiting themselves by the spoils of the church: But he took care, that what she lost in her property, she should make up in her establishment.

The spirit of Reformation seems to have been quickened by the arrival of the foreign divines from *Germany* and other places. They were in general against the impurity of church government: But, in other respects, their opinions were not much repugnant to those now received by the church of *England*. The calling in those foreigners had this happy effect, that their authority, which was great in *England* on account of their reputation abroad, proved an useful counterpoize at the universities, to the influence of the papists and the popish professors, who continued still numerous there.

The privy-council were informed of the tumult at *Oxford*, and appointed some delegates to hear and preside in the disputation which the professor had undertaken. *Martyr* accordingly maintained, against three opponents, that in the sacrament of thanksgiving there is no transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of *Christ*: That his body or blood is not carnally or corporally in the bread and wine, nor under them: But that his body and blood are united to the bread and wine sacramentally. His adversaries, finding no advantage could be gained by argument, had recourse to more forcible measures. They stirred up the multitude against him so successfully, that he was obliged to retire to *London*, till the tumult was suppressed.

In 1550, the king bestowed a canonry of *Christ-church* upon *Martyr*, who was installed the twentieth of *January*. He then entered upon the lodgings belonging to him, which joined on the north-side of *Christ-church* great gate leading into *Fish-street*. His wife *Catharine* settled with him there; as the wife of doctor *Cox* did about the same time with him in the dean's lodgings. It was observed, that these were the first women, who resided in any college or hall at *Oxford*; by whose example any other canon was permitted to marry, and introduce women and children into those seminaries, which was looked upon as such a damnable matter by the papists, that they usually stiled them concubines; and called the lodgings that entertained them and their children stews and bawdy houses.

While *Martyr* continued in these apartments, he continually, and especially in the night time, received very opprobrious language from the papists, as well scholars as laics, who frequently broke his windows. This disturbed his studies and sleep, and obliged him to change his lodgings for those in the cloister, where he peaceably spent the remaining part of his abode in the university. However, for the closer enjoyment of his studies, he erected a fabric of stone in his garden, situated on the east-side of his apartments, wherein he partly composed his commentaries on the first epistle to the *Corinthians*, and his epistles to learned men. This fabric contained two stories, and stood till 1684, when it was pulled down.

Doctor *Hooper*, professor of divinity, was preferred to be bishop of *Gloucester*; but when he came to be consecrated he scrupled the wearing of some of the episcopal ornaments. Archbishop *Cranmer* suspended *Hooper*, as is mentioned in his life. The doctor consulted *Bucer* and *Martyr* upon the affair; and the latter wrote him an answer to all his objections, which was fuller than *Bucer's* letter to the archbishop, but exactly conformable to the sentiments expressed in it. He commended *Hooper* for his pains in preaching; but advised him not to exert his zeal upon points that are indefensible, and things of little moment; lest the people should from thence be led to call in question the judgement of the reformed preachers, and give no credit to what they delivered in the most important articles. He reminded him, that an abstinence from things strangled, and from blood, was a part of the *Jewish* institution; and yet that the council at *Jerusalem* commanded the gentiles to observe it, to avoid giving offence. In answer to one objection of *Hooper's*, 'that
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‘ we ought to have an exprefs warrant from scripture for every thing belonging to religion :’ *Martyr* told him, that if the general rules of order were observed, the governors of the church had a discretionary latitude in little matters. Thus, for instance, our receiving the communion in a church, in a forenoon, not in a declining posture, and in a congregation of men only, stood upon no other than ecclesiastical, that is, human authority; to which he presumed, that *Hooper* had always submitted without any scruple. He told him further, that it would be difficult to produce any warrant from the New Testament for singing psalms in public worship; and that the Christian church from the beginning, in many particulars, had a regard to the *Jewish* polity; especially in the great festivals of *Easter*, and *Whitsuntide*. Supposing, what he could not grant, that the episcopal habit and vestments were introduced into the church by the see of *Rome*; yet he did not think the contagion of popery so very malignant as to carry infection to every thing which it touched: That to govern by such narrow maxims would lay an inconvenient restraint upon the church of God; and that our ancestors moved much more freely, who made no difficulty of turning heathen temples into Christian churches, and of translating the revenues sacred to idolatry, to pious uses, and the maintenance of the clergy.

Hooper for some time continued his non-conformity; but he was afterwards consecrated bishop, and died a martyr. *Peter Martyr*, and his companion *Ochinus*, had their annual allowances from the king; as all other learned followers had, according to bishop *Latimer*, who said, in one of his court sermons; ‘ There is yet among us two great learned men, *Peter Martyr* and *Bernard Ochin*, which have an hundred marks a piece. I would the king would bestow a thousand pounds on that sort.’ Such were the sentiments of this most venerable prelate and martyr, the pious *Latimer*.

The death of *Bucer*, which happened in 1551, was greatly lamented by king *Edward VI.* and all the friends of the Reformation in *England*. He was no friend to the book of Common Prayer as it stood at the time of his death; and his remonstrances, with those of *Martyr* and *Calvin*, prevailed with archbishop *Cranmer*, and the other prelates of the Reformation, to suffer it to be revised and corrected. *Catharine*, the wife of *Peter Martyr*, died about the same time, and she was buried in the cathedral church of *Oxford*, near to the place where the reliques of *St. Frideswide* had been

been reposed: But, about four years after, her body was taken up, thrown out of the church with scorn, and buried in a dunghill, where it lay till queen *Elizabeth* came to the crown, when she ordered the body to be taken up and reburied. ‘ The wife of *Peter Martyr* had been suspected of heresy: But, as she was a foreigner, and did not speak *English*, it was impossible to prove the charge against her; yet this did not prevent her body being taken out of its grave, and buried in unconsecrated ground.’ The bodies of *Bucer* and *Fagius* were taken up and burnt under the farce of law. ‘ The like difficult process was also carried on against the body of *Peter Martyr’s* wife: But the visitors could not hear of any witnesses that had heard her utter any heresy. They sent up therefore to cardinal *Pole* for fresh instructions; who directed, that since it was notorious she had been a nun and had married contrary to her vow, her body should be taken up, and buried in a dunghill, as a person dying under excommunication; which was done accordingly.’ *Melchior Adam* says, that the true reason of this low indecency was founded in a motive of resentment, which cardinal *Pole* had conceived against her husband. The cardinal had formerly been the most intimate friend of *Martyr*, and even continued to appear so, after he had expressed his dislike of the errors of the church of *Rome*: But when *Martyr* left *Italy*, *Pole* became his most inveterate enemy, and exercised this indignity to the wife, in order to express his hatred of the husband. When queen *Elizabeth* came to the throne, her body was removed again by an order, and solemnly interred in the most honorable part of the church. And, to prevent the papists from treating her in the same opprobrious manner again, if they should ever have come into power, her bones were mixed with the bones of the saintess *Frideswide*, that it might not be possible to distinguish or separate them.

King *Edward VI.* died in 1553, in the sixteenth year of his age; which gave a violent blow to the Reformation. He was succeeded by his sister *Mary*, the daughter of *Catharine of Arragon*, who had been educated a papist, and whose reign was polluted with the blood of martyrs. Upon her accession, all the popish bishops were restored, and the protestant bishops set aside. A letter was issued to the bishops, attended by a proclamation, forbidding all exercises of preaching and expounding the scriptures without the queen’s licence. Thus, the supremacy, for this time, was borrowed by a popish sovereign, to be the scourge of the Reformation. In the beginning of this

reign, many protestants foresaw the approaching persecutions which dishonored the nation, and retired abroad; some to *Switzerland*, and others to *Germany*. A resolution was taken to bring into the universities a test for purging them of all protestants, and to prevent their re-admission for the future. This was done by way of oath, as follows :

‘ You shall swear, by the holy contents of this book,
 ‘ that you shall not keep, hold, maintain, and defend, at
 ‘ any time, during your life, any opinion erroneous, or
 ‘ error of *Wickliffe*, *Huss*, *Luther*, or any other condemned
 ‘ of heresy : And that ye shall keep, hold, maintain, and
 ‘ defend generally and especially, all such articles and
 ‘ points as the catholic church of *Rome* believeth, holdeth,
 ‘ or maintaineth, at this time : And that ye shall allow
 ‘ and accept, maintain and defend, for their power, all
 ‘ traditions, institutions, rites, ceremonies, and laudable
 ‘ customs, as the said church of *Rome* taketh them, al-
 ‘ loweth them, and approveth them : And that you shall
 ‘ namely and specially hold as the said catholic church
 ‘ holdeth in all these articles, wherein lately hath been
 ‘ controversy, dissention, and error ; as concerning faith
 ‘ and works, grace, and free-will, of sin in a good work,
 ‘ of the sacrifice of the New Testament, of the priesthood
 ‘ of the new law, of communion under both kinds, of
 ‘ baptism and Christian liberty, of monastic vows, of fast-
 ‘ ing and choice of meats, of the single life of priests, of
 ‘ the church, of the canonical books, of the firm holding
 ‘ of matters not exprest in the scriptures, of the inerra-
 ‘ bility of general councils in faith and manners, of the
 ‘ power of the church to make laws, of the church’s
 ‘ sacraments and their efficacy, of the power of excom-
 ‘ munication conferred upon the church, of punishing
 ‘ heretics, of the sacrifice of the mass, of purgatory, of
 ‘ worshipping saints and praying to them, of worshipping
 ‘ the images of saints, of pilgrimages, of evangelical pre-
 ‘ cepts and councils. And likewise of all other articles,
 ‘ wherein controversy or dissention hath been in the church
 ‘ before this day.’

The roman-catholics at *Oxford*, without waiting for any directions from the court, drove *Peter Martyr* from the divinity chair, and brought the old service into the churches with all the train of ceremonies formerly used. *Martyr* then left *Oxford*, and went to *London*, where the queen granted him a safe-conduct, with which he returned to *Strasburgh*, where he met doctor *Cox* and some other

Other *English* fugitives, and renewed his lectures in philosophy and divinity. *Ochinus* went to *Strasburgh* with his friend *Martyr*; and it was in the year 1553, that they repassed the sea. *Ochinus* went to *Switzerland*, where he continued ten years, when he was banished for his writings, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and then went to *Moravia*, where he died of the plague. There are express and unexceptionable proofs that *Ochinus* fled from *Basil* to *Poland*, and died in those parts; yet the capuchins made no scruple to publish, that he died a roman-catholic martyr at Geneva. 'Tis very certain, that he was not found in the faith.

Martyr, upon an honorable invitation from the magistrates, travelled to *Zurick* in 1556, to which place he was accompanied by our excellent doctor *Jewel*, and several other exiled divines of *England*. In this city he took for his second wife one *Catharine Merenda*. He lived at *Zurick* seven years in high esteem with the inhabitants of the place, and in great friendship with *Bullinger* and other learned men. While he continued there, *Maximilian Celsus*, an exiled count, and the chief minister of the *Italian* church of *Geneva*, died; whereupon *Martyr* was invited to succeed him, which he refused for several reasons. When queen *Mary* died, queen *Elizabeth* invited him to return to *England*, and accept of what preferment he pleased, which he modestly declined. He continued at *Zurick* to the time of his death, which happened on the twelfth of *November*, 1562, in the sixty-second year of his age. He died with great comfort, meekness and tranquillity, in the presence of *Bullinger*, and some other friends; before whom he declared, with a voice which could scarce be heard, "That he expected life and salvation only through *Jesus Christ*, who alone was appointed by the Father for the salvation of men." To this declaration he added several reasons for this hope; concluding with this sentence, "This is my faith; and in this I dye: But those, who teach otherwise and lead men to expect salvation upon any other ground, will God destroy." Then, stretching forth his hands, he gently said, "Farewell, dear friends and brethren, farewell."

It appears that *Martyr* was in *France* in 1561, when he paid a visit to *John Anthony Caraccioli*, a bishop, who had openly declared himself a protestant. This prelate had not been confirmed or elected by the church and people; which made him in doubt, whether he could lawfully exercise the pastoral function? He convened the

elders of the reformed church, who met at *Poissy*, and referred the affair to the church of *Geneva*. ‘ In the mean time, passed through *Troyes*, (says *Beza*) that great man ‘ *Peter Martyr*, in his return from *Poissy* to his church at ‘ *Zurick*; by whose advice, the bishop made his abjuration, signed the confession of faith, promised to quit his ‘ bishopric, and was received into the ministry.’

He had two children by his second wife, who both died very young, and before him; and he left her with child of a third, which proved a daughter.

Peter Martyr is said to have been a man of a large healthy body, and of a very grave sedate and well-composed countenance. His parts and learning were very uncommon; as was also his skill in disputation, which made him as much admired by the protestants, as hated by the papists. He was very sincere and indefatigable in the work of the Reformation; yet his zeal was never known to run headstrong before his judgement. He was always moderate and prudent in his outward behavior; nor, even in disputation, was he ever transported into intemperate warmth, or driven to unguarded expressions. None of his works raised his reputation higher in *England*, than his defence of the orthodox doctrine of the Lord’s Supper, against bishop *Gardiner*, which all the foreign divines likewise allowed to be a most able and accurate performance. Bishop *Jewel* said of him, that he was ‘ an illustrious man, ‘ and ought never to be named without the highest respect ‘ and honor.’ And *Simlerus*, who spoke his funeral oration before the people of *Zurick*, told them, ‘ That they ‘ might have another in *Martyr*’s room; but another ‘ *Martyr* they would never have.’

His writings were very considerable: The *English* titles of them are as follow. 1. A catechism or exposition of the creed, published in *Italian*. 2. A prayer book composed out of the *Psalms*. 3. Commentaries upon *Genesis*. 4. Upon the book of *Judges*. 5. Upon the two books of *Samuel*. 6. Upon the first book of *Kings*, and eleven chapters of the second. 7. Upon *Paul* to the *Romans*. 8. Upon the first epistle to the *Corinthians*. 9. Disputations at *Oxford*, about the Lord’s Supper. 10. Defence about the orthodox doctrine of the Lord’s Supper, against *Stephen Gardiner*. 11. An abridgement of the said defence made by him afterward. 12. Confession exhibited to the senate of *Strasburgh*, concerning the Supper of the Lord. 13. Judgement concerning the presence of *Christ*’s body in the sacrament, delivered at the conference at *Poissy*. 14. A discourse

discourse concerning the mass. 15. A dialogue concerning the place of *Christ's* body, against the *Ubiquitaries*. 16. Refutation of *Richard Smith's* two books, concerning single life and monkish vows. 17. Commentaries on the first and second books of *Aristotle's Ethicks*, and part of the third. 18. Common places gathered out of his commentaries by others, and digested into heads. 19. Certain treatises of free-will, God's providence, predestination, and the cause of sin. 20. Propositions, some necessary, some probable, out of *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, and *Judges*; together with solutions of a question or two concerning some Moisaical laws and oaths. 21. Divers sermons and orations of several subjects, and made upon several occasions. 22. His letters to sundry persons, concerning much variety of useful discourse.

THOMAS GRYNÆUS.

GOD, in his great mercy to his church, has appointed ministring servants, of various gifts and qualifications, for the building up of his people, and forwarding them in their most holy faith. Where the soft language of a *Barnabas* would probably fail, the Lord sends the thunder of a *Boanerges* to the soul: And he rarely employs the meek and placid spirit of a *Melancthon*, when the raging passions of men are better opposed by the magnanimous heart of *Luther*. Some of his ministers are most instrumental in public speaking; and others are perhaps more permanently and extensively useful in writing for the public. Divine grace confers different talents, proportioned to the different work designed: But still it is the same Spirit and the same Lord, *who worketh all in all*. Whatever good is done upon earth, the Lord doeth it himself.

This excellent man, *Thomas Grynæus*, seems to have eminently possessed *the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit*, which, though it has but little splendor in the eyes of men, *in the sight of God is of great price*. He made but little noise in the world; but was, however, of great use in promoting the cause of Reformation.

He was born at *Veringen* in *Germany*, of a good family, about the year 1512, and received the rudiments of his education

education at home. While he was yet very young, he was removed to the care of his good and learned uncle *Simon Grynæus* (whose life we have given) at *Heidelberg*, under whose tuition he studied very hard, and in time became a great proficient in almost every branch of science.

In the year 1529, he accompanied his uncle to *Basil*, in the seventeenth year of his age; and was so far advanced in his studies, as to be able, at a time, when others are little more than school-boys, to assist his learned relation privately in the tuition of young persons, and in some respects, by teaching others to instruct himself. He does not appear to have remained long at *Basil*; for we find him, while a mere youth, in the capacity of a public teacher of the languages and philosophy at *Bern* in *Switzerland*, where he obtained great esteem by his life and learning. In this station he continued about eleven years, till theological disputes, in which he was necessarily involved, began to run very high: Upon which account, being a man of a quiet spirit, and wearied with the contentions about him, he returned to *Basil*, where he pursued his studies for a while, with great diligence and privacy.

He had not sat down long at *Basil*, in 1547, before the rectors of that university, desirous to shew honor to so learned a man, as well as wishing for his able assistance, conferred upon him the degree of master of arts. While he was employed in this business of public and private tuition, to which he added the labors of a preacher in the neighboring villages; *Charles*, marquis of *Baden*, who was awakened by the grace of God from the idolatry and superstition of the times, was employed in purging his dominion of the *Romish* errors, and in establishing the pure doctrine of the gospel. His territory lay close up to *Basil*. Wishing, therefore, for an able and faithful minister, he applied earnestly to *Grynæus* to accept of the charge, and the more, as it was no great distance from his beloved seat of learning. Accordingly, *Grynæus* complied with the marquis's wishes, and performed his pastoral duty with so much faithfulness, solemnity, and kindness of behavior, that he was exceedingly endeared to his flock, and beloved by all those, who had any concern for truth and knowledge. In this function he continued about eight years; at the expiration of which, an epidemical disorder, which raged in *Basil* and through all the neighboring country, carried off this valuable servant of *Jesus Christ* to his Master's presence, on the second of *August*, in the year 1564,
and

and in the fifty-second year of his age. His body was buried in his own church, where he had been the first preacher of the gospel, and where an honorable monument was afterwards erected to his memory.

It does not appear, that he published any writings; but he left behind him a noble treasure for the church in his four excellent sons, whose names were, *Theophilus*, *Simon*, *John James*, and *Tobias*, all of them eminent for their piety and learning. But *John James*, whose life we shall give hereafter, was the most distinguished of the four, and succeeded his father in his pastoral charge, as well as in faith and doctrine. He was indeed a burning and a shining light; as our Readers will probably perceive in the account of him. Such a father and such sons are not often met with in the history of the world.—Blessed be God for *them*. May the Lord of the vineyard send forth many more such laborers into his harvest!

PETER PAUL VERGERIO,

BISHOP OF ISTRIA.

SCARCE any thing proves the almighty efficacy of the grace of God with more demonstration, than the conversion of the determined opposers of the gospel. That *such* men should build the faith, which once they attempted to destroy, not only shews that there is some extraordinary circumstance in the case, but excites the public astonishment, and leads to the strictest enquiry. This enquiry, when conducted with candor and seconded by grace, has often ended in the conversion of others; and what was at first imagined to be only a private matter, has eventually turned out a public blessing. The wonderful change made in the apostle *Paul* had this happy effect; and as the sincerity of such persons, as the apostle and some others were, cannot reasonably be questioned; the surprizing alteration of their sentiments and conduct has been produced, as a strong argument of the truth and glory of the gospel. And, perhaps this argument has been treated by nobody with more force and perspicuity (so far as relates to the power

of words), than by the late lord *Lyttleton* in his tract, entitled, ‘*Observations upon the conversion of St. Paul.*’

The subject of our present consideration is another very remarkable instance of the same kind. *Vergerio*, as well as the apostle we have just mentioned, had too much knowledge to be deceived by mere artifice, had too great an interest, as well as gave up too great an interest, on the opposite side, to be questioned of their uprightness, and had nothing to hope for, by espousing the cause of truth, but reproach, and persecution, and poverty.

There were two of this name of *P. P. Vergerio*, and both very learned men. By way of distinction, our *Vergerio* is called junior, probably from being the younger of the two. The other was a layman, and a pupil of *Chrysoloras*, of *Constantinople*, who revived the knowledge of the *Greek* tongue and other learning in *Italy*, after a barbarism of above seven hundred years. It does not appear in what part of *Italy* our *Vergerio* was born or educated; but we find him celebrated for his knowledge in the canon law and scholastic divinity, and, in consequence of it, employed by the pope, as his nuncio, at the ever memorable diet of *Augsburg* in the year 1530. *Vergerio* had almost unlimited confidence placed in him, and was entrusted with a very ample commission. His chief instructions were, that he should use all endeavors to prevent the holding of a national council in *Germany*, and to induce king *Ferdinand*, the emperor’s brother, to oppose any treaty of that kind. *Vergerio* very sedulously acquitted himself according to the tenor of his commission, and left no stone unturned to perplex and mortify the Lutherans, by shewing every liberality to *Eckius*, *Faber*, *Cochlæus*, and others, who were their adversaries, in order to induce them to make the warmer opposition. He also made *Eckius* a canon of *Ratisbon*; a piece of preferment, which, as the pope’s legate, he could confer, being present; the chapter’s right of election, in that case, being suspended.

Vergerio had conducted his trust with so much address, that when *Rango*, the bishop of *Rhegio*, (who had been sent by *Clement VII.* in quality of Ambassador to *Germany*, to conciliate the breaches in religion, and to negotiate the affair of a general council) was thought too old and infirm to carry on the artifices of the *Roman* see; nobody was thought more capable, or more attached, to succeed in that commission than *Vergerio*. His business was to profess, in behalf of the pope, his holiness’s ardent desire to convene
a general

a general council; while, secretly, he was to throw the most insurmountable obstacles in the way of effecting of that measure, which might be in his power. It was a work of darkness; and he was enjoined to be as silent as death.

Pope *Clement* dying, cardinal *Farnese* was elected in his stead, and assumed the name of *Paul* the third. This good man, as one of his first acts, created two of his grandchildren (very much under age, and issue of his bastards) cardinals of his holy church. He recalled *Vergerio* from *Germany*, in order to be exactly informed of the state of religion (or most likely of other things) in that country, and ‘consulted (says *Sleidan*) with the cardinals, by what means they might best prevent the calling of a national council; till, by private and unsuspected contrivances, they should have embroiled the emperor and other princes in a war.’ The piety of this design needs no comment. However, the new pope resolved at length to send *Vergerio* back again into *Germany* to proffer a general council, but to take care at the same time, under the appearance of the greatest openness and simplicity, to learn what form the protestants would insist upon in reference to the qualifications, votings, and disputations of the council; that there might be such terms and rules imposed on them, as he might be sure they would never consent to. By this means, the odium of not holding the council would apparently fall upon them. He was also instructed, to exasperate the princes of the empire against the king of *England* [*Henry* the eighth] whose dominions the pope had in contemplation to bestow upon those, who would conquer them: And he received a secret article, to tamper with *Luther* and *Melancthon*, in order to bring them over to the cause of *Rome*. ‘One great reason (says *Sleidan*) why *Vergerio* was sent back upon this commission to *Germany* was, because king *Ferdinand* had recommended him to the pope, as a person extremely well qualified to undertake that employment.’

Early in the spring of the year 1535, *Vergerio* set out to execute this hypocritical commission, in which he was exceedingly industrious, and negotiated with almost all the princes of *Germany*. At *Prague* he met with the good elector of *Saxony*, with whom he dealt with all imaginable subtilty, and according to the coloring of his commission. He proposed, among other things, that the council desired should be called at *Mantua*, pretending the convenience of its situation with respect to plenty and access, but meaning, really to get all the heads of the protestant party into *Italy* under his master’s power. But the design was seen through,

through, and fell to the ground. *Vergerio* went also to *Wittenberg* upon the object of his commission with *Luther*; but *Luther* knew not the value of gold, and did not estimate high enough all the preferments of the world, to give the pope's nuncio any prospect of success.

In the year 1556, *Vergerio* returned to the holy father, in order to give in a state of affairs, and to explain his management in the commission. His report was, that the protestants demanded a free council, in a convenient place, which place must be within the territories of the empire, as the emperor had promised them. With respect to *Luther* and his party, there was no hope of prevailing upon them by any other means, than absolute force and entire suppression. As to the motion about the king of *England*, the protestants would on no account hear of it; and the rest of the princes received it but coldly. Indeed, *George* duke of *Saxony* [*Luther's* bitter enemy] did say, that the greatest danger was from the protestants, which was only to be avoided by the pope and emperor declaring war against them, as soon as possible.

Upon the force of this last hint, the pope sent off *Vergerio* to *Naples*, where the emperor then was, in order to propose a war upon the Lutherans, as the best and quickest method of settling the controversy. The emperor came to *Rome* to debate this matter, and proposed earnestly the calling a general council. The pope insisted that it should be held in some city or town of *Italy*; to which the emperor, not knowing the pope's holy motives, consented, and accordingly a bull was drawn up by the nine cardinals out of the consistory, by the archbishop of *Brundisi*, by the bishop of *Rhegio*, and by our *Vergerio* just made bishop of *Modrusch* and soon after of *Capo d' Istria*. *Mantua* was the place fixed by the bull; and the twenty-third of *May* ensuing was the time.

It was foreseen, that the protestants, from every reason of safety and propriety, which could be dear to them as men and as Christians, would never consent to put themselves into the pope's clutches. Accordingly, they told the emperor, that they could not trust themselves out of their own country; and especially, as in the case of *Dr. Huss*, it might not be easy to procure such a sort of *safe-conduct*, as would bring them back again. They laid open at large the fallacy and deceit of the pope's conduct, and gave very broad hints to the emperor, that they could neither trust him nor any of the papists. *Sleidan* enters, at full length, all the debates upon this occasion; to whose commentaries we must refer the inquisitive Reader.

Vergerio

Vergerio was called from his embassy in *Germany* by the pope in the year 1537, as a man, who well understood and could well be trusted with his holiness's affairs, and therefore could give him the most precise account and advice upon them. From this time to the year 1541, he seems to have remained in *Italy*. But, in this last year, he was commissioned to go to the diet at *Worms*, under an assumed character for the *French* king; as it was thought he might do his holiness more service under a borrowed form, than he could do in a real appearance. *Vergerio*, with his usual industry and address, made a speech here, upon the unity and peace of the church, which he printed and circulated. In this speech, he insisted chiefly upon arguments against holding a national council; for the pope, of all things, could not endure that step, and *Vergerio* knew very fully his secret thoughts. By *Vergerio*'s means, in co-operation with other instruments, the conference at *Worms* was impeded, and at length dissolved. Every thing, that artifice and evasion could do, was attempted, and unhappily succeeded.

We have mentioned, that *Vergerio* was in great favor with king *Ferdinand*, of *Hungary*; to which may be added, that he was in such terms of esteem with him, as to be godfather to one of his children, with the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, and the archbishop of *Lunden*.

When *Vergerio* returned from *Worms* to *Rome*, the pope, in reward for his services, designed to have made him a cardinal, among some other persons, whom he intended to promote; but, upon some insinuations, that he was leaning towards Lutheranism, through his long residence in *Germany*, the pope changed his purpose. Upon the information of this circumstance (which seems to have had no other foundation than malice or envy) from cardinal *Ginucio*, to whom the pope had told it, *Vergerio* was quite astonished; and, in order to put an end to all suspicions of that sort, he retired into the country, and began to compose a book, to which he prefixed this title; "*Adversus apostatas Germaniæ*;" against the apostates of *Germany*. This work naturally led him into strict investigations of the doctrines of the protestants, which he had never duly examined before, in order to give them the most exact and forcible confutation. Divine grace took this occasion, which he meant for opposition, to bring about what he least expected—his conversion. The apostle *Paul* was called to the truth, when he meditated its ruin; and so was *Vergerio*, and the great *Francis Junius*, whom we shall mention hereafter. He found himself overcome and

vanquished by a careful perusal of the writings, which he wished to explode; and he saw the rottenness and impiety of that church, whose interests it had been the main business of his life to uphold. In the utmost perturbation of mind, and relinquishing his views of a cardinal's hat; he went to confer with his own brother, *John Baptist Vergerio*, bishop of *Pola*, in *Istria*, which territory is part of the *Venetian* state. His brother, in the last degree of astonishment, began to bewail the state and condition of *Vergerio's* understanding, and seemed rather at a loss what to do with himself than how to give advice to another. At length, by *Vergerio's* repeated entreaties, they applied themselves together in searching the scriptures, and particularly in examining by the scriptures that important article—the justification of a sinner before God. The result was, the Spirit of God set home his word on both their hearts; and they became brethren in grace, as well as in blood. They saw, in this pure glass of the word, the error of the church of *Rome* upon this doctrine, as well as the absurdity, fallacy, and impiety of many other tenets, which it maintains. Convinced of the truth in their own minds, they saw it was too precious a light to be confined *under a bushel*, or in their bosoms. They, therefore, preached to the people of *Istria* the true doctrine of the gospel, according to the measure of grace given them. This soon alarmed the inquisition, as well as raised the indignation of the monks. The officers of the inquisition came quickly to *Pola*, and *Capo d' Istria*, where the brothers had preached, and committed their usual outrages upon the people; and one of them, *Grisonio*, went into the pulpit, and, amongst other terrors, excommunicated all, who would not *inform* against persons *suspected* of *Lutheranism*. What would he say to Lutherans themselves? He and his colleagues searched after those, who had been guilty of reading the New Testament in the vulgar tongue, which it seems *Vergerio* and his brother had procured to be distributed among the people. This occasioned much perplexity and distress. The inquisitors preached also frequent sermons against the person and doctrine of *Vergerio*, who was obliged to fly, for safety, from the approaching storm. If he had been in the ecclesiastical state, under the immediate dominion of the pope, probably he had not so escaped. He first retired to *Mantua*, and sought the protection of cardinal *Hercules Gonzaga*, who had been his intimate friend. But he soon found, that no man of the world will protect from persecution on account of the gospel; for *Gonzaga*, urged by letters from *Rome*, and by *John Caso* the pope's legate at *Venice*,

Venice, soon thought it expedient to let *Vergerio* know, that his company could be dispensed with. In this situation, he thought it was proper to go to *Trent*, where the general council was convened, in order to explain his case to the fathers, among whom he had a right to sit. But the pope, though he wished to have had him prisoner, yet finding it necessary to remove all suspicion (especially in *Germany*) concerning the freedom of the council; wrote to his legates, who presided there, to get him proscribed from appearing among them. Being in consequence expelled, he went to *Venice*; where *Caso*, the pope's legate, advised him to go by all means to *Rome*, and reconcile himself. Whether *Caso* was sincere or not, *Vergerio* knew better than to trust himself in the lion's den, and therefore went to *Padua*, where he remained for some time.

During *Vergerio's* abode at *Padua*, there occurred in *Citadella*, near that city, a circumstance, which has been much talked of all over the Christian world, and which it may not be thought tedious or impertinent to relate.— In *Citadella* lived *Francis Spira*, a lawyer of great abilities and practice at the bar. This man had embraced the reformed religion with remarkable zeal and earnestness, and, as he made proficiency in it, freely expressed his opinion of the several points of the controverted doctrine, both to his friends and to every body. A conduct of this sort could not long be concealed in *Italy*, but was at length noticed to *John Caso**, archbishop of *Benevento*, and the pope's legate at *Venice*. When *Spira* was informed of this, he was very sensible of his danger; and therefore, after revolving the matter in his thoughts, he followed easy counsels, and went to the legate, who had sent for him. Before the legate, he recanted his errors (as he termed them), begged his absolution, and promised obedience for the future. Though the legate was glad of his voluntary confession; yet, for the sake of example, he enjoined him, by way of penance, to return home, and make a public recantation of the protestant doctrines. All this he promised to do, against the impressions of his mind, and the clear conviction of his conscience, which reproached, and reproached him again, for his shameful desertion and denial. When he came home, the solicitations of his friends, (who urged, that the welfare of himself,

* This being (for one would scarce honor him with the name of *man*) wrote an execrable book in celebration of an unnatural vice, which he had the impudence to call a *divine work*, and to profess that he followed it. This book was written in verse, to render his abominable lasciviousness the more pleasing.

of his wife, children, estate, and all, depended upon it) prevailed; and he made his formal recantation. Soon afterwards his soul was struck with horror at what he had done; and he fell into the most dreadful despair of God's mercy. Growing worse and worse, and expressing himself in language almost too dreadful to repeat, concerning his crime, and his assured damnation from God; he was removed by his friends from *Citadella* to *Padua*, that he might both have better advice of physicians, and the constant conference of learned men. His physicians soon confessed his malady beyond their art, and prescribed for him, as the best and only remedy, good advice and spiritual consolation. Accordingly, many of the clergy and others constantly attended him, and labored to heal his mind by such portions of scripture, as exhibit the riches and extent of the mercy of God to repenting sinners. He allowed the truth of those passages, and of all they could say respecting the love of God in *Christ*; but still insisted, that *he* was particularly excluded to be an instance of the divine vengeance, and that the promises did not belong to him, who must justly be damned to everlasting torments, because he had abjured the truths of God, knowing them to be so, and against the repeated admonitions of his conscience. He said, in language as dreadful as ever was heard, that he felt the pains of damnation, even then, in his soul; that he wanted to be at the worst, which hell could inflict upon him, as the expectation of more torments increased those he already sustained; and that, though he saw all glory and excellency in God, yet he was so far from loving him on that account, that he most horribly hated him the more. In this condition he continued for some time, refusing all sustenance, and spitting it out again, when forced upon him. *Vergerio* frequently visited him, and set before him the freedom and fullness of the divine grace, urging the instances of *Peter* and others, who had fallen from God, but were received into mercy again; but all his exhortations were in vain. Whatever could be said, was thrown away upon poor *Spira*; and his malady increased more and more. In short, he languished, and sunk, and died, in all the agonizing tortures of the most miserable despair*.

Vergerio, as an eye-witness of God's wrath for the denial of his truth, was deeply struck with this dreadful example, and in consequence was the more confirmed by it in his

* The account of *Spira* is delivered by several creditable authors, who were eye-witnesses of his melancholy end; viz. *Matthew Grimaldo*, a lawyer of *Padua*, by *Sigismund Gelon*, *Henry Scot*, and *Vergerio*.

attachment to the protestant doctrine. Till this period, he had evidently hesitated, and wished to keep himself as safe as he could, without entirely making shipwreck of conscience. But this awful instance determined him. He, therefore, fully resolved to abandon his native country and all he had, and to become, in a double sense, a *stranger and pilgrim upon earth*. Every true Christian must be this in his spirit; but every one is not called to be so both in body and mind, as *Vergerio* undoubtedly was. He underwent this voluntary banishment, that he might live where he might freely profess the doctrine of *Christ*. He quitted the fine country of *Bergamo* for the bleak barren hills of the *Grisons*: The *Grisons* became a spiritual *Eden*, far more delightful than the *Italian* plains, through the sweet manifestation of the gospel. If *Christ* and a dungeon have been preferred by many martyrs to a palace without him; surely *Christ* and the *Grisons* must be far more welcome than all the busy scenes of life, where inward peace is a stranger, and where outward felicity flies off in a dream. *Vergerio* counted the cost, and had made a wise estimate of the honors, the riches, and the pleasures, of a giddy world. He was certainly able to do so, in the strength of grace; for he had seen and known them all in their highest splendor and magnificence: And, with *Solomon*, he could write upon them all;—*vanity and vexation of spirit*.

Vergerio preached the gospel partly amongst the *Grisons*, and partly in the *Valtelline*, for several years. At length, he was invited to *Tubingen*, in *Swabia*, by the duke of *Wurtemberg*, where he passed the remainder of his days.

Vergerio's brother, *John Baptist Vergerio*, bishop of *Pola*, who was converted to the truth at the same time (as we have mentioned) died before he left *Italy*; and it is suspected, that he was poisoned by those desperate and implacable papists, who hunted likewise for *Vergerio's* blood.

While *Vergerio* was among the *Grisons*, the emperor and pope had endeavored to draw the *Swiss* to the council of *Trent*: But the *French* king, having opposite views, instructed *La Morliere*, his ambassador or envoy to the Cantons, to dissuade them from it. *La Morliere*, finding it a work of difficulty, prevailed upon *Vergerio*, who was expert in negotiation and business, to come to him from among the *Grisons*. *Vergerio* supplied him with arguments, and, soon afterwards, published a book against repairing to the council. By these means, *Switzerland* and the *Grisons* were preserved from that corrupt leaven, and from being ensnared by the policy of *Rome*.

In

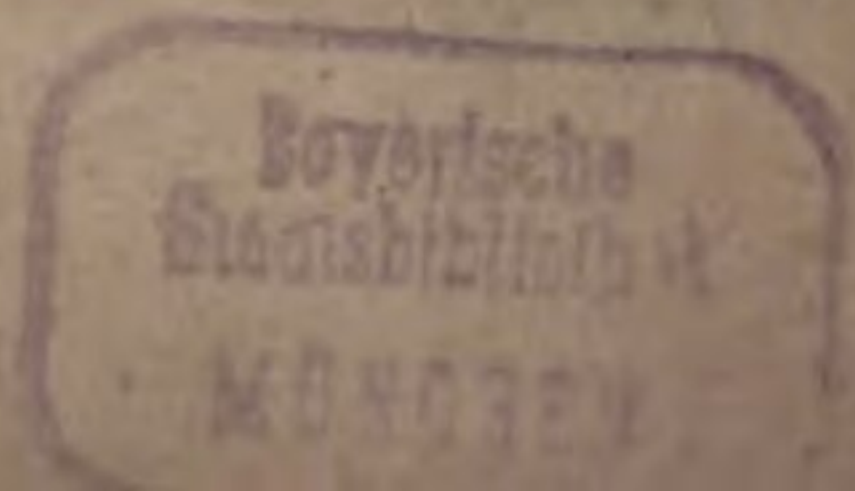
In this book *Vergerio* exhibited the pride, pomp, luxury, ambition, bribery, and dissolute manners of the court of *Rome*, which he declared he well knew, and from his heart detested: That the council of *Trent* was not called by the pope, to establish the doctrine of *Christ*, but those human inventions which they had brought in contrary to the word of God; not to purge God's fold, but to disseminate their inveterate errors; not to restore Christian liberty, but to introduce a miserable bondage and oppression on the souls of men: That this appeared, from there being none but bishops and abbots, who had taken an oath prescribed by the *Roman* ceremonial, allowed to sit there: That the inferior clergy and secular princes had only a right to come, without the least power of deliberating or voting; so that every conclusion must be *ex parte*; as all, who differed from *Rome*, were without influence: And that, in short, no good thing would be done, nor any corruption complained of remedied, though to remedy corruptions was the express end for which the council was pretended to be called.

The event proved the truth of *Vergerio's* assertion; as we may more fully learn from the celebrated history of that council, written by the excellent *F. Paulo* of *Venice*.

This good man *Vergerio* finished his labors and his life at *Tubingen* on the fourth of *October*, in the year 1566. His funeral sermon was preached by *Dr. James Andreas*, on *1 Tim. i. 12, 13. I thank Christ Jesus our Lord, who hath enabled me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry, who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious: But I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly in unbelief.* Upon this text he drew, and might draw, no very distant parallel between those two persecuting converts, the apostle *Paul* and bishop *Vergerio*.

Pezelius says, that 'of a wolf God made *Vergerio* one of his fold, and a pastor of his flock;' and *Trithemius* speaks of him, that 'he was a man, diligent in searching the holy scriptures, and very learned in human science, celebrated as a philosopher and a rhetorician, and perfectly skilled in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues.' *Thuanus* mentions him likewise in very handsome terms, and perhaps as handsome as he dared: But *Vergerio* has a much better commendation than all these,—the applause of his Master—*Well done, good and faithful servant; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.*

End of the FIRST VOLUME.



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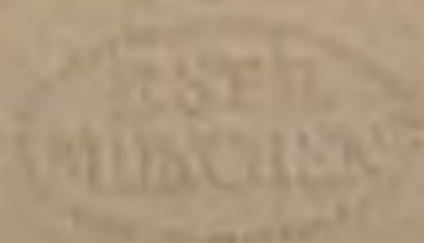
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Nr. 417 Ausgang :

I. Schäden: *f, g, h, i, j, r, s, v, xa, xo*

II. Behandlung: *3, 20, 25, 36, 40, 42*

III. Besonderheiten :



Middleton, Erasmus

Biographia Evangelica Or, An Historical Account of the Lives and Deaths,
of the most eminent and evangelical Authors, or Preachers, both British
and Foreign, in the several Denominations of Protestants, from the
Beginning of the Reformation, to the present Time
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